A

VOYAGE

From ENGLAND to INDIA,

IN THE YEAR MDCCLIV.

AND AN

HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

OF

The OPERATIONS of the Squadron and Army in INDIA, under the Command of Vice-Admiral WATSON and Colonel CLIVE, in the Years 1755, 1756, 1757; including a Correſpondence between the Admiral and the Nabob *Serajah Dowlah*.

INTERSPERSED WITH

Some intereſting Paſſages relating to the Manners, Cuſtoms, &c. of ſeveral Nations in INDOSTAN.

ALSO, A

JOURNEY

FROM PERSIA TO ENGLAND,

BY AN UNUSUAL ROUTE.

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

Containing an Account of the Diſeaſes prevalent in Admiral WATSON's Squadron: A Deſcription of moſt of the Trees, Shrubs, and Plants, of *India*, with their real, or ſuppoſed, medicinal Virtues: Alſo a Copy of a Letter written by a late ingenious Phyſician, on the Diſorders incidental to *Europeans* at *Gombroon* in the Gulph of *Perſia*.

Illuſtrated with a CHART, MAPS, and other COPPER-PLATES.

By EDWARD IVES, Eſq;
Formerly SURGEON of Admiral WATSON's Ship, and of his MAJESTY's Hoſpital in the *Eaſt Indies*.

LONDON:
Printed for EDWARD and CHARLES DILLY.
MDCCLXXIII.

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Some interesting Particulars relative to the Manners, Customs, &c. of the INHABITANTS.

MUSEUM BRITANNICUM

JOURNEY

From PERSIA to ENGLAND,

BY AN UNUSUAL ROUTE.

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

Containing an Account of the Dispute persisted in Admiral WATSON's Squadron: A Description of most of the Ports, Ships, and Forts, of India, with their real or imputed, ancient Names: Also a Copy of a Letter written by a late Ambassador from the Dutch Indies to Europeans at Constantinople in the Court of Persia.

Illustrated with a CHART, MAPS, and other COPPER-PLATES.

By EDWARD IVES, Esq;

Formerly Surgeon of Admiral WATSON's Ship, and of his Majesty's Ships in the East-Indies.

LONDON:

Printed for EDWARD and CHARLES DILLY.

MDCCLXXII.

DEDICATION.

TO

Sir CHARLES WATSON, Bart.

SIR,

HAD I not been so happy as to have enjoyed a considerable share of your Father's friendship, it is probable I might never have visited the *East Indies:* it is certain, it would not have been in my power to have made those observations on *Persia*, and *Turky*, that appear in the subsequent Work.

To YOU then, as the Representative of my honoured Friend and greatest Benefactor, this public Testimony of my Gratitude and Affection is most justly due.

If, Sir, the perusal of the following sheets, should contribute to the amusement only of your vacant hours, I shall have attained my present end: but if what I have written of your excellent Father, and other deserving Officers under him, or of the Religion, Customs,

and Manners of Foreign Countries, ſhall contribute to your improvement, and ſet you forward in the paths of virtue, I then ſhall be beyond meaſure happy.

That you may long live an honour to your Family, a comfort to your tender ſurviving Parent, a Friend to Mankind in general, and to your Country in particular: in ſhort, that your whole conduct may be great, generous, and good, ſuch as may manifeſt to the world whoſe Son and Succeſſor you are, is the ſincere wiſh of,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt faithful Friend,

Titchfield.
January 1. 1773.

and obedient humble Servant,

EDWARD IVES.

THE PREFACE.

THE principal part of the First Book here offered to the Public, and the whole of the Second Book, were transcribed from original papers eleven years ago, merely for my own amusement, and for the gratification of my family and friends. Having however been lately prevailed upon to submit them to the perusal of two or three Gentlemen, distinguished in the Republic of Letters, they warmly recommended it to me to send them to the Press, giving it as their opinion, that they would not only be entertaining, but useful to the world. To them, therefore, and the partiality of their judgments, it is owing, that they now make their appearance in public.

The stile of the Second Book, so different from that of the first, may possibly afford just room for criticism; and I may be censured for not having new-modelled it, and given the whole in a continued historical narration. I once endeavoured to do it, but soon found myself unequal to the task: I therefore resolved to let the Second Book continue in the same form as when first committed to paper. However disagreeable or dissimilar this mixture may be, yet it will be attended with the following advantage at

least;

leaſt; the ſeveral incidents will be ſet before the Reader, juſt as they ſtruck the Author's mind, and conſequently in a more natural and eaſy manner. Beſides, I was apprehenſive, that to have curtailed, or enlarged on, my original ſentiments, would have given reaſon to ſuſpect the fidelity of the whole.

Should it be objected, that I have treated too minutely of myſelf and my own concerns; I have only to anſwer, that the man who writes his own journey, is under a neceſſity in ſome degree of making himſelf the hero of his own tale. But however trivial many of the incidents relating to myſelf, may now appear, at the time they happened they were felt by me with the moſt exquiſite ſenſibility; and therefore hope the inſertion of them will be either overlooked or pardoned by the candid Reader.

It becomes me to own alſo, that to enrich the Firſt Book, I have made free with ſome of the Obſervations made on the *Eaſt Indians*, and on the Animal and Vegetable Productions of their Country, by my two late valuable and ingenious friends, the Rev. Mr. *Cobbe* and Mr. *George Thomas*, whoſe papers fell into my hands ſoon after their deceaſe. However, though ſenſible of the obligation I lie under, in having thoſe Gentlemen's remarks thus fortunately blended with my own, I ſhall think myſelf ſufficiently happy, if even by ſome borrowed riches and beauties, I have been able to produce a work not altogether unworthy of the attention of the Public.

The general Map of the courſe of the River *Euphrates*, and of our route through *Aſiatic-Turky*, which is inſerted in the Second Book, muſt certainly prove very acceptable to the Reader, as it conveys an increaſe of knowledge in the geography of a country which hitherto has been but little known, and as the truth and accuracy thereof may be entirely depended upon, being done by the late ingenious Mr. *Doidge*, from his own, and the joint obſervations of Captain *James Alms* of the Royal Navy.

The other general Map and Chart, with the Copper-plates which are given in the courſe of the work, may alſo juſtly claim great merit. The three Views of *Geriah* the ſtrong fortreſs of *Angria* the Pirate, were drawn on the ſpot by the late Captain *Northal*, of the King's Artillery; They give a clear and diſtinct idea of the importance of that place, whoſe Maſter for a long time had been the terror of every trader in the *Eaſt Indies*. The remaining Drawings relate either to matters of Antiquity or Modern Curioſity. To the impartial deciſion of the Public the whole of the Work is now reſpectfully ſubmitted.

CON-

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ERRATA.

Page 14. line 25. for *Tabularia*, read *Tubularia* —P. 22. *after* copper-coin, *add* 27.—P. 28. for *Chezvons* r. *Chezvous*.—P. 50. l. 2. *for* 8, *r.* 3 pagodas; l. 26, *after* 6 fanams, *add* for the ſet.—P. 60. l. 15. *for* behind, *r.* before; and l. 16. *for* fore-parts, *r.* hind-parts.—P. 71. l. 9. *dele* ſtaff.—P. 235. l. 30. *dele* or ½ of *and add* for.—P. 248. l. 15. *for* ſtrings *r.* ſtings.—P. 279. *add the following note, to be connected with the word* ſpits, l. 33. It afterwards appeared that this was the beginning of a conſumption, of which he died in *England*, 24 *December* 1761. —L. 35. for *Ghee*, r. *Jet*.—P. 297. l. 10. *for* 50. *r.* 10.—P. 331. l. 10. *for* coffee-ſkins, *r.* coffee, ſkins.—P. 363, laſt l. *for* were, *r.* and.—P. 406. *for* Velocis, *r.* Veloces.—P. 445. l. 23. *for* 104, *r.* 344.—P. 481. l. 20. *for* carved, *r.* curved.

TABLE

TABLE of COINS, and MONIES, mentioned in the Work.

MALABAR.
- 5 *Rays*, or *Rez*, equal to a *Pice*.
- 80 *Pice* = a *Rupee*,
- A *Rupee* = 2*s*. 3*d*. to 2*s*. 6*d*.
- A *Pagoda* = about 8*s*.

COROMANDEL.
- 10 *Caſh* equal to a *Pice*.
- 8 *Pice* = a *Fanam*.
- 10 *Fanams* = a *Rupee*.
- A *Rupee* = about 2*s*. 6*d*.
- 36 to 40 *Fanams* = a *Pagoda*.
- A *Pagoda* = 8*s*. and ſometimes to 9*s*. and 10*s*.

BENGAL.
- 4 *Pice* equal to a *Fanam*.
- 3 *Fanams* = an *Ana*.
- 16 *Anas* = a *Rupee*.
- A *Rupee* = about 2*s*. 6*d*.

PERSIA and TURKY.
- 8 to 10 *Fluce* equal to a *Dunnen* or *Denim*.
- 8½ to 10 *Denims* = a *Marmooda*.
- 4 *Marmoodas* = a *Rupee*.
- 2 *Aſpers* = a *Peraw*.
- 40 *Peraws* = a *Piaſtre* or *Dollar*.
- A *Piaſtre* = 2*s*. 9*d*.
- A *Sequin* = 7*s*. 6*d*.
- 2 *Marmoodas* = an *Abaſſee* = 12*s*. 4*d*.
- 50 *Abaſſees* = a *Toman* or *Tomond*.
- A *Toman* = 3*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.

ITALY.
- A *Paul* equal to 5*d*. ½.
- 40 *Peraws* = a *Piaſtre*.
- 60 *Cruitzers* = a *Florin* = 2*s*. 3*d*.
- 4 *Florins*, 40 *Cruitzers* = a *Zechin*.
- 3 *Piaſtres*, 35 *Peraws* = a *Zechin*.
- A *Zechin* or *Ducat* = 10*s*. 3*d*.
- A *Piſtole* = 15*s*. 6*d*.

GERMANY, &c.
- 60 *Cruitzers* equal to a *Florin* or *German Guilder*.
- 4 *Florins* 15 *Cruitzers*, to 5 *Florins* = a *Ducat*.
- A *Ducat* = 10*s*. 3*d*.

A VOYAGE TO INDIA, &c. &c.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

The occaſion of the voyage.——The Author ſails from Spithead, *as Surgeon of the* Kent, *Admiral* Watſon's *ſhip.——The* Admiral *touches at* Kingſale *in* Ireland, *where two of the capital ſhips are diſabled by a ſtorm.——He arrives at* Madeira.——*The run from thence to* Madagaſcar.——*A deſcription of that iſland.——Character of the people.——Account of the king, his court and attendants.——Anecdotes relative to the temper of the* Madagaſcarians.——*Their religion, cuſtoms, and way of living.——Animal and vegetable productions of the iſland,* &c. &c. &c.

IMmediately after the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, or as ſoon as our ſea and land forces under the command of Admiral *Boſcawen* had left the *Indies* and were on their return to *England*; Monſ. *Dupleix*, governor of *Pondicherry*, began by his intrigues to ſow the ſeeds of diſſention among the *country* princes; and when he had ſo far ſucceeded as to ſet them at variance with one another, he ſent a body of *European* troops into the field, as auxiliaries to thoſe *Nabobs* who eſpouſed the *French* intereſt; and who, by dint of this ſupply, gained ſeveral ſucceſſive advantages over the other princes who were friends to our *Eaſt India* company. MUSTAPHA-JING, a powerful prince, and CHUNDA-SAEB, an enterpriſing general, were thoſe with whom he was principally connected, and whom he made uſe of as inſtruments for bringing about his ambitious deſigns. Deſigns no leſs extenſive, than of

1749 to 1753.

acquiring

1749 to 1753. acquiring for his nation an abſolute aſcendency over the whole *Carnatic* and *Deccan*, and for himſelf, immortal honour and immenſe riches. The *Engliſh* preſidency were poſſeſſed of ſuch convincing proofs of his inſatiable avarice, and thirſt for power; that they prudently and reſolutely determined to exert their utmoſt abilities in putting a ſtop to his violent, and hitherto rapid proceedings: for that purpoſe, they, under the character of allies, joined their forces with the armies of a prince called NAZIR-JING, and of the *Nabob* of *Arcot* named MAHOMED-ALY; againſt whom their enemies were now taking the field.

Thus the *Engliſh* and *French* companies, though they could not act as open and declared enemies, becauſe of the peace which ſubſiſted between their reſpective ſovereigns; yet under the aſſumed name of auxiliaries, they for ſeveral years carried on an expenſive and bloody war againſt each other. And, although the *Britiſh* arms never gained greater glory, than in ſome of the battles which were fought on this occaſion, particularly in thoſe, where Major *Lawrence* and Mr. *Clive* commanded; yet, as the *French* had a far ſuperior number of *European* troops, and had been ſo artful as to form connections with the moſt powerful princes of the country; with theſe advantages, they made ſo conſiderable a progreſs, as greatly to alarm the whole of the *Engliſh* ſettlements, and to fill them with apprehenſions, leſt the day might come, when Monſ. *Dupleix*'s ambition might be gratified in its utmoſt extent. The governor and council of thoſe ſettlements therefore ſent repeated accounts of their diſagreeable ſituation, to the directors of the *Engliſh Eaſt India* company, who petitioned government in their behalf; and at length a ſmall ſquadron of the king's ſhips, under the command of *Charles Watſon*, Eſq; Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and a regiment of infantry under that of Colonel *Adlercron*, were granted for their relief.

1754. On the 22d day of *February* 1754, the *Kent* (of which ſhip I had been appointed ſurgeon) ſailed from *Spithead* to *Plymouth*, the place of rendezvous for the ſquadron; and on the 9th of *March*, Admiral *Watſon* put to ſea with the following ſhips for the *Eaſt Indies*.

		Guns.
Kent, (with the admiral's flag)	Capt. *Henry Speke*	70
Eagle, (with a broad pendant)	Capt. *George Pocock*	60
Saliſbury - - - -	Capt. *Thomas Knowler*	50
Briſtol - - - -	Capt. *Thomas Latham*	50
Bridgewater - - - -	Capt. *William Martin*	20
Kingfiſher Sloop - - -	Capt. *Beſt Mighel*	16

The admiral's inſtructions directed him to repair to *Cork* in *Ireland*, and there to receive on board his ſquadron, as many of the king's troops as he could conveniently diſpoſe of. This he attempted doing, but the wind being unfavourable, he judged it neceſſary to put into *Kingſale* road. On the 12th he anchored there, and immediately diſpatched a letter to Colonel *Adlercron*.

Adlercron, acquainting him of his arrival, and requeſting him to march with his regiment to that port. 1754.

On the 19th in the afternoon, the wind blew very hard from the ſouth eaſt, accompanied with ſleet and hail, and a very high ſea poured into the bay, which occaſioned the *Eagle* to part her ſmall bower cable, and to drive a-thwart the *Briſtol*'s hawſe. The officers of the *Eagle* ſo exerted themſelves, that they ſoon cleared her from the *Briſtol*, but not without the loſs of this laſt ſhip's head and bowſprit. At night, both ſhips parted from their anchors, and drove very near the ſhore; their maſts were cut away, and ſignals of diſtreſs were made; but unfortunately the ſea ran ſo high, that no boats could lye along ſide of them, and conſequently no effectual relief could be ſent to their aſſiſtance. The wind and ſea abating in the morning, gave the admiral an opportunity of getting off both the ſhips, by his ſending all the boats of the ſquadron to aſſiſt them; but they were ſo much diſabled, as not to be capable of proceeding on their intended expedition.

Mr. *Watſon*, being by this accident deprived of ſo conſiderable a part of the force of his ſquadron, for ſome time debated with himſelf, whether he ſhould immediately purſue his voyage with thoſe few ſhips which were ſtill fit for ſea, or wait where he was, till the diſabled ſhips could be replaced. His zeal for the ſervice however determined him to embrace the former alternative, and he diſpatched two expreſſes, one to the Secretary of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and another to Colonel *Adlercron*: he acquainted the colonel with his determination of proceeding with the *Kent*, *Saliſbury*, *Bridgewater*, and *Kingsfiſher* only; and deſired him, that the diviſion of his regiment which was intended for thoſe ſhips, might embark with all poſſible expedition; and that the other diviſion, might be put on board the two ſhips which were diſabled, and proceed in them to *Plymouth*, where he did not doubt but other ſhips would be ſoon ready to receive them, and follow him to *India*. The remainder of the regiment was to embark in ſome of the *Eaſt India* company's ſhips, which of courſe would not fail to follow the admiral; but as they were not ready at the time he ſailed from *England*, he had received orders not to wait for them.

On the 24th, ſome of the troops were put on board; and the ſame day, the admiral with his two ſhips, frigate and ſloop, weighed anchor, and ſailed; leaving the two diſabled ſhips behind him, and appointing the *Garland*, Captain *Spry*, to convoy them to *Plymouth*.—*April* the 6th, we anchored in *Fonchial* road, off the iſland of *Madeira*, a place famous for ſupplying not only *Europe*, but all our ſettlements in both the *Indies*, with a moſt excellent wine. This refreſhing liquor however, like other things, of late years is greatly increaſed in its price. Ten or twelve years before, the beſt wine on the iſland was ſold from 12 to 14 pounds the pipe; but at the time we were there, none could be got for leſs than 20 and 22 pounds.

1754. This iſland of *Madeira* is ſubject to the crown of *Portugal*; ſituated in a fine climate, in the latitude of 32° 27′ north. The face of the country is very mountainous, interſperſed with vineyards, which form a moſt romantic and delightful proſpect. The tops of the higheſt of theſe mountains are always covered with ſnow; ſome of the gentlemen of our ſquadron ventured to ſcale one of them, but found the air round the ſummit of it ſo exceedingly cold, that they were glad to get down again as faſt as poſſible. We have a conſul always reſiding here, and ſeveral conſiderable merchants of our nation live at *Fonchial*, which is the only place of trade in the whole iſland.

Whilſt we continued at *Madeira*, we met with many diſagreeable delays in ſupplying our ſquadron with wine and other refreſhments, on account of the Paſſion-week, and the carnival that followed it; at which ſeaſon all buſineſs there is at a ſtand, and ſtrangers are ſure to be entertained with much gaudy, ſuperſtitious mummery. The cuſtom indeed of celebrating this feſtival with a great deal of religious pageantry, is obſerved in all Popiſh countries, but probably no where carried to ſo great an height as among the *Portugueſe*, who are the moſt bigotted to the fopperies of their religion of any nation under the ſun.

On the 19th of *April*, at 10 o'clock in the morning, we took our leave of *Madeira*, and on the 23d ſaw the iſland of *Palma*, one of the *Canaries*, diſtant from us four leagues. By the 25th, we were got into the trade winds; and in a day or two afterwards were in ſight of *Bonaviſta*, one of the *Cape de Verd* iſlands. About the middle of *May*, our ſhip being too much crowded with ſtores and men, and conſequently very hot between decks; the crew became ſo ſickly, that in ſix days we buried ſeven men, and had 160 on the ſick liſt, chiefly with putrid fevers. On the 3d of *June*, at the very hour Capt. *Speke* had calculated, we diſcovered the iſland *Trinidada*; and the next morning *Martinvas* was in ſight. The latter is compoſed of inacceſſible rocks; but the former, as I was informed, is well covered with woods, and has a ſandy bay at the north-eaſt end, where there is plenty of freſh water.

In our whole run from *Madeira* to theſe laſt mentioned iſlands, we ſaw nothing very remarkable; or only ſuch objects as are always to be met with in thoſe ſeas: ſuch as great flights of different ſorts of birds, near the land; and vaſt numbers of flying fiſh. We caught alſo ſome ſharks in calm weather; to ſome of which were ſticking ſeveral black fiſh, from eight inches to a foot long: the ſailors called them the ſucking-fiſh, but they are really the *Remora*. Some time in *June* the crews of the ſeveral ſhips of the ſquadron, with baited hooks, caught ſome *Pintado*-birds; they are about the bigneſs of a pidgeon, and when ſwimming on the water, very much reſemble that bird. They are prettily mottled on the back and wings, their heads are of a dark blue colour, their bills are ſharp and ſtrong, their legs black, and their feet webbed. When caught, they cannot riſe to fly,

from

from the deck, but will moſt readily do ſo, out of a tub of water. An *albatroſe*, a ſea-fowl, was ſhot off the *Cape of Good Hope*, which meaſured 17½ feet from wing to wing. A *ſhark* was alſo caught, and brought on board the *Cumberland*, with 72 young ones in her belly, each from 6 to 14 inches long. Another was afterwards caught by the *Saliſbury*'s crew, which had the horns, ſkin, and many bones of a bullock in the belly. After it was dead and dried, a very large man paſſed through its jaws. 1754.

In the unſettled and hot weather we had, during our continuance near the line, the putrid fever raged among us; (owing in a great degree alſo to the ſtock-fiſh, which we had taken on board as part of our proviſion, turning putrid.*) Our people, when firſt taken, complained of violent head-aches, pain in their limbs, and an univerſal reſtleſſneſs. By the latter end of *June*, we had advanced far to the ſouthward, and conſequently were in a colder climate. On the 17th of *July*, at three in the morning, we diſcovered the long wiſhed-for iſland of *Madagaſcar*. At four made the ſignal, wore ſhip, and brought to; and on the 18th we anchored in *St. Auguſtine*'s bay, at the ſouthern part of the iſland, latitude 23° 42′ ſouth, in 16 fathom water. The 19th, we received on board freſh beef for the uſe of the ſeveral ſhips companies, who with eagerneſs and tranſport fed on this delicious fare. The next day, the admiral was ſo kind as to iſſue his warrant, by which I was appointed to take under my care the ſick and wounded of the whole ſquadron.

The firſt care after our arrival at *Madagaſcar*, was to get our ſick aſhore. Thoſe in the *Kent* alone amounted to 150: The complaints of ſome, were the ſame putrid fevers which had before given us ſo much trouble while in the neighbourhood of the equinoctial; but the greater part were now afflicted with the ſcurvy, and to ſo great a degree, that they had not ſtrength enough to crawl upon the deck, and ſcarcely to breathe; we were obliged therefore to carry them out of the ſhip in their hammocks: but ſo ſalutary was the land, and the refreſhments it produced, that in leſs than three weeks after they were put aſhore, almoſt all of them happily recovered their former health and vigour.

This iſland, which lies between 12 and 26° ſouth latitude, is of great extent, and very fruitful, abounding in moſt of the neceſſaries of life. It is governed by four or five kings, who frequently are at war with each other, when they make inroads into the enemies country, and carry off both families and cattle: the firſt are ſometimes ſold to the *Europeans*, as ſlaves.

The bullocks on this iſland are very large and fat, weighing uſually from 6 to 700 pounds each, and are much valued by the ſeveral *European* na-

* Two thirds of the ſtock-fiſh which government ſupplied the ſhip with, we were obliged to throw over board.

tions

1754. tions who have ſettlements in *India*. They ſend ſhips hither on purpoſe for them, which they kill and ſalt upon the iſland. Theſe bullocks have all a remarkable protuberance, or portion of fat, ſeated between the two ſhoulders, weighing about twenty pounds; which in general is very much eſteemed, after having lain ſome time in ſalt. For my own part however, I could not join in the extravagant praiſes given to this piece in particular, nor indeed to any of the beef of this iſland; for though the oxen are very large, fat and fair to look upon, yet the herbage they eat, gives their fleſh a peculiar, and to me a very diſagreeable taſte. The natives have a very dexterous method of bringing the ox to the ſlaughter. They throw a rope, with a running knot, over the horns of that particular beaſt, which the purchaſer hath choſen out of a great number, and with the ſame rope drag the victim to a tree; around the trunk of which, they take a turn with the rope, and draw the ox cloſe up to it, where it is eaſily ſlaughtered by the butcher. The iſlanders themſelves never ſtrip off the hide, but feed on that with as much pleaſure as on any other part of the beaſt. The ſheep of *Madagaſcar* differ very little from the goats, being alike hairy, only their heads are ſomewhat larger. They have necks like a calf, and a tail that weighs at leaſt ten pounds.

We had no ſooner come to an anchor at this iſland, but old *Robin Hood*, and another of the king of *Baba*'s people, whom they call purſers; *Philibey*, the General; and Captains *John Anderſon* and *Frederick Martin*, came on board the *Kent*: theſe were ſome of the chiefs of the king's court, who prided themſelves in being called by *Engliſh* names. And the king's own family likewiſe, in imitation of the court of *England*, is not without a Prince of *Wales*, a Duke of *Cumberland*, a Prince *Auguſtus*, and Princeſſes, diſtinguiſhed by *Engliſh* names.

All the great men abovementioned, came on board naked, except a covering over their hips, and another over their ſhoulders, made of a certain graſs growing on the iſland, which they had ornamented with ſmall glaſs beads, by way of border or fringe. Their hair was not altogether ſo woolly as is the *Africans* on the coaſt of *Guinea*, but rather reſembling the long black hair of the *Indian:* The *Madagaſcarian* wives take great pains with their huſbands hair: They ſometimes put it in large and regular curls, and at other times braid it in great order, making it to ſhine with a particular oil which the iſland produces. The men are rather tall than otherwiſe, and ſlightly made, yet ſtrong; they always carry in their hands a wooden lance, headed with iron. This lance is in general made very neat, which they throw thirty or forty yards with great exactneſs, ſtriking the ſmalleſt object. Beſides this implement of war, they are commonly maſters of a muſket, which they get from *Europeans* in exchange for cattle; and this they are always ſure to keep in the niceſt order.—I am ſorry to ſay, that the *Engliſh* are frequently guilty of great impoſitions in this kind of traffic, by diſpoſing of cheap and ill-tempered gun-barrels, among the poor inhabitants,

who ſometimes loſe their lives by the burſting of theſe pieces. Such iniquitous practices as theſe, muſt in the end prove injurious to the nation; and has indeed already made the name of more than one of theſe traders truly infamous among the deluded, but hitherto friendly, *Madagaſcarians*, or *Malgaches* *. 1754.

They are a civil, good-natured people, but eaſily provoked, and apt to ſhew their reſentment on the leaſt provocation, eſpecially where they think themſelves injured, or ſlighted. An inſtance of this happened during our ſtay among them. A wife of *John Anderſon* came to our tents, and purchaſed a claſp-knife of a common ſailor; in her return home ſhe had the misfortune to drop it; as ſoon as ſhe diſcovered her loſs, ſhe ran back in the greateſt anxiety towards our people; in her way, ſhe obſerved a ſeaman to ſtoop, and take up ſomething from the ground, which on her getting up with him, ſhe diſcovered to be her knife, and demanded it as her property. The ſailor refuſing to part with it, ſhe hurried home, and acquainted her huſband with what had happened. Immediately, and in the greateſt rage, he commanded his ſervants and ſlaves to arm themſelves, and at the head of them he marched into our camp. Lieutenant *Carnac* of *Adlercron's* regiment, and our other officers on ſhore, were at dinner in their tent; and upon hearing a great uproar, they ran out and diſcovered *John Anderſon* with fifteen other natives, armed with loaded muſkets, and in violent altercation with our people. It is impoſſible to deſcribe the fury which was viſible in *Anderſon's* countenance. The officers being upon the beſt footing with him, went to him, and deſired to know the cauſe of this unbecoming behaviour. He gave them a ſhort anſwer, and in a very peremptory tone demanded the knife. They, in return, calmly reaſoned with him, and aſked him how he could think of behaving in ſo outrageous a manner to his friends. He anſwered, "*they were no friends of his, unleſs they did him juſtice.*" They ſtill went on ſoothing him, but at the ſame time gave him to underſtand, that his acting in this frantic manner was not only ridiculous, but dangerous to a great degree; for had they been as violent as himſelf, it was next to an impoſſibility that either he or any one of his followers could have returned back alive. He replied, "*that he would ſooner die, than tamely put up an injury.*" At laſt, with great difficulty, they appeaſed him, prevailed upon him to ſend back his people, and to enter their tent. Here they gave him a dram, and ſummoned before them the ſailor. The fellow frankly acknowledged that he had found a knife, and that it was very poſſible it might belong to *Anderſon's* wife, but that as yet he had only her word for it. The woman, in anſwer to this, produced the perſon from whom ſhe bought it, who proving it to be her property, the knife was preſently reſtored, and the affair amicably ſettled to the entire ſatisfaction of all parties.

Another characteriſtic of the *Madagaſcarians*, is, the very high notions they entertain of the dignity of their *king*; which they carry to ſo great an

* A general term applied to the inhabitants of that iſland.

height,

1754. height, that they are never more ſenſibly hurt, than when they think you are treating him with any kind of incivility. We met with a moſt ſtriking inſtance of this, ſoon after our arrival at the iſland, when the *king*'s purſers made Admiral *Watſon* their firſt viſit. At the time theſe people entered the ſhip, it happened that the admiral was deeply engaged in buſineſs; he therefore deſired Captain *Speke*, (who had been at *Madagaſcar* before, and conſequently was acquainted with moſt of them) to officiate as his deputy, and entertain them in the ward-room, till he could wait upon them in perſon. This taſk, Captain *Speke* executed with the greateſt hoſpitality and politeneſs; but notwithſtanding all his endeavours to pleaſe, in leſs than twenty minutes they became quite impatient, and very ſerious; talked much of going aſhore again, and of their king's dignity being greatly hurt by this delay, "*who* (they ſaid) *was a great man, and would be much diſpleaſed, when he ſhould be told they had waited ſo long before they had been admitted to an audience of the commodore*;" for ſo they called the admiral not only at his firſt arrival, but ever afterwards, it being a title they had been much accuſtomed to; nor had they before been ever viſited by an officer of Mr. *Watſon*'s rank. Captain *Speke*, touched with their complaints, hurried away to the admiral, who immediately admitted them into his cabin, and made them happy. Before they took their leave however, they in very plain terms gave Mr. *Watſon* to underſtand, that unleſs he made the *King* of *Baba* the firſt viſit, no proviſion of conſequence would be ſuffered to be put on board his ſhips.

The reader will excuſe my giving him another inſtance of this kind, which ſtill more ſtrikingly diſplays the extreme ſenſibility of theſe iſlanders, in reſpect to their king's dignity. *Robin Hood* (who ſeemed to act as prime miniſter, and negotiated moſt of the king's concerns with our agent-victualler) was one day tranſacting buſineſs with another gentleman of the ſquadron, and they happened to differ ſo much about the value of a certain commodity, that high words aroſe, and at length *Robin Hood* in the greateſt agitation ſtarted from the ground where he was ſitting, and ſwore that he would immediately acquaint the king of *Baba* with what had paſſed. Our *Engliſh* gentleman, too much heated with this threat, and the violent altercation which had preceded it, unguardedly replied, "D—n the king of *Baba*."——The eyes of *Robin Hood* flaſhed like lightning, and in the moſt violent wrath he retorted, "D—n *King George*." At the ſame inſtant he left the ſpot, hurrying away towards the *Madagaſcarian* cottages. Our countryman was ſoon ſtruck with the impropriety of his behaviour, followed and overtook the diſputant, and having made all proper conceſſions, the affair was happily terminated.

Moſt of the natives near this bay, ſpeak as much broken *Engliſh* as enables them to exchange their cattle, poultry, milk, fruit, rice, ſalt, purſlain, potatoes, yams, fiſh, lances and ſhells, for our muſkets, powder, bullets, flints, clouties (which include handkerchiefs and linnen of all ſorts) beads, iron-pots, &c. Silver is in great eſteem with them; they call it *Ma-*

nila, and make it into bracelets for their wives: they pay but little regard to gold; if you offer it to them at the ſame time with ſilver, they never heſitate to prefer the latter. 1754.

On the right hand as you enter the bay, lives one Prince *William*; he is related, and tributary, to the king, yet in moſt caſes acts as an independant prince; and is always ſure to uſe his utmoſt endeavours with the officers of the ſhips that touch there, to pitch their tents on his ſide of the country, and to buy their proviſions of him, inſtead of the king or his ſubjects. In this prince's territories, not far diſtant from the ſea, are the remains of a fort, built by *Avery* the pirate.

His majeſty of *Baba* reſides in a town built with mud, which ſtands up the country, about twelve miles from *St. Auguſtine*'s *Bay*. About four days after our arrival, he came down with his family into our neighbourhood, and ſent his heir apparent on board, accompanied by the duke of *Baba*, and other great perſonages of his court, to congratulate the admiral on his arrival at *Madagaſcar*, and to know on what day he intended paying him a viſit. The admiral made each of theſe ambaſſadors a preſent of a pair of piſtols, a gun, a ſword, and ſome bottles of brandy; appointed a day for paying his reſpects to the king, and ſent them all aſhore in the higheſt ſpirits, and perfectly happy. On the day which had been fixed for his public audience, the admiral, attended by all the captains, and other officers of his ſquadron, walked about half a mile from our own tents down to thoſe of his majeſty, and was uſhered into the largeſt of them by the beat of two drums, which by the particular deſire of *Robin Hood* had been ſent from on board the *Kent*; this prime miniſter declaring, that as the admiral was a great man, and the king of *Baba* a great man alſo, the admiral ſhould bring his muſic to do honour to the king; and the king's muſic in return (which conſiſted only of two pair of great conch-ſhells) ſhould ſound in honour of the admiral. As nobody objected to this reaſonable propoſal, the admiral was received in the manner preſcribed by *Robin Hood*.

The king was about ſixty years of age, very corpulent, and had at that time a violent fit of the gout. He was ſitting on a graſs-mat ſpread on the ground, with a wrapper round his middle, and on his head he wore a *Dutch* grenadier's cap, a foot and a half high, faced with the arms of the *Dutch Eaſt India* company cut in braſs. He took the admiral by the hand, and enquired how King *George* did: when he was told that he was now in health, but had lately been in great affliction on account of the death of his eldeſt ſon; he feelingly replied, "*Ay, I have likewiſe loſt my Prince of Wales.*" He then enquired of the admiral, what preſents he had for him. Theſe, conſiſting of fire-arms, ſwords and ſpirituous liquors, were immediately given; but none ſeemed to pleaſe him ſo much as the brandy; he only found fault that there was not enough of it. His three queens, and many other

1754. ladies of the court, attended this meeting. They too had their preſents. And the admiral, to treat them, as he thought, the more genteely, ordered three or four dozen of bottles of white wine to be brought; but upon their taſting it, they ſpoke of it as inſipid, and, like the king, preferred brandy as the better liquor. Mr. *Watſon* apologized for his not having a greater ſtock of it; but aſſured them, and his majeſty of *Baba* alſo, that the *next time* he made this voyage, he would not fail to bring them a much larger quantity. Before the audience broke up, the king aſked the admiral, whether he had any doctor with him? who replied, yes. He then aſked, "*Is he a great doctor? A king's doctor?*" to which the admiral replied in the affirmative. "Let him, (rejoined the king) give me ſome *mahomets* (that is, ſome medicines) for my ſick knee." The admiral then ſpoke to me, who ſtood near him; when addreſſing myſelf to the king, I gave him my word, that he ſhould not be many days without them. The admiral having mentioned to the king of *Baba*, the proviſions he wanted for his ſquadron, the latter gave orders to his purſers, that we ſhould immediately be ſupplied with them: Then the admiral, after thanking the king for his civility and aſſiſtance, took his leave.

Before I cloſe this ſcene, I cannot omit deſcribing the groteſque dreſs and figure of one of the favourites at this court, who in his younger days had been in *England*, where he acquired a taſte for the *European* faſhions. They called him Captain *Tom Hill*; he was a little old man, had neither ſhoes, ſtockings, breeches, nor ſhirt on, but wore a wrapper round his thighs, and an old ſilk-waiſtcoat next his ſkin, ornamented with a bugle-fringe: An old tattered blue coat, an old grey tye-wig, a ſilver-laced hat, and a ſword without a ſcabbard, made up the remainder of his dreſs, and all together preſented a moſt ridiculous figure.

The generality of my readers, will probably look down with wonder and pity, if not with contempt, on the rude ſimplicity and unpoliſhed manners of the people now deſcribed: But let them turn back to the annals of our *Engliſh* hiſtory not two thouſand years ago, they will have the mortification to find the ancient *Britons* equally unacquainted with the polite arts, and quite as barbarous and uncivilized as the preſent *Madagaſcarians* *. And if our rude forefathers, by a perſevering virtue, a noble diſintereſtedneſs, and a paſſionate love for their country, could erect a kingdom, ſo capable of exciting admiration as we have now the happineſs to boaſt of; why ſhould not the deſcendants of the brave *Madagaſcarians*, at ſome future period, emulate the glory of our anceſtors, and lay the foundations of an empire great and extenſive as our own, and as much celebrated for the glory of its arms,

* Interiores plerique frumenta non ſerunt, ſed lacte & carne vivunt, pellibuſque ſunt veſtiti. Omnes verò ſe Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod cæruleum efficit colorem; atque hoc horribiliore ſunt in pugnâ adſpectu: capilloque ſunt promiſſo, atque omni parte corporis raſa, præter caput & labrum ſuperius. Uxores habent deni duodenique inter ſe communes, & maximè Fratres cum Fratribus, Parenteſque cum Liberis. Sed ſi qui ſunt ex his nati eorum habentur liberi, à quibus primum virgines quæque ductæ ſunt.

Cæſar. de Bello Gallico, Lib. v.

height

height of genius, and delicacy of taſte?—The preſumption is neither groundleſs nor extravagant; for the iſland of *Madagaſcar* is very fertile, and near a thouſand miles in length, and at its wideſt part, three hundred miles broad, ſituated in a healthy climate, full of the fineſt timber, and furniſhes many other valuable materials fit for ſhipping; by which her natives might be enabled to equip formidable fleets, extend their commerce over all the known part of the habitable world, and perhaps carry the terror of their arms into countries hitherto undiſcovered. Theſe iſlanders, likewiſe, are not at all deficient in that active and enterpriſing ſpirit ſo neceſſary for perfecting ſuch glorious undertakings. 1754.

Whilſt we continued on this iſland, we found ourſelves frequently robbed of our linnen, as it was hanging out to dry; yet it was always ſtolen in ſo artful and dexterous a manner that we never had it in our power to detect one ſingle culprit during the whole time of our being there. One poor wretch indeed, who was concerned in this kind of theft, making his eſcape with his booty over the river, unfortunately ſtuck in the mud, and was drowned. The following inſtance will ſhew the great preſence of mind, and exceeding dexterity of theſe iſlanders, in thieviſh exploits. One evening, as thirty or forty of our men were ſitting round a fire, boiling their victuals in their iron-pots, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of a thief's being near them; a *Madagaſcarian* with wonderful agility jumped over their heads into the circle, took one of the pots by the handle as it ſtood over the fire, and ran off with it towards the river: Our people, for a time continued looking on each other with amazement; but before any of them had ſo far recovered themſelves as to think of purſuing the thief, the fellow had made ſuch good uſe of his legs, as to be quite out of their reach.

Among the great variety of women, that daily reſorted to our tents, I obſerved one, who, as to her make and ſymmetry of features, was a perfect beauty. The Dutcheſs of *Baba* was alſo handſome; but the king's two daughters were far otherwiſe. The eldeſt of theſe two ladies was extremely coarſe in her perſon, and no leſs maſculine in her behaviour. The youngeſt was not quite ſo plain or maſculine as her ſiſter, tho' ſhe had not much delicacy to boaſt of: they were both unmarried. One of them had compleated her fortieth year; the other was not quite ſo old. They were of the company at court, when the admiral viſited their father; and ſoon afterwards, the eldeſt of theſe princeſſes condeſcended ſo far as to call upon the agent-victualler at his tent: She carried a heavy muſket on her ſhoulder, of which ſhe appeared to be extremely fond, talked with great pleaſure of the execution ſhe had done with it in times paſt; but as the lock of it was now ſpoiled, ſhe deſired the favour of him to get it put in proper repair for her; and added at the ſame time, that ſhe ſhould be much obliged to him for his kindneſs. In ſhort, our agent-victualler cauſed her muſket to be repaired, and ſeemed to ſtand very high in her good graces. But not many

1754. days paſſed, before he unfortunately fell into diſgrace, and too ſenſibly experienced the effects of her reſentment.——It happened thus.——

The admiral had thought it neceſſary to give the chief men of the iſland an entertainment on board his own ſhip; and at the time appointed for their coming, he ſent his barge to convey them to the *Kent*, giving orders, that none but men ſhould be admitted. The king's eldeſt daughter, notwithſtanding this injunction, was determined to make one of the company, and for that purpoſe repaired with the men to the water's edge. The agent-victualler had before told her, and now again repreſented to her the very great impropriety of a lady of her quality going on board the ſhip; and did not neglect to add, that as the admiral's commands were abſolute, he could not poſſibly allow her to go: All his remonſtrances availed nothing; for no ſooner had the barge reached the ſhore, and the ſtool was put upon the beach, but ſhe got upon it, and was advancing: The agent-victualler then took hold of her arm, and again remonſtrated, intreating her to deſiſt from her purpoſe; nay he offered to make her a preſent, provided ſhe would peaceably retire. But all his pleading was to no effect; it ſeemed, that ſhe had before determined what part to act: He then in poſitive terms declared, that ſhe ſhould not go, and with ſome difficulty pulled her from the ſtool to the ſhore. On this, ſhe not only greatly abuſed him with her tongue, but alſo gave him ſo violent a blow on one of his eyes with her fiſt, that he declared it to have been the ſevereſt he ever felt in his life. At laſt, however, he got the better in his troubleſome diſpute with this royal virago; who returned home in ſuch ill humour, that ſhe was never afterwards thoroughly reconciled to the agent-victualler, tho' he took ſome pains to be re-inſtated in her favour.

The younger of theſe princeſſes (as before obſerved) had alſo accompanied the king at the grand audience; and at that time was pleaſed to take ſo great a fancy to the perſon of one of the admiral's attendants, that ſhe ſignified her good liking the ſame evening, in a preſent ſhe ſent him of two couple of fowls, and ſome yams. The gentleman, to ſhew himſelf not inſenſible of ſo *great* a lady's favour, preſented her with an handkerchief in return, which he ſent by *Robin Hood*, who had been employed by her for the like purpoſe. The next day, the ſame meſſenger took the gentleman aſide, and told him, that the youngeſt princeſs was in love with him; that ſhe deſired he would come to her cabin at a certain hour of the night; and that he himſelf would accompany him, to ſhew him where the cabin ſtood.—The gentleman anſwered, that he could not poſſibly go, for at that time, and indeed for the whole night, he ſhould be particularly engaged. The following day, and for three or four days afterwards, the ſame ambaſſador was very importunate that due attention ſhould be paid to the condeſcenſion of the princeſs; and expatiated very largely on the great honour done to the gentleman in the preference which was given him by a king's daughter. The favourite on this declared himſelf not inſenſible hereof; but at length finding common excuſes

excuſes availed nothing, and being entirely at a loſs to frame new ones, he plainly told *Robin Hood*, that he need not give himſelf the trouble of coming any more; for to ſpeak the truth, he was a married man, and therefore could not accept of the princeſs's favours, without being guilty of a breach of that ſolemn vow which he had made and ratified at the altar. He then repeated ſeveral religious maxims which he had before talked over with *Robin Hood*, and ſtrengthened the force of thoſe maxims by a preſent of a piece of ſilver, and two handkerchiefs; not doubting but that by this well-timed bribe, he ſhould prevail upon him to become his advocate, and reconcile the princeſs to her diſappointment. — *Robin Hood*, tho' he took the preſent, ſaid very coldly, "that if it lay in his power, he would certainly pacify the lady's reſentment; but it would be a matter of great difficulty;" and often inſiſted on the very important conſideration, of her being the daughter of a great king. Several days paſſed after this, before any thing more was ſaid upon the ſubject between the meſſenger and the gentleman: at length the latter aſked the other, if all was right with the princeſs, and how ſhe had taken his poſitive refuſal? *Hood* replied, "I have been your friend, and told her your excuſes; but ſhe ſaid, that ſhe did not believe they were the true reaſons." He then mentioned what had been this *delicate* princeſs's ſuggeſtions upon the occaſion, which cannot be repeated; and added, "She was very angry, and called you bad names, but I have now, after a great deal of trouble, made her tolerably eaſy." — Thus ended this ſtrange negotiation!— 1754.

All the *Madagaſcarian* women, except thoſe who are very poor indeed, wear a covering over their breaſts and ſhoulders, ornamented with glaſs beads; and none go without a cloth over their hips. They commonly walk with a ſlender, long ſtick, or rod. The men are allowed to have as many wives as they pleaſe, or can ſupport. The king has three; the Duke of *Baba* but one; *John Anderſon* two. Their children, they often name after any *Engliſh* officers, who happen to be there at the time of their wives pregnancy, or delivery. One of *John Anderſon*'s wives was with child, while we were there; and he aſſured Sir *William Hewet*, that if ſhe brought him a boy, he would give the child his name and title.

The men often preſent (or, as they term it, *ſalamanca*) you with an ox, calf, goat, &c. and in return expect to receive its full value in ſilver, or ſome other commodity. They without ſcruple tell you, in their broken jargon, "*If you my friend, I your friend. You no my friend, I no your friend. I ſalamanca you, you ſalamanca me.*" Their wives, without reſtraint, viſit you in your tents, with or without their huſbands, and make you preſents on the ſame footing as do their huſbands. If a wife is ſurprized by her huſband in the act of adultery, we were told, he never fails to put her and her gallant to death; but if they are diſcovered by any other perſon, the crime is ſometimes compounded by a preſent of cattle, or ſlaves. Theſe are the chief, if not only riches of the *Madagaſcarians*, for they have no money; and except

1754. except thoſe who inhabit the *Mud Town*, they all live either in mat-cabins, or huts made with boughs. The grandees have a fence round their cottages, with a court-yard, and diſtinct apartments for their different wives and children, as well as for their ſlaves.

During our ſtay at this iſland, I obſerved with great concern ſeveral miſerable objects in the laſt ſtages of the venereal diſeaſe. They had not been able to find any cure; and as far as I could learn, their doctors are totally ignorant of medicine. The only method they uſe for curing all complaints, as well outward hurts, as inward diſeaſes, is the wearing on their arm or neck a particular charm or amulet; or beſmearing the part afflicted, with earth moiſtened with the juice of ſome tree or plant, and made up into a ſoft paſte.

The country, beſides large timber-trees of different kinds, abounds alſo with a variety of ſhrubs, and ſucculent plants. The ſugar-canes are as thick as a ſtout man's wriſt, and ſo full of juice, that a foot of them in length will weigh two pounds, being much larger and finer than any in the *Weſt Indies*. When the *Madagaſcarians* travel, they take a ſugar cane on their backs to ſubſiſt upon, which will ſerve them two or three days. The tamarind tree grows in great plenty; the leaves of which are like our common fern: The tree is about the ſize of an Engliſh pear-tree, and not much unlike it. The fruit is contained in pods about the ſize of thoſe of the bean, which, when fit to gather, are brown, hard and brittle.

A good beginning for a collection of curious ſhells might be made on the ſhore of this iſland; they are now much more ſcarce all over *India*, than they were formerly. — The *Tabularia*, a baſtard kind of coral, is found here.

The rivers, beſides their abounding with great quantities of excellent fiſh, are full of alligators of an enormous ſize. The duke of *Baba* frequently accompanied our parties in ſhooting at them; and when our gentlemen in one of theſe excurſions came to a creek, which they were obliged to ford, his Grace, to ſave them the trouble of undreſſing, with great good-nature took them one by one upon his back, and carried them over: He was a briſk, little man, about 28 years old, nephew to the king, and was particularly fond of a drum which had been given him by Commodore (late Admiral) *Griffin*, on which he could beat a march and the reveillée with great dexterity.

The iſland produces a great plenty of Guinea-hens; and all the rocks round about, both in Prince *Will*'s and in the king's country, are ſtocked with an abundance of *mococks*; which is an innocent, pretty animal, of the ſquirrel kind, about the ſize of a cat, with a ſharp head, like a young fox, a long buſhy tail, black and white hair of exceeding delicacy and ſoftneſs: It has feet like the monkey, and uſually ſits like that creature on its breech and

and two hind legs, baſking, with its belly expoſed to the ſun. Its tricks are of the monkey kind. Guanas, chamæleons, ſerpents, tarantulas, and a kind of bats, called flying foxes, are found here: their wings from the tip of one, to the extremity of the other, are five or ſix feet, and they are a foot and half in breadth. 1754.

But the moſt extraordinary thing on the whole iſland, is the innumerable quantity of locuſts it abounds with. Theſe riſe from the low lands in thick clouds, which are ſometimes extended to an incredible length and diſtance. The natives eat theſe inſects, and even prefer them to their fineſt fiſh. Their method of dreſſing them, is, to ſtrip off their legs and wings, and fry them in oil *."

It has been generally ſuppoſed, that a mixture of the *Mahometan* and *Pagan* religion is profeſſed in this iſland; but tho' this may be true, yet during our ſtay here, we ſaw no ſigns of the firſt: the word *mahomets* indeed is frequently uſed by the natives, under which general term, they include all kinds of medicine, every ſort of charm or amulet, and alſo a ſacrifice and prayer: hence it ſeems as if ſome account of the religion of *Mahomet* had reached the iſland in paſt ages, from the neighbouring continent; and alſo that it had been favourably received by the natives, though the preſent generation appeared to be entirely unacquainted with its principles and rites. I took ſome pains to acquaint myſelf with their religious tenets; and they appear to worſhip one univerſal Father, whom, when they ſpeak in *Engliſh*, they call *God*, and in whom, they conceive to reſide all kind of perfection. The ſun they look upon as a glorious body, and I believe, as a ſpiritual Being, but created and dependent. They frequently look up to it with wonder, if not with praiſe and adoration. They make their ſupplications to the One *Almighty*, and offer ſacrifices to him in their diſtreſſes.

I had the curioſity to attend a ſacrifice at the hut of *John Anderſon*, whoſe father had for a long time been afflicted with ſickneſs. At about ſun-ſet, an ox was brought into the yard, and the ſon, who officiated as prieſt, ſlew it; an altar was reared nigh, and the poſt of it was ſprinkled with the blood of the victim. The head, after it's being ſevered from the body,

* This cuſtom of eating locuſts among the *Madagaſcarians*, will determine that queſtion about which learned men have ſo long diſputed, what food *John the Baptiſt* did eat when he lived in the deſert? Whether the Ἀκρίδες of this holy man were locuſts, according to the literal ſenſe of the word in all *Grecian* authors, or whether theſe Ἀκρίδες were the fruit of ſome tree, or a ſpecies of birds? The firſt, has been the opinion of all interpreters of the ſcriptures, who attended merely to the contents; others, who were for ſhewing their critical and refined genius, have aſſerted, that *John Baptiſt* never did eat locuſts, for they are an unnatural food, never were uſed by any, and not adapted for ſuſtenance. But if locuſts are at this day eaten by the natives of *Madagaſcar*, as they truly are, and alſo by many beſides, why may not the *Baptiſt* have lived on the ſame inſect, according to the goſpel hiſtory? and which needs no alteration. Ἀκρίδες will always remain what they have been, and the greateſt ſkill and labour will never change them to birds or fruit. See *Haſſelquiſt*'s Travels.

was

1754. was placed, with the horns on, at the foot of the altar: the cawl was burned in the fire, and moſt of the pluck and entrails boiled in a pot. The ſick man, who was brought to the door, and placed on the ground ſo as to face the ſacrifice, prayed often, and ſeemingly with great fervency: his eyes were fixed attentively towards the heavens, and his hands held up in a ſupplicating poſture. The ceremony ended with the ſon's cutting up the ox into ſmall pieces, the greateſt part of which he diſtributed among the poor ſlaves belonging to his father and himſelf, reſerving however ſome of the beſt pieces for his own uſe. Upon the whole, I ſaw ſo many circumſtances in this *Madagaſcarian* ſacrifice, ſo exactly reſembling thoſe which are mentioned in the Old Teſtament as offered up by the *Jews*, that I could not turn my thoughts back to the original, without being ſenſibly ſtruck at the exactneſs of the copy.

It happened fortunately for me, who conſtantly reſided at the ſick tents aſhore, that at the requeſt of ſeveral officers of our ſquadron, who promiſed to accompany me, and intended themſelves much innocent pleaſantry in ſinging the grand chorus anthem of *God ſave the king*, *long live the king*, on the occaſion, I had delayed giving his majeſty of *Baba* the medicines I had promiſed him; for the very night following that, in which I was to have delivered them, he died ſuddenly. Now, tho' his death, by all the accounts we could pick up, was certainly occaſioned by a violent fit of the gout in his head, and which probably was brought on by the too free uſe, and inebriating, inflammatory quality of the brandy, which he had been preſented with; yet there is no room to doubt, but that his loyal and reſentful ſubjects would have imputed his demiſe to another cauſe, and revenged themſelves on me as the poiſoner of their king, had he chanced to have taken the ſmalleſt quantity of my medicines.

The chiefs ſeemed deeply concerned at this ſudden and unexpected event, and were very deſirous that the king's death ſhould be kept a profound ſecret: But finding this impoſſible, about 11 o'clock of the ſame evening in which he died, they repaired to the Mud Town, carrying with them the corpſe of their late monarch, and were accompanied by the ſeveral branches of the royal family. But before their departure, they took care to ſet fire to every one of their tents. All the inhabitants in the neighbourhood ſoon followed the example of the court in repairing to the Mud Town, and left not the leaſt thing behind them, ſave the dogs of the village, which made ſuch a hideous howling all the night, that it was impoſſible for any of us to get a wink of ſleep: but we had another reaſon to prevent our taking any repoſe, and that was, our having obſerved the moſt evident marks of great diſorder amongſt the natives, which we thought obliged us, for our own ſafety, to keep a watchful guard the whole night. *Frederick Martin*, before he went off, came to take his leave of us, and begged with great earneſtneſs for a freſh ſupply of gun-powder: he whiſpered that the king was dead, and that in all probability they ſhould go to war about making another. We had been before

told that the Duke of *Baba* would certainly ſucceed to the throne; but we afterwards learned, that *Philibey* the general, having eſpouſed the cauſe of *Raphani* the late king's ſon, and taken him under his tutelage and protection; this youth, who was only ſixteen years of age, ſucceeded his father as King of *Baba*. 1754.

It was a lucky circumſtance for us, that our agent-victualler had, before this event of the king's death, amply furniſhed all the ſhips of the ſquadron with freſh proviſions; for as after that event all kind of buſineſs was at a ſtand, we conſequently ſhould elſe have been under a neceſſity of going to *Johanna* or ſome other port to have taken in the remainder of our ſupplies.

It may be of uſe to future navigators to be informed, that no good water is to be had at *St. Auguſtine*, unleſs they ſend their boat four or five miles up the river; and inſtead of filling their caſks at low water (as is the caſe in moſt other rivers) they muſt begin to fill here at about a quarter's flood. The reaſon aſſigned for it, is, that the river has a communication with the ſea at other places, as well as with this channel of *St. Auguſtine's Bay*; and by experience it has been found, that the ſea water brought into the river by the flood tide, is not diſcharged till a quarter's flood of the next tide in *St. Auguſtine's Bay*; and for three miles at leaſt up the river, the water is always very brackiſh, if not quite ſalt.

I cannot finiſh my obſervations on this iſland, without hinting, that ſuch quantities of limes and oranges grow here, the largeſt caſks may be eaſily filled with their juices, and that at a very ſmall expence, as they may be purchaſed with iron-pots, muſkets, powder, ball, flints, &c. &c. It is ſufficiently evident, that a ſmall quantity of theſe juices mixed daily with the ſeamen's common drink, would in great meaſure prevent their falling into the ſcurvy; a diſeaſe ſo frequently attending all long voyages, and which by ſad experience has been known to have deprived the nation of many more valuable men, than hath all the power of the enemy. It is, therefore, an object highly worthy the attention of government, that every ſhip of war, which ſhall happen to touch at this iſland, be provided with the juices of the lime and orange at the public expence; with the addition of ſuch a quantity of rum, or other ſpirits, as ſhall be neceſſary to preſerve the juice from corruption. During our ſtay here, I procured and preſerved about half a hogſhead full, which proved, as will be ſeen hereafter, of eſſential ſervice to the *Kent*'s crew againſt the ſcurvy, both before and after the ſquadron got into the *Ganges*.

As the accounts hitherto given of this part of *Madagaſcar*, its productions, &c. by all former writers, have been very ſuperficial and imperfect, I preſume the ſupplying this deficiency, will at leaſt merit the indulgence of the reader.

CHAP. II.

Admiral Watſon *leaves* Madagaſcar, *and arrives at* Fort St. David.—*An account of that ſettlement, of the Chamæleon, animated Stalk, &c.—Deſcription of the inhabitants, their perſons, habits and coins.—Liſt of the different* Caſts *into which the* Indians *divide themſelves, with a ſhort account of their particular cuſtoms,* &c.

1754. ON the ſeventh of *Auguſt*, having compleated our ſtock of water, and taken in as many live cattle as we could ſtow, with a large quantity of limes and ſour oranges, we left the iſland of *Madagaſcar*; ſteering the proper courſe for our *Eaſt India* ſettlements. *September* the 5th, we ſaw *Fryars Hood* in the iſland of *Ceylon*; and on the 10th of the ſame month we anchored in *Fort St. David*'s road. The 13th, Admiral *Watſon* on the part of his majeſty, entered into a written contract with me, for the eſtabliſhing an hoſpital in the ſeveral ſettlements of *India*, into which I was to receive the ſick and hurt of the ſquadron, and provide them with medicinal and ſurgical aſſiſtance, and alſo with proviſions, nurſes, &c. &c.

On the appearance of our ſquadron, with the king's regiment, Monſ. *Godeheu*, who had juſt landed at *Pondicherry* from *France*, and ſuperſeded Monſ. *Dupleix* in his authority, moderated the high terms he had before inſiſted on with our countrymen, and quickly agreed with Mr. *Saunders*, (the company's governor at *Fort St. George*) that a ſuſpenſion of arms between the *companies*, and their reſpective *allies*, ſhould take place, commencing on the 11th of *October*, and to continue until the 11th of *January* following: ſo that, to our great ſurprize, inſtead of being employed on the objects of war, we had nothing to do but look about us; and partake of that variety of amuſements, which ſtrangers muſt ever find in a country ſo diſtant, and ſo different from their own.

Fort St. David is a ſmall, but ſtrong and regular fortification, built on a riſing ground, about a mile from the Black-Town, which is called *Cuddalore*. This laſt has a wall running round it, with the addition of a few baſtions, but is too large even for all the Engliſh troops on the coaſt properly to defend. In it, reſide the greateſt part of the native Indian inhabitants of *Fort St. David*'s boundaries. Both the town, and the fort, are ſituated near the ſea ſide; *Cuddalore* lying almoſt due ſouth from the fort. The extent of this ſettlement's boundaries, are, towards the land, about four miles, and three along the ſea ſide: the former are pointed out by a thick hedge of the aloe

aloe plant, and cocoa-nut tree, having baſtions of ſix or eight guns, at about three-fourths of a mile from each other. In one of theſe little forts, deputy Governor *Starke* had fitted up a pleaſant apartment, and to which he frequently retired from *Fort St. David.* 1754.

The country within the boundaries is very pleaſant, and the air fine, having ſeldom any fogs. In the diſtrict are many neat houſes with gardens; the latter were laid out with much good taſte by the gentlemen, who either had been, or were in the company's ſervice. Theſe gardens produce fruits of different ſorts, ſuch as pine-apples, oranges, limes, pomegranates, plantaines, bananoes, mangoes, guavas, (red and white,) bedams (a ſort of almond) pimple-noſes, called in the *Weſt Indies*, chadocks, a very fine large fruit of the citron-kind, but of four or five times it's ſize, and many others. At the end of each gentleman's garden, there is generally a ſhady grove of cocoa-nut trees. Theſe gardens yield alſo many of the *European* kitchen plants, the ſeeds of which are either ſent from *England*, or from the *Cape of Good Hope*; as celery, lettuce, onions, parſley, mint, artichokes, and ſpinage. They have alſo a common plant of the country, not unlike ſpinage, which grows without any culture, and by our ſeamen is called *Cullaloe*. Radiſhes are to be had in great plenty; they are large, and of a white colour; when boiled, their reliſh is better than an indifferent turnip. Colliflowers and cabbages alſo grow here, but not in any plenty. Grapes are very ſcarce; indeed they never flouriſh in any of thoſe hot countries that lie within 25, or even 30 degrees of the equinoctial. Probably we had never known that they grew in *Egypt*, but for the following lines in Virgil and Horace.

" *Sunt Thaſiæ vites, ſunt et Mareotides albæ.*" Georg. lib. ii.

" *Mentemque lymphatam* Mareotico
" *Redegit in veros timores*
" *Cæſar.*" Lib. i. ode 37.

I met with two very curious animals here at *Fort St. David.* The firſt was a *Chamæleon*, which is ſaid to live upon air; probably this notion took its riſe, from their remarkable ſwelling and contracting their bodies in the office of reſpiration. The *Chamæleon* which I had in my poſſeſſion, was a very fine one, and along the back ran a rough ridge like ſo many beads, ſhining very bright. I frequently put it upon white paper, but could never obſerve that it altered to that colour. I ſometimes kept my eyes ſtedfaſtly fixed upon it for half an hour, but never perceived the leaſt alteration in colour, unleſs I waved my hand over its back, or offered to touch it. The creature always appeared moſt beautiful when frightened. Whenever I peeped into the baſket where it was kept, it was of one colour, a faint, yellowiſh green, with a mixture of meal, as if a little flour had been thrown over it; after I had ſtood half a minute, a few duſky ſpots on the ſides, and ſtripes acroſs the back, would be ſure to appear: when touched, it would hiſs, which dilated the body to a prodigious ſize; the mealineſs

1754. then went off, and the whole body appeared of a bright yellow; alſo the ſtripes on its back, and the ſpots on the ſides and belly, turned quite black: ſo that if you looked upon it one way, on the back, it had the appearance of a perch or a pilot-fiſh: if you took a ſide view, the ſpots reſembled thoſe of a cowry-ſhell *. The ſocket of the eye was remarkably large, in which it turned and rolled about the ball with great quickneſs, but the creature had the ſmalleſt ſight or pupil I ever beheld; on its head was a kind of crown, not unlike that of an old hen or *galena* bird; the mouth was ugly and remarkably large. The Chamæleon had a ſurprizing pouch *(gula ſaccata)* under its throat; I put ſeveral flies and graſhoppers into the baſket, but it refuſed to eat, till I forced them into its mouth, and then it chewed and ſwallowed very regularly. It is an oviparous creature, ſeldom leaving off till it has laid forty or fifty eggs; and in this reſpect as well as in the ſimilarity of its ſhape, it reſembles the *Crocodile*.

The other remarkable animal which I met with at *Cuddalore*, was the *animated Stalk*, of which there are different kinds. Some appear like dry ſtraws tied together; others like graſs. Some have bodies much thicker than others, with the addition of two ſcaly imperfect wings; their neck is no bigger than a pin, but twice as long as their bodies. Their heads are like an hare's, and their eyes are vertical and very briſk. They live upon flies, which they catch very dexterouſly with the two fore feet, which they keep doubled up in three parts cloſe to their head, and dart out very quick on the approach of their prey; and when they have caught it, they eat very voraciouſly, holding it in the ſame manner as a ſquirrel does its food. On the outer joints of the fore feet are ſeveral hooks, very ſharp for the eaſier catching and holding their prey; with the other feet, which are four in number, they take hold of trees or any other thing, the better to ſurprize whatever they lie in wait for. They drink like a horſe, putting their mouths into the water. Their excrements, which are very white, are almoſt as large as the body of the animal, and (as the natives ſay) dangerous to the eyes.

The ſparrows on this coaſt, and over all *India*, are exactly the ſame as thoſe we have in *England*. Here are many birds like yellow-hammers, which build their neſts very artfully, hanging them on the extremity of the leaves of trees. Their neſts have a hole at the bottom, and another near the top; which demonſtrates the ſagacity of theſe little animals, in thus ſecuring to themſelves a ſafe retreat from the attack of an enemy. The neſt appears like a cabbage-net ſtuffed with ſtraw, and is faſtened to the end of the leaf †.

In

* A ſmall ſhell which paſſes in *India* for money; from 4000 to 4800 go to a rupee.

† On the iſland of *Madagaſcar* I ſaw ſeveral exceeding ſmall birds called the *Taylor* bird, and I took from the extreme point of ſome leaves, three of their curious little neſts, one of which contained three eggs of the ſize of the ſmalleſt pea. We have the following account of this bird in *Pennant's Indian Zoology*.——"The birds of the torrid zone, having a certain preſcience of the

In the neighbourhood of the agreeable retreats before mentioned, are many pleaſant rows of the ever-green tulip tree, which are planted through great part of the boundaries, in the ſame manner as the elms in *St. James's Park*. At ſome little diſtance from one of theſe walks, is a building, belonging to the company, and deſigned for the governor, called "the garden-houſe." It is roomy, handſome and well built; and has a very good and large garden belonging to it, with long and pleaſant avenues of trees in the back and front. 1764.

At the time we were at *Fort St. David*, the governor, and a few other gentlemen of the ſettlement, kept a chaiſe and a pair of horſes; ſome drove a two wheel chaiſe with a ſingle horſe, and others were content to take the air on horſeback. Since that time however, the number of carriages is greatly increaſed. Almoſt all the *Europeans* reſident in *India* keep their *Palanquin*, which is a covered machine with cuſhions in it, arched in the middle, to give more room, and air, and is carried on the ſhoulders of four or ſix men; the expence attending it, is not leſs than thirty pounds ſterling a year. This piece of *Eaſtern* luxury therefore has been forbidden by the company to their youngeſt ſervants. Some years before our arrival in the country, they found ſuch ſumptuary laws ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that they gave the ſtricteſt orders, that none of theſe young gentlemen ſhould be allowed even to hire a *Roundel-boy*; whoſe buſineſs, is, to walk by his maſter, and defend him with his *Roundel* or *Umbrella* from the heat of the ſun. A young fellow of humour, upon this laſt order coming over, altered the form of his *Umbrella* from a round to a ſquare, called it a *Squaredel* inſtead of a *Roundel*, and inſiſted that no order yet in force, forbad him the uſe of it. Theſe orders, no doubt, were given with a view of preſerving œconomy among the young people; whoſe circumſtances were ſuppoſed not able to ſupport ſuch expences; and whoſe extravagancies in this and many other particulars had occaſioned their contracting ſuch debts with the natives, as they were not able to diſcharge. So far it muſt be allowed, that the company acted very laudably; but at the ſame

the dangers that ſurround them, and of their own weakneſs, ſuſpend their neſts at the extreme branches of the trees; they are conſcious of inhabiting a climate replete with enemies to them and their young; as, with ſnakes that twine up the bodies of the trees, and apes that are perpetually in ſearch of prey; but, Heaven-inſtructed, they elude the gliding of the one, and the activity of the other.

The brute creation are more at enmity here than in other climates, and the birds are obliged to exert unuſual artifice in placing their little brood out of the reach of the invader. Each aims at the ſame end, tho' by different means; ſome form their penſile neſt in ſhape of a purſe, deep, and open at top; others with a hole in the ſide, and others, ſtill more cautious, with an entrance at the very bottom, forming their lodge near the ſummit.

But the little ſpecies we deſcribe (the *Taylor* bird) ſeems to have greater diffidence than any of the others: it will not truſt its neſt even to the extremity of a ſlender twig, but one more advance to ſafety, by fixing it to the leaf itſelf. It picks up a dead leaf, and, ſurprizing to relate, ſews it to the ſide of a living one; its ſlender bill being the needle, and its thread ſome fine fibres; the lining, feathers, goſſamer, and down."

1754. time, as the *Fort*, *Cuddalore*, and ſeveral other *black towns*, in which the company's buſineſs is tranſacted, ſtand at a great diſtance from each other, and it is almoſt impoſſible for a gentleman juſt arrived from *England*, to walk from one to the other of theſe places in the hot months, without getting an inflammatory fever; were it only from motives of humanity, it is to be wiſhed, that this moſt reſpectable body of merchants would, at their own expence, allow all their ſervants not only the uſe of *Umbrellas*, but alſo of *Palanquins*; ſince it muſt always be judged a duty incumbent on the conſtituents to take as much care as poſſible of the lives of their dependants in any of our diſtant ſettlements, but more eſpecially in this unhealthy part of the world.

The preſidency of all our ſettlements on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, was ſeated at *Madraſs*, until the taking of that place by the *French* in the year 1746. From that time, it was eſtabliſhed at *Fort St. David*, and continued there till about the year 1752, when it was removed back to *Madraſs*; at the ſame time, however, orders were iſſued by the *Eaſt India* Company, that a ſubordinate council ſhould be ſtill held at *Fort St. David*, under a deputy governor, who in rank was to be the next ſenior ſervant to the governor of *Fort St. George*. The ſecond of this council was ordered to be of the rank of a councillor at the preſidency; the remainder of the aſſembly was to be made up of gentlemen, whoſe ſtanding in the ſervice was that of ſenior or junior merchants. At our arrival in *India*, *Richard Starke* Eſq; was deputy governor; *Thomas Cooke* Eſq; was ſecond; Meſſ. *Robert Sloper*, *Richard Fairfield*, and *Richard Norris*, were of the council; and Mr. *Call* acted as engineer *.

The coins we meet with at *Fort St. David*, are,

		l.	*s.*	*d.*	
Pagodas, a gold coin, equal to	—	0	8	0	Sterling.
Rupees, a ſilver coin, equal to	—	0	2	3	
Fanams, a ſilver coin, equal to	—	0	0	3	
Caſh, a copper coin, equal to	—	0	0	1	

A 36 ſhilling piece changes for 18 *Rupees*.
An *Engliſh* crown piece - for 26 *Fanams*.
A *Spaniſh* dollar - - - for 25 *Fanams*.

All the above coins differ ſomewhat in their value, at different times.

The natives on this coaſt are black, but of different ſhades. Both men and women have long ſhining black hair, which has not the leaſt tendency to wool, like that of the *Guinea negroes*. You cannot indeed affront them more,

* In *June* 1758 *Fort St. David* was taken and demoliſhed by the *French*; ſince that time it has never been rebuilt. Mr. *Call* firſt went into *India* as pupil to the late very ingenious Mr. *Benjamin Robins*, and did great honour to his preceptor, as well as ſervice to his country, in his ſkilful defence as engineer of *Fort St. George*, when it was beſieged by the *French* in the years 1758 and 1759, under the command of Monſ. *Lally*.

than to call them by the name of *negroe*, as they conceive it implies an idea of ſlavery. The habit of the common men is only a piece of rag round their hips. The women in general wear a ſaſh of different colours, about four yards long, and ſomewhat more than a yard wide. They turn it round their waiſt lengthways, letting the breadth hang down, which forms a kind of petticoat; then they bring the remaining part over their left ſhoulder acroſs the body, and finiſh where they began: this forms a tolerably decent dreſs, as the part that comes over the ſhoulders, quite covers the breaſts. The children never wear any cloaths, till they are five or ſix years of age. Their method of carrying them, is not, like our's, in the arms, but acroſs their hips. None of them know the uſe of a pair of ſtays, and very few of them are any way deformed. The men in general are tall and well-ſhaped, and yet very timorous and puſillanimous. They are ill calculated for war, and except when they are led on by the *Engliſh* or other *Europeans*, ſeldom make any great figure in the field. Their beſt troops are the *Rajpout* ſoldiers, who are greatly inured to watching, faſting, and hardſhips: upon a march, and at all other times, their bed is no more than the ſwath that goes round their middle, ſpread on the bare ground; and their cartridge box ſerves them for a pillow to lay their heads on; and yet with all their military diſcipline, they never make any ſtand, when oppoſed to the regular forces brought from *Europe*. 1754.

The *Gentoo* or *Pagan* religion principally prevails among the *Indians*, of whom they reckon up a great number of what they call *caſts*, or tribes, which all preſerve their particular cuſtoms, and never interfere with each other. I ſhall here ſet down a liſt of the ſeveral caſts, into which the people over *India* divide themſelves, with a brief account of their particular cuſtoms.

The moſt honourable of the caſts, is that of the Brahmins. Theſe are generally prieſts, and by their office have great influence over the minds of the people. They lead very abſtemious lives; and as they admit the *Metempſychoſis*, and believe that the ſouls of men tranſmigrate into the bodies of beaſts, they religiouſly abſtain from the fleſh of all animals. They abhor alſo the propitiatory ſacrifice of brutes, and yet ſome of them admit of another ſacrifice infinitely more cruel and inexcuſable, I mean offering up the wife to the *manes* of her dead huſband *. The admiral and ſeveral other gentlemen of our ſquadron, were preſent at one of theſe ſacrifices, and were all greatly affected at the ſight. Mr. *Watſon* diſcovering, as he imagined, ſome ſigns of reluctance in the woman, while ſhe was advancing towards the funeral pile; ordered his interpreter to go and aſk her, whether ſhe voluntarily devoted herſelf to the flames? Aſſuring her, that if ſhe was compelled to do it, he would inter-

* Mulieres in Indiâ, cùm eſt cujuſque earum Vir mortuus, in certamen judiciumque veniunt, quam plurimum ille dilexerit: plures enim ſingulis ſolent eſſe nuptæ. Quæ eſt victrix ea læta, proſequentibus ſuis, una cùm Viro in rogum imponitur: illa victa, mæſta diſcedit.
Cic. Tuſc. Queſt. lib. 5. n. 78.

poſe,

1754. poſe, and ſave her. He deſired, that ſhe would unreſervedly ſpeak the real ſentiments of her heart; that if ſhe choſe to live, ſhe had only to ſay ſo; that he would take care to ſecure her from the reſentment of the *Brahmins* on one hand, and from the reproaches of her relations on the other; and ſettle ſo ample a proviſion upon her, that for the future ſhe ſhould be enabled to live quite independent of her family, and enjoy every comfort of life. The poor woman was by no means inſenſible of Mr. *Watſon*'s kindneſs; ſhe deſired the interpreter to return him her moſt grateful thanks; but withal to aſſure him, that ſhe was about to die, both voluntarily and chearfully. She ſoon afterwards placed herſelf at full length on a platform, which had been erected for the purpoſe; folded her arms round the neck and breaſt of the corpſe, with the greateſt tranquility and compoſure continued the embrace, until both their bodies were covered with the firewood heaped upon them: then their neareſt relation put fire to the pile, which was no ſooner lighted, than the *Brahmins*, ſeconded by the multitude, made a loud noiſe, and continued it as long as they ſuppoſed any life could remain in the victim. This was done, probably, to prevent the woman's ſhrieks from being heard. The admiral and the company left the place with an exceeding dejection of ſpirits; while the natives, (more eſpecially the *Brahmins*) rejoiced and triumphed in this diabolical rite *. The *Brahmins* in many points retain the tenets of the ancient *Brachmans*, who lived in this part of the world, and of whom ſo many incredible particulars are related by the *Greek* and *Roman* hiſtorians. Doctor *Hyde*, in his hiſtory of the religion of the antient *Perſians*, obſerves †, that this people implicitly believed their religion was the ſame as *Abraham*'s, and that they had received it from him, and by way of boaſting, they called it, *Religio Abrahami*. He alſo gives it as his opinion, that the ancient *Brachmans* and modern *Brahmins*, derived their names from *Abrâhâm*, or rather *Brâhâm*, which is the common way of pronouncing that word amongſt the *Perſians*.

The next in rank are the RAJAHS, the title of the ancient kings or ſovereigns of the country; ſome of theſe *Rajahs* by ſhutting themſelves up in the mountains, ſtill remain independent of the *Mogul* government. During the former reigns of the *Rajahs*, it is ſaid, *India* was in a ſtate of perfect innocence.

* Mr. *Rollin*, in the 7th volume of his ancient hiſtory, makes the following reflections on a ſacrifice of this kind:

"The action of this woman, was undoubtedly a real murder, and might juſtly be conſidered as a violation of the moſt expreſs law of nature, which prohibits all attempts on a perſon's own life; and commands us not to diſpoſe of it in compliance with the dictates of caprice, or forget that it is only a depoſit, which ought to be reſigned to none but that being from whom we received it. Such a ſacrifice is ſo far from deſerving to be enumerated among the inſtances of reſpect and amity due to a huſband; that he is rather treated as an unrelenting and bloody idol, by the immolation of ſuch precious victims."

† De Religione veterum Perſarum, cap. ii.

MORATTAS,

MORATTAS, or MAHARATTAS;—Theſe are a powerful people, and inhabit the *Malabar* as well as the *Coromandel* coaſt. They are chiefly horſemen, and may be juſtly termed the *Swiſs* of *India*, for they let out their troops to hire, and always fight in ſupport of that party which pays them beſt. 1754.

POLYGARS and MOTRES are a ſet of people who live in the woods, and, we are told, make not the leaſt ſcruple to plunder every one that comes in their way. Theſe are all independant of the *Mogul* government.

BANIANS are a very rigid caſt. Theſe (like the BRAHMINS) never eat of any thing that has had life, and never preſume to kill even the moſt deſpicable animal. They have their hoſpitals for monkies, ſnakes, &c.—A few of them alſo retain the horrid cuſtom of burning the living wife with the dead huſband. They are merchants, brokers, farmers, &c.—The head ſervants in *Bengal* are likewiſe called *Baniáns*.

NIERS on the *Malabar* coaſt, are of the firſt caſt. They are always gentlemen; behave with great haughtineſs towards their poor countrymen, and diſtinguiſh their ſuperior rank by wearing a ſword, and carrying a particular kind of ſtick in their hand, different from thoſe uſed by the common people. On the *Coromandel* coaſt, theſe NIERS do not carry themſelves quite ſo high, but are contented to act in the capacity of merchants, nay they are ſometimes obliged to take up with much humbler profeſſions. Some of them call themſelves *chriſtians*, and ſay their anceſtors were made ſo by St. *Thomas*. They add, that the chriſtian religion once flouriſhed among them in its greateſt purity, and that they were governed by a Patriarch; but the *Portugueſe* having murdered this holy man, chriſtianity fell with him; for they could not but prefer even idolatry itſelf to a religion whoſe profeſſors could commit ſo atrocious a crime.

CHOWLIES are eſteemed learned men, and in general are merchants. The common people ſuppoſe that they have the power of life and death in their hands, and that they are very powerful in enchantments.

CHITTIES are a particular kind of merchants at *Madraſs*, and are generally very rich, but rank with the *left hand caſt*, and are not permitted to be carried in their *Palanquin* through the ſtreet of the *right hand caſt*, although many of the latter are only ſervants.

PARRIAHS are the loweſt caſt on the *Coromandel* coaſt: both men and women perform the moſt ſervile offices, and eat and drink of whatever they can get, without ſcruple.

FROSTS on the *Malabar* coaſt are much the ſame as *Parriahs* on the *Coromandel*, but perhaps in ſome reſpects they are ſtill more deſpicable. They will feed heartily on any animal though it dies of itſelf.

1754. HARRIES are the ſame at *Bengal*, as *Froſts* are at *Bombay*. Their women do all the drudgery at your houſes, and the men carry your *Palanquin*.

NIADDE and PULLIE are two low caſts on the *Malabar* coaſt, and who are held in ſuch contempt, that the other natives will not ſuffer them to come near them. When they have occaſion to purchaſe any thing, they are obliged to call aloud at a diſtance, and ſet down their baſket with the money in it; then the ſeller advances, and puts in what they want, and after he is gone from the ſpot, the buyer comes, and carries it away. Their common employment is looking after cattle: they are never permitted to ſleep on the earth, but in trees. If only the breath of one of them were accidentally to come acroſs a *Nier*, the latter would not fail inſtantly to put him to death. To avoid this, when they ſee a *Nier* coming towards them, they take care to get out of his way. They are never ſuffered to come near the towns, but on one particular day in the year, when they are ſure to get together in crowds, and if they can be ſo fortunate as to throw dirt on any woman that paſſes by, ſhe immediately becomes their ſlave, let her be of whatever caſt *.

SHACKELAYS, are ſhoemakers, and held in the ſame deſpicable light on the *Coromandel* coaſt, as the *Niadde* and *Pullie* are on the *Malabar*.

Theſe are the *caſts*, by which the natives are diſtinguiſhed all over *India*; but theſe are alſo branched out into ſo great a number of diſtinctions, that they can hardly be enumerated; tho' they all pay particular reſpect, and obſerve different forms of ceremony to caſts of ſuperior rank to themſelves. In general, it is remarked, that whatever be the trade of the father, the ſame is that of the ſon: ſo that the families of boatmen, fiſhermen, *&c.* are boatmen and fiſhermen to all generations. Some caſts expoſe their old, and their ſick in the ſtreets, after they have been given over by the *Brahmins*; others carry them down to low water mark, and fill their noſe, mouth, and ears with mud, and there leave them; where they are ſure to be ſoon devoured † by vultures, kites, crows, jackalls, dogs, *&c.* which abound in great numbers. Another *caſt* never eaſe themſelves while the ſun is the above horizon; and by way of prevention, keep a plug of dried mud in their fundament. The people on the *Coromandel* coaſt, and eſpecially at *Fort St. David*, believe that there are a ſet of philoſophers in the mountains, who have the ſecret of preſerving

* The account here given of theſe five laſt *caſts* of *Indians*, puts me in mind of another paſſage in the before quoted learned author.

"Dicti *Halâlchori* ſunt inferioris generis Indi, qui ad viliora quævis opera adiguntur, (ad mundandas Plateas, & evacuandas Cloacas, &c:) eaque libenter ſuſcipiunt, dum Mauri & Baneani talia recuſant ne polluantur. Iſti etiam edunt cadaveroſas beſtiarum carnes, & nullum cibi genus conſcientiæ ergò recuſant: unde nomen *Halâl-chur licitum edens*. Iſti propter operas & diætam habentur impuri, ideoque neminem alium libenter tangunt, nec aliquis ab eis vult tangi: & quia tactus inquinat polluitque, ſeperatim vivunt ab omnibus aliis: quia quicunque ab his tactus eſt, tenetur habere moleſtiam purificandi ſeipſum." HYDE *de Religione veterum Perſarum*, cap. 34.

† Nam Magi vulgo ſuos defunctos volucribus & feris exponebant & hodiè exponunt. HYDE cap. 34.

life;

life; and of tranſporting their ſouls into other bodies at pleaſure, and with the ſame facility making them to return again. They give out likewiſe, that thoſe learned men have diſcovered the ſecret of making gold; but this, ſay they, they never put in practice but for their own immediate neceſſities. 1758.

On the 9th of *April*, annually, at *Bengal** the natives undergo a very uncommon kind of penance: ſome, for ſins paſt; ſome, for what they may commit; and others in conſequence of a promiſe made by their parents, that if they ſhould be bleſſed with a child, that child, when he came of a proper age, ſhould be bound to perform it.—This ceremony is as follows: In a large plain about a mile from *Calcutta*, there are erected about thirty Bamboos, at leaſt twenty feet high; on the top of theſe they contrive to fix a ſwivel, and another bamboo of thirty feet or more croſſes it, at both ends of which hangs a rope. One end of this rope, the people pull down, and the *devotee* placing himſelf under it, the *Brahmin* pinches up a large piece of ſkin under both the ſhoulder blades, (ſometimes in the breaſts) and thruſts a ſtrong iron-hook through each: theſe hooks have lines of *Indian* graſs hanging to them, which the prieſt makes faſt to the rope at the end of the croſs bamboo, and at the ſame time puts a ſaſh round the *devotee*'s body, laying it looſely in the hollow of the hooks, leſt by the ſkin's giving way, he ſhould fall to the ground. When this is done, the people haul down the other end of the bamboo, by which means the *devotee* is immediately lifted up thirty feet or more from the ground, and they run round as faſt as their legs will carry them. This throws the devotee out to the full length of the rope, where as he ſwings, he plays a thouſand antic tricks, being painted and dreſſed in a very particular manner, on purpoſe to make him appear the more ridiculous. Some of them continue ſwinging half an hour, others leſs. They have alſo their time of preparation for this ceremony, which is four days. On the firſt, they abſtain from every kind of food; on the ſecond, they eat fruit; on the third, they faſt; and on the fourth, they eat fruit again. During the whole time of the preparation, they walk about the ſtreets in their fantaſtical dreſſes, dancing to the ſounds of drums, and horns; and ſome of them, to expreſs the greater ardor of devotion, run a rod of iron quite through their tongues, and oftentimes through their cheeks alſo. Theſe are a low caſt, and have *Brahmins* peculiar to themſelves. The higher caſts ſeem to deſpiſe ſo ridiculous a farce.—A friend at *Madraſs*, in a letter dated *October* 1771, gives me the following intelligence, which ſhews what improvements *devotees* are capable of making in the art of torturing themſelves to delude and impoſe on others. "A man of one of the *Gentoo* caſts, hath, for ſeven months paſt, ſwung about two or three hours every morning over a fire. Two ropes are faſtened to a tree, one of his ancles hangs in a nooſe made in the end of one of the

* The author was a ſpectator of theſe exhibitions, and has ſeen ten or twelve perſons ſwinging at the ſame time.

1754. ropes, and the knee of the other leg is fixed in a nooſe of the other rope: thus ſuſpended, with his head downwards about a foot from, and immediately over the fire, which is about eighteen inches in circumference, and made of ſmall dry wood, he ſwings backward and forward, with ſeemingly great eaſe, and keeps up the fire himſelf, having the wood placed within his reach, and to make it burn more briſkly, he adds ſome *Ghee* (buffaloes butter) which he likewiſe hath by him. It is ſaid, he doth this, neither by way of penance, nor from religious motives, but to fulfil a reſolution he made to ſwing in this manner, until he had collected as much money from the ſpectators as would make an entertainment for 10000 perſons: ſome ſay, that he will get into a higher caſt by it. However, he is at preſent gone into the country for his health, and hath not yet acquired ſufficient for ſuch a treat. I am amazed to think, how he could ſwing ſo long, without diſlocating his ancle, or injuring his brain. The ſight of him in this ſituation was ſhocking, and gave me a ſevere head-ach."

On the firſt of their *November*, (which is about the middle of our *October*) all the *Gentoo caſts* in *Bengal* hang out a light on a tall bamboo near their reſpective houſes, and this they continue to do for ſeveral ſucceſſive nights, in order (as they ſay) to light their deceaſed parents, who are ſuppoſed to viſit them at this time. On the eleventh night in particular, you will be ſure to ſee not only every houſe, but the doors and windows, and even the highways and floats on the river ſtuck full of lights, and every man, woman, and child with one in their hands. This is the laſt and concluding night, when they expect to be viſited by all their deceaſed friends; for the entertainment of whom, they make a great *Chezvons* or feaſt, and place meat and fruit in every corner of the houſe. The inhabitants of *Bombay* have alſo a ceremony of heaving the cocoa nut (as they term it) which they intend as an offering or ſacrifice to the ſea, on the proſpect of the *Monſoon*'s breaking up: At this time, men, women, and children go to the water-ſide all finely dreſſed, and the principal man is eſcorted by a guard of *European* ſoldiers, and throws a gilt cocoa nut into the ſea: all the reſt of the company throw in ſomething that is eatable; and preſently after they begin to fit out their ſhips and veſſels for ſea ſervice.

The *Moors* likewiſe, or thoſe natives who are *Mahometans*, are not without their feaſts and proceſſions; and are extremely fond of them, as well as the *Gentoos*; particularly, of their *Haſſan Haſſan*, in memory of the two ſons of *Ali* by *Fatima* (*Mahomet*'s daughter) being killed in one day fighting for the faith. They carry about a model of the tombs of their anceſtors, made of light bamboo and paper finely ornamented, for three days and nights; and are attended by people ridiculouſly dreſſed, ſhouting and dancing to their country muſic. On the laſt day of the feſtival, they carry theſe models into the fields with a kind of funeral proceſſion, and there, by breaking them in pieces, put an end to the ceremony.

A trial

A trial of veracity frequently uſed among the *Gentoos* is the eating dry rice; if the perſon be innocent, then, ſay they, he will eaſily ſwallow it, but if guilty, there will not be ſaliva enough in the mouth to carry it down the throat. They have many other trials, and even by fire; ſuch as putting their hands into hot quickſilver, *&c. &c.* 1754.

In what manner the man and his wife among the higher caſts live together, I cannot ſay from my own perſonal knowledge, but have heard, upon terms very different from thoſe practiſed by us in *England*; for the wife, we were informed, never preſumes to ſit down and dine with her lord, but ſtands behind him, and with great complacency waits till he has done. That this is the practice with thoſe of the lower *caſts*, frequent occaſions among my own, and other gentlemens ſervants, preſented, to convince us. Notwithſtanding the *Indians* are naturally lazy and inactive, (for they ſleep very much), yet every one endeavours after a livelihood; ſo that you ſeldom ſee a common beggar amongſt them. Although there are many ſchools for the education of children, yet they ſeldom learn more than their own mother tongue. It is indeed ſurprizing, conſidering the great number of *Engliſh* that are ſettled amongſt them, and with whom they have continual dealings, that they ſhould not be able in common to ſpeak our language ſo well as the people near the ſea-ports of *Madagaſcar*, where a ſhip puts in by chance once in a year, and ſtays perhaps only ten days.

Though it is cuſtomary in this country to ſee the children rolling in the ſand and duſt before the door, yet their parents are very tender of them; and they in return are as careful of their parents in their old age. The people in general are very friendly and willing to aſſiſt each other in difficulties; yet ſometimes words run ſo high between them, that they will fly at one another like two fighting cocks, but always take care not to proceed to blows with clenched fiſts. I obſerved more than once amidſt theſe violent altercations, that they little more than angrily patt each others hands with their palms. They are everlaſting talkers, and have ſo much grimace in telling a ſtory, that you would almoſt ſwear they had lived their whole lives in *France*.—Whenever they meet upon the road, they never fail to chat about the news of the country; and as they are very fond of pomp and ſhew, their topic of diſcourſe is commonly of the laſt *Grandee* that arrived on the coaſt—how and in what ſplendor he lives—how rich his furniture—and how many attendants he keeps. During the whole time of ſuch confabulation, they never forget to offer each other their *Beetel* and *Chunam*; the former of which is a leaf, with a nut of the *Areca* tree, the latter a kind of lime; both of which they as commonly chew and make a compliment of, as the *Europeans* do their tobacco and ſnuff.

There are two cuſtoms very prevalent among theſe people, which to an *European* appear very diſguſtful. The firſt is their chewing ſo great a quantity of Beetel, which turns exceſſively red in their mouths, and occaſions them

1754. them to be continually ſpitting; yet this cuſtom, tho' ſo exceedingly filthy, prevails from the higheſt to the loweſt. The other is not leſs offenſive; the length of their nails, and the blackneſs of their teeth, both which they are very careful of preſerving. They reckon one a mark of beauty, the other of a good family. White teeth are held in ſuch diſeſteem with them, that they make uſe of an artificial enamel on purpoſe to blacken them; they ſay, "white teeth are only fit for dogs and monkeys." And a frightful length of nails, in their opinion, proves them to be well deſcended, as it manifeſtly ſhews that they have not been accuſtomed to do ſervile offices.

I ſhall cloſe the account of the ſeveral *Indian caſts*, with an incident, of which I was an eye-witneſs during my ſtay at *Fort St. David*. One day, in company with Mr. *Doidge*, the admiral's ſecretary, I was obliged to go from the fort to the town of *Cuddalore* on ſome buſineſs, relative to the hoſpital. In paſſing the ferry, we mixed with a conſiderable number of *Indians*, but of what *caſt* or tribe we did not learn. One of the men who was with us in the boat, chanced to have in his hand a muſical inſtrument of the country, which differed very little from a common flute. Mr. *Doidge* held out his hand to the *Indian* in a manner which expreſſed his deſire of playing upon it, and he with the greateſt eaſe and politeneſs delivered the inſtrument to my companion; who after looking at it a little while, put it to his lips, and blew upon it, and then returned it to the owner; who, with great gravity and unconcern immediately threw it into the river. We were both amazed at this ſtrange conduct of the *Indian*, till we got to *Cuddalore*; where we learned from one of our countrymen, that he was one of thoſe caſts, which looked upon the flute as contaminated by Mr. *Doidge*, and therefore, by the laws and cuſtoms of his tribe, he could uſe it no more.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Kent *and* Saliſbury *leave* Fort St. David, *and arrive at* Bombay.—*Deſcription of that place, and its inhabitants.—Account of the* Perſees *reſiding there, and their religious tenets.—A particular cuſtom of the* Indians *of* Bombay, *at the death of a relation.—Account of the religious perſons, called* Joogees.—*Extraordinary circumſtance of fiſh being found in every pond at* Bombay *during the rainy ſeaſon.—Curious account of the quantity of water that fell in the rainy ſeaſon.—Several curioſities at* Bombay.—*Value of monies.—Liſt of* Indian *drugs.—Deſcription of the Elephanta.*

OCTOBER the 11th, the day that the ſuſpenſion of arms between the *Engliſh* and *French* companies and their allies took place, we left *Fort St. David* in company with the *Saliſbury*, Capt. *Knowler*, and on the 13th of *November* anchored in *Bombay* road. 1754.

Bombay is a ſmall iſland, but for its ſize, perhaps the moſt flouriſhing of any this day in the univerſe. Though the ſoil is ſo barren as not to produce any one thing worth mentioning, yet the convenience of its ſituation will always more than make up for that defect. It may be juſtly ſtiled "the grand ſtore-houſe of all the *Arabian* and *Perſian* commerce." When this iſland was firſt ſurrendered to us by the *Portugueſe*, we hardly thought it worth notice; but, in a very few years afterwards, we experimentally found the value of it, and it is now become our chief ſettlement on the *Malabar* coaſt.

The natives are ſhorter and ſtronger made than thoſe on the *Coromandel* coaſt; only four *Cooleys* carry a Palanquin here, whereas ſix are generally uſed at *Madraſs* and *Fort St. David*. The inhabitants of this place are numerous, and are made up of almoſt every nation in *Aſia*; among many others, we met with ſeveral PERSEES; who, like their forefathers the ancient *Perſians*, are followers of *Zoroaſter*, who is ſaid to have modelled and reduced into order the religion of the ancient *Magi*; the fundamental maxim of which was, the worſhipping only one God under the ſymbol of light. They adore the ſun, and particularly the riſing ſun, with the profoundeſt reverence and veneration; and by a natural conſequence of the worſhip they pay the ſun, they likewiſe pay a particular veneration to fire.

I met with a very remarkable inſtance of this while I was at *Bombay*; one day paſſing through the ſtreet, I heard a very uncommon noiſe, and ſeeing at the ſame time a large fire in one of the houſes, curioſity led me a little cloſer to it; in the middle of the houſe was ſet a large braſs pan with a fire in it: before this fire, or rather on each ſide of it, two men were kneeling at

1754. their devotions, which they hurried over with great rapidity *. I looked on for a conſiderable time with great attention, and afterwards learned from a ſervant of the admiral's who was of this *caſt*, one of them was a prieſt, then on a viſit to another prieſt in a fit of ſickneſs. This ſervant likewiſe told me, that the † *Perſees* have ſuch a veneration for fire, that they never put it out, or ſo much as breathe upon it; and I took particular notice, that while theſe prieſts were at prayers over the pan of coals, they had a ‡ kind of little white bib over their mouth, as I imagined, to prevent their § breathing on their favourite element. The prayers appeared to me, to be only a repetition of the ſame ſet of words, from the ſimilarity of their ſounds. The viſiting prieſt uſed many geſtures with his hands over the fire, and afterwards ſtroked down the face of the ſick prieſt, which I looked upon as the final benediction, for preſently afterward the ceremony ended. This inſtance, ſtrongly corroborates *Prideaux*'s obſervation concerning their uſage at public worſhip. "The prieſts themſelves never approach this fire in their temples but with a cloth over their mouths, that they might not breathe thereon: and this they did not only when they tended the fire to lay on more wood, or do any other ſervice about it, but alſo when they approached to read the daily offices of their liturgy before it. So that they mumbled over their prayers, rather than ſpoke them, in the ſame manner as the *Romiſh* prieſts do their maſſes, without letting the people preſent articulately hear one word of what they ſaid ‖‖."

Theſe poor miſguided people proſtrate themſelves before the ſun under the ſame notion that the *Gentoos* reverence an ox or a cow: from the excellent qualities they obſerve in theſe created beings, and their great uſefulneſs, each is induced to ſuppoſe that the *godhead* does moſt certainly dwell in them, and under this miſtaken notion they blindly pay that homage to the creature, which is only due to the creator. As the *Gentoos* burn their dead, one would think that the *Perſees*, who are ſo fond of worſhipping their deity under the repreſentation of fire, ſhould be deſirous of having their dead bodies committed to that element, wherein they ſuppoſe their creator principally to reſide. But contrary to this, and to the cuſtom of all other nations in the world, they neither burn nor bury their dead, but caſt them out in the open air, to be expoſed to the ſeveral elements, where they are ſoon devoured by eagles, vultures, and other birds of prey ¶. The principle they go upon is, that a living man being compounded of all the elements, it is but reaſonable, after he is

* Sonorâ voce per ſemi-horam memoriter recitant tædioſam aliquam precandi formulam: & tantâ celeritate hoc faciunt, ut vix halitum reciprocare liceat, quaſi invincibilis eſſet neceſſitas eam verborum formulam tantillo tempore recitare. HYDE *de Religione veterum Perſarum*, cap. 34.

† Perſæ in Pyreis alunt perpetuum Ignem lignis mundis & decorticatis. HYDE.

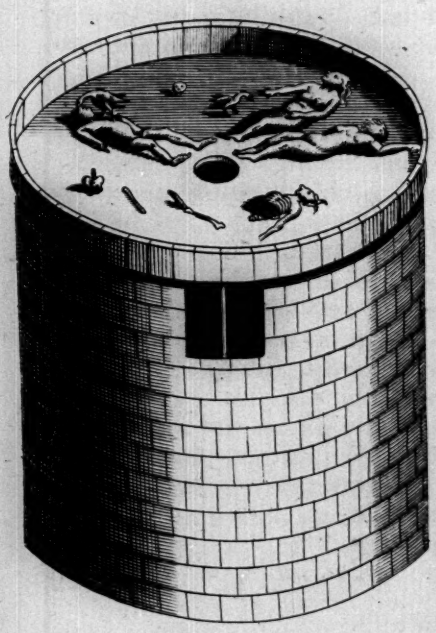
‡ Dum iſto modo Sacerdotes garriebant, eorum facies obvelatæ erant, chartâ albâ per transverſum vultum atrique auri affixâ, quæ duo aut tres unciας infrâ mentum dependebat. HYDE.

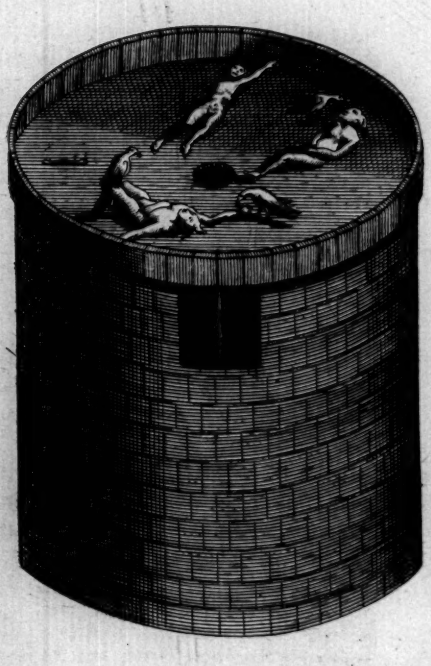
§ Grande Piaculum & morte plectendum, excuſſo ex ore halitu ignem inflare. STRABO *ſub finem, lib.* XV.

‖‖ PRID. *Connection*, book iv.

¶ In capſâ enim aliquâ vel loculo condere, vel etiam terrâ obtumulare, neutiquam fas eſt: ſed patrio ritu canibus pariter atque avibus obſcænis, mortuum cadaver devorandum exponunt. HYDE.

dead,





dead, that every particular element ſhould receive its own again*. On the top of *Malabar-hill*, in this iſland of *Bombay*, are two round buildings, on purpoſe for receiving the dead bodies of the *Perſees*, which are placed and remain there till the bones are clean picked by the birds †. A guard conſtantly ſtands within a ſmall diſtance of the place, who is very much diſpleaſed if you offer to approach the buildings; and for this reaſon, leſt by your going too near, you diſturb the vultures in their preying upon the dead bodies ‡. One afternoon however, I reſolved to ſatisfy my curioſity ſo far as to peep into one of theſe edifices. I perceived ſeveral dead bodies; but there was little fleſh left upon the bones; and that little was ſo parched up by the exceſſive heat of the ſun, that it did not emit thoſe ſtinking *effluvia* which there was reaſon to expect. It was owing probably to the ſame cauſe, that the bones were rendered quite black.—Upon the whole, this is a moſt odious and abominable cuſtom, and the reaſon they give for following it, is truly ridiculous. 1754.

The natural produce of the iſland of *Bombay*, is chiefly the cocoa-nut tree: from which they extract a liquor called *Toddy*, which is ſoft and mild when drank immediately; but if it ſtands long, it gathers ſtrength, and he who ventures to take a good draught thereof ſtale, preſuming to find it pleaſant and innocent as when freſh, will be miſerably deceived; eſpecially if his head be weak: and from hence, probably, aroſe the term *Toddy-headed*. The fruit or nut of the cocoa-tree has many excellent uſes. The kernel is rich, ſweet, and milky like a filbert; the ſhell is not unprofitably made uſe of for cups and ladles; but above all, the rind is worked up into a kind of cloth, which ſerves the poorer ſort of people for garments. It is alſo ſpun as hemp, and makes very durable cables.—Of the body of the tree and the leaves, the poor people build their houſes. For each tree a tax of twenty ſhillings a year is paid to the company, which is appropriated towards maintaining the garriſon, and ſhips of war.

Bombay is the moſt convenient place among all our ſettlements in the *Eaſt Indies*, for careening or heaving down large ſhips; and for ſmall ones they have a very good dock. At the time we were there, they were making

* Dum ſacerdos ad commodam diſtantiam ſtando, ſepulturæ officium hoc modo recitat, "Iſta frater noſter dum in vivio, conſtabat ex quatuor elementis: cum jam mortuus ſit, quodvis elementum ſuam partem capiat; terrea pars abeat in terram, aeria pars in aërem, aquea pars in aquam, ignea pars in ignem." HYDE *de Religione veterum Perſarum.*

† Ad unum milliare ab urba diſtat ſepulchretum, quod eſt ſtructura lapidea rotunda, 12 pedes alta, & 100 pedes in circumferentiâ habens. In medio muri eſt oſtium lapideum 6 pedibus á terrâ diſtans, quod ad excipiendum cadaver aperiri ſolet. Hujus ſtructuræ area inferior in quâ jacent cadavera, elevatur quatuor pedes á terrâ, ab omni parte declivis verſus centrum, ubi eſt foramen ſeu cloaca ad excipiendum ſaniem cadaverum. Hoc ſepulchretum eſt miſerrimum ſpectaculum, &c. OVINGTONUS *de Itinerario Suratenſi.*

‡ Dr. *Hyde* gives another reaſon for no one's chuſing to approach theſe buildings. "Propter horribilem fœtorem & miſerrimum ſpectaculum, omnes abhorrent illum locum adire; ægré ſerentes ut aliquis chriſtianus aut alius illa conditoria videat." He afterwards adds, "Et certe nemo niſi ſummâ curioſitate ductus, illum locum luſtrare tentabit." Cap. 34.

1754. great improvements in it, which when finiſhed, will not fail to make it ſtill more commodious. They have alſo a very good rope-yard. Indeed, this is the only place, in that diſtant part of the world, for ſhattered ſhips to refit at; having always a good quantity of naval ſtores, and its very name conveying an idea of a ſafe retreat in foul weather.

On this iſland are many little forts and batteries, as *Dungaree*, *Maſſegon*, *Mahee*, *Mendham's Point*, and *Sion-hill*. Some guns are mounted on each of them; but the principal fort which defends the place, has above an hundred. This building is a regular ſquare, and the materials thereof are very good. The church alſo is not leſs ſubſtantial than the fort; it is a very handſome, large edifice, and in compariſon of thoſe which are to be met with in the other ſettlements, it looks like one of our cathedrals. It was built by a voluntary ſubſcription among the gentlemen of this factory, and the Rev. Mr. *Cabbe*, (father to my late worthy friend Mr. *Richard Cobbe*, Admiral *Watſon*'s chaplain) was the chief promoter of this truly pious work: he at that time reſided at *Bombay* as chaplain to the factory. The whole time we ſpent here, paſſed very agreeably; for as the iſland lies in 19° north, the heats muſt of courſe be more tolerable than they are at *Fort St. David*, which is in the latitude of 11° 48′ north.

The admiral's family reſided at the *Tank-houſe* (ſo called from a large tank or pond near to it) and here, as well as at all their other ſettlements, the company allowed the admiral and his principal attendants *Palanquins*, over and above the five *Pagodas* a day, which were given him to defray part of the expences of his table. As the *Indian* horſes are of little value, and yet very ſcarce, oxen are here frequently made uſe of in their ſtead; and the admiral had a chaiſe and pair of theſe oxen allowed him alſo by the company. They are commonly white, have a large pair of perpendicular horns, and black noſes. The admiral oftentimes went in this chaiſe for an afternoon's airing to *Malabar-hill*, and to the end of *Old Woman's* iſland, to *Marmulla*, and many other places. In *England*, if theſe creatures are forced out of their uſual ſlow pace, it is too well known that they will faint or lie down under their burthen; but at *Bombay* they trot and gallop as naturally as horſes, and are equally ſerviceable in every other reſpect, except that by their being ſubject to a looſe habit of body, they ſometimes incommode by the filth thrown upon you by the continual motion of their tails. Whenever we got to the end of our ride, the driver always alighted, and put the near bullock in the other's place; then he would put his hand into both their mouths, and after pulling out the froth, mount his box again, and drive back. It ſeems this precaution is abſolutely neceſſary, for as they travel at the rate of ſeven or eight miles an hour, they would otherwiſe be in danger of ſuffocation.

Whilſt we were at *Bombay*, I took particular notice, that at the death of a friend, the *Indians* collected together and ſung, either in the houſe of the deceaſed, or under the window; agreeable to that paſſage in *St. Matthew*'s

 goſpel,

goſpel, *when Jeſus came into the ruler's houſe, and ſaw the minſtrels and the people making a noiſe, He ſaid unto them, give place*, &c. There it was that I alſo firſt ſaw the ceremony of their burning the dead. As the place was very populous, there were ſeldom leſs than three or four burned every night near the water's edge, under *Malabar-hill*. 1754.

During my ſtay at this place, I hired by the month, a chaiſe drawn by a pair of bullocks. In the ſeveral excurſions I made in this carriage, I had frequently paſſed by one of thoſe religious perſons, or anchorets, who in *India* are called *Joogees*; and who, in conſequence of a vow made by their parents, and during their mother's pregnancy with them, are devoted to the ſervice of heaven. One evening, I and a companion had an inclination to pay a ſhort viſit to this *Joogee*; who always ſat in one poſture on the ground in a ſhady cocoa-nut plantation, with his body covered over with aſhes, and his long black hair clotted, and in the greateſt diſorder. As we approached him, we made our ſalutation, which he reſpectfully returned; and then, with the aſſiſtance of our *Indian* driver, who could ſpeak *Engliſh*, we began a converſation with him, that principally turned on the wonderful efficacy of his prayers, and which he pretended had given health to the ſick, ſtrength to the lame, ſight to the blind, and fecundity to women who for their whole lives had been deemed barren. When we were about to take our leave of him, I offered him a preſent of two *rupees*, which he bade me to throw on the ground, and then directed his ſervant, who was ſtanding by, to take them up; which he did with a pair of iron pincers, throwing the *rupees* at the ſame time into a pot of vinegar. After they had lain there a little while, the ſame ſervant took them out, wiped them carefully, and at laſt delivered them to his maſter; who ſoon afterwards, by way of return, preſented us with a few cakes of his inſipid paſtry. I then requeſted of him, that in his next prayers he would petition for an increaſe of my happineſs; to which, with great complacency in his countenance, he replied: "I hardly know what to aſk for you: I have "ſeen you often, and you have always appeared to me to enjoy perfect "health; you ride in your chaiſe at your eaſe; are often accompanied with "a very pretty lady; you are even well cloathed, and are likewiſe* *fat*; ſo "that you ſeem to me to be in poſſeſſion of every thing that can be any way "neceſſary to happineſs. I believe therefore, when I pray for you, it muſt "be in this ſtrain; *that God would give you grace to deſerve, and to be thank-"ful for thoſe many bleſſings which he has already beſtowed upon you.*" I told him that I was thoroughly ſatisfied with the mode of his intended ſupplication for me; and with a mutual exchange of ſmiles and compliments, we parted.

* The rich *Indians* we were told take great pains to make themſelves fat. To this end, they not only live moſt luxuriouſly, but in the day time ſleep in a ſwinging cot, and appoint a ſervant gently to move it, whoſe buſineſs is alſo at ſtated times to awake the maſter, meerly to give him an opportunity of ſwallowing half a pint or more of liquid butter or Ghee. This ſufficiently accounts for the *Joogee*'s emphatically mentioning corpulency amongſt the peculiar favours of heaven.

1754. Our hoſpital at *Bombay* was without the town-wall; and in order to make my attendance on it the more convenient, Mr. *Délâguarde* * (a factor in the company's ſervice) was ſo obliging as to give me the uſe of a very commodious houſe, which lay near the hoſpital, and belonged to him as ſuperintendant of the powder-works. Here I took up my reſidence, with other gentlemen who aſſiſted me in the execution of my duty. At a little diſtance from the front of this houſe is a capacious baſon of water, which for the greater part of the year is perfectly dry, but, during the continuance of the rainy ſeaſon, and for ſome time after, ſerves as a pond for watering cattle, and ſwarms with a ſpecies of fiſh about ſix inches long, and not unlike our mullet. The natives catch them in great plenty ſoon after the rain ſets in, and more than once I had them ſerved up at my own table †. This would be looked upon as a very extraordinary circumſtance in any other place; but as theſe fiſh are found in almoſt every pool and puddle at *Bombay*, it ceaſes to be a matter of wonder among the inhabitants of that iſland. Various have been the ſpeculations of curious and inquiſitive men to account for this phænomenon. Some have ſuppoſed, that the exhaling power of the ſun is ſo ſtrong in the ſultry ſeaſons, as to be able to raiſe the ſpawn of the fiſh into the atmoſphere, and there ſuſpend and nouriſh it, till the rains come on, when it drops down again in the ſtate of living and perfectly-formed fiſh. Others, perhaps with a greater degree of probability on their ſide, imagine, that after the ponds become dry, the ſpawn may poſſibly fall into deep fiſſures made in the earth below the apparent bottom, where there may remain through the whole ſultry ſeaſon, a ſufficient quantity of moiſture to prevent the *animalculæ* from corrupting; and when the rain-waters come on and fill the pond again, the fiſh is produced and made to appear in ſuch abundance. This, among other hypotheſes which I have heard offered on this curious ſubject, ſeems beſt to account for it; but whether even this ſolution be adequate to the effects produced, I ſhall not preſume to determine.

And now, having mentioned the rainy ſeaſon, I muſt here beg leave to inſert a very curious and exact account of it, as it was drawn up and given to me by my late valuable and ſkilful friend, Mr. *Thomas*, then ſurgeon of his majeſty's ſhip the *Saliſbury*. This gentleman, who was a man of great curioſity, and unwearied diligence, happened to reſide at *Bombay* during the whole time of the rainy ſeaſon in the year 1756, and contrived a method for aſcertaining the quantity of water which fell there in that interval. His way of doing it was as follows.

" I procured a lead-cylinder, of about nine inches diameter, and as many deep, marked with inches and tenths on the inſide; and to prevent

* This gentleman is ſince dead.

† Mr. *Thomas* obſerves, that it is on the *tenth* day after the rains ſet in, that the natives begin to catch fiſh.

the water from ſplaſhing over, I cut a hole two inches from the bottom, and placed the cylinder in a glazed earthen veſſel. Then I tied a wax cloth ſecurely round it, ſo as to cover the veſſel, and to prevent any water from getting in, ſave that which paſſed through the cylinder. When more than two inches fell, I ſtopt the hole in the ſide with wax, and poured the water from the veſſel into the cylinder to meaſure it. I always kept it in an open place, free from the running of any houſe, &c. and meaſured it at ſix in the morning, at noon, and at ſix in the evening. 1754.

	Inches.	Tenths.
About the beginning of *May*, the ſky looked cloudy over the land; and on the 25th of that month, we had a ſquall of wind, with ſome rain; when there fell —— ——	0	3
On the 31ſt we had the like weather, with much thunder and lightning, and rain in the evening; when there fell —	0	7
Total —	1	0

JUNE,

JUNE, 1756.

Month Days	Depth of Water. Night. Inches	Night. Tenths	Forenoon. Inches	Forenoon. Tenths	Afternoon. Inches	Afternoon. Tenths	Total. Inches	Total. Tenths	Account of the Weather.
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	A ſmall ſhower and looks cloudy.
4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	Thunder and lightning all the evening; threatens much for rain.
5	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	6	Rained one hour in the afternoon, very cloudy.
6	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	8	Lightning all night, and a ſhower for about 15 minutes.
7	0	1	0	0	0	8	0	9	Blows hard on the ſhore, ſmart ſhower in the evening.
8	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Ditto - - - - - - Rained two hours about midnight.
9	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	Blows leſs - - - Small ſhowers.
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Ditto - - - - - - - - -
11	1	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	Ditto - - conſtant rain. } Now you ſee people angling and catching fiſh in every pool and puddle through the iſland.
12	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	Ditto - ſome lightning.
13	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	5	Ditto - - - - - - - -
14	3	6	0	9	0	0	4	5	Blows freſh with much } Now appear all over the ſurface of the earth an innumerable quantity of ſmall frogs.
15	0	4	0	9	0	0	1	3	Ditto. [thund. & light
16	1	2	0	9	0	4	2	5	Ditto - - - - - - - -
17	1	0	3	6	1	0	5	6	Blowed very hard from 6 to 8 in the morning.
18	0	4	0	2	0	2	0	8	Leſs wind, haſty ſhowers.
19	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	Slight rain all day and night.
20	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	4	Ditto - - - - ſhowers.
21	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	3	Ditto.
22	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	2	Showers.
23	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	Ditto.
24	0	4	0	3	0	0	0	7	Slight rain.
25	0	3	0	3	0	1	0	7	Ditto.
26	0	1	0	7	0	0	0	8	Ditto.
27	0	1	3	9	0	0	4	0	Ditto.
28	0	1	3	6	3	0	6	7	Little wind, hard rain.
29	4	8	0	5	0	0	5	3	Ditto - - - - Ditto.
30	0	8	0	9	0	1	1	8	Ditto.
Tot.	17	7	19	2	7	8	44	7	

JULY, 1756.

Month Days	Depth of Water. Night. Inches	Night. Tenths	Forenoon. Inches	Forenoon. Tenths	Afternoon. Inches	Afternoon. Tenths	Total. Inches	Total. Tenths	Account of the Weather.
1	0	5	0	2	0	6	1	3	Moderate.
2	1	5	0	5	0	0	2	0	
3	0	3	0	2	0	4	0	9	
4	1	7	0	0	0	2	1	9	
5	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	5	Slight ſhowers.
6	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	
7	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	4	
8	0	2	0	3	0	4	0	9	
9	1	0	0	3	0	0	1	3	Hard ſhowers.
10	2	0	0	4	0	7	3	1	
11	3	3	0	4	0	0	3	7	
12	0	2	0	4	0	1	0	7	Slight ſhowers.
13	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	
14	4	6	0	1	0	2	4	9	Hard ſhowers.
15	1	7	0	2	0	3	2	2	
16	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	Slight ſhowers.
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
18	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	
19	0	9	0	0	0	2	1	1	
20	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	5	
21	0	4	0	2	0	1	0	7	
22	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	
23	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	
24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
25	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	
26	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	
27	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	3	
28	0	1	0	4	0	3	0	8	
29	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	6	
30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Tot.	21	2	4	1	4	6	29	9	

AUGUST, 1756.

Month Days	Depth of Water. Night. Inches	Night. Tenths	Forenoon. Inches	Forenoon. Tenths	Afternoon. Inches	Afternoon. Tenths	Total. Inches	Total. Tenths	Account of the Weather.
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
3	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	4	
4	0	2	0	0	0	8	1	0	
5	1	2	0	0	0	2	1	4	Blows freſh in the night.
6	6	6	0	0	0	4	7	0	Blows hard.
7	0	0	0	4	0	4	0	8	Ditto.
8	0	1	0	3	0	2	0	6	Ditto.
9	0	5	0	8	0	0	1	3	Ditto.
10	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	4	Ditto.
11	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	Leſs wind and ſlight rain.
12	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	
13	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	Showers and ſlight ſqualls.
14	0	3	0	1	0	4	0	8	
15	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	
16	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	
17	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	
18	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	
19	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	
20	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	
21	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	
22	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	4	
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
25	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	4	
26	0	3	0	2	0	2	0	7	
27	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	Slight ſhowers and fine weather.
28	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	
29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
30	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	
31	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	
Tot.	13	2	2	1	3	7	19	0	

SEPTEM-

SEPTEMBER, 1756.

Month Days	Depth of Water. Night. Inches	Night. Tenths	Forenoon. Inches	Forenoon. Tenths	Afternoon. Inches	Afternoon. Tenths	Total. Inches	Total. Tenths	Account of the Weather.
1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	Fine weather and ſlight ſhowers.
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Thunder and lightning at a diſtance, and now it be-
8	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	gins to look black over the land in the evenings.
9	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	Slight ſhowers in the night and afternoon.
10	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	Ditto.
11	0	7	0	0	0	2	0	9	Hard ſhowers.
12	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	
13	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	5	Slight ſhowers in the evening and night.
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
16	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	4	
17	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	4	
18	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	5	Blows hard, ſlight rain all night and day.
19	0	5	0	0	0	1	0	6	Blows leſs.
20	2	0	1	0	0	2	3	2	Blows hard, rain night and day.
21	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	4	Blows leſs, ſhowers, no more thunder in the evenings.
22	0	5	0	0	0	1	0	6	Ditto - - - - rain all night and day.
23	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	3	
24	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	
25	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	Slight ſhowers.
36	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	
27	0	5	0	0	0	0			
28	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Frequent but very ſlight ſhowers.
29	0	0	0	0	0	0			
30	0	0	0	0	0	5			
Tot.	7	6	1	6	2	0	11	2	

OCTOBER, 1756.

		Inches.	Tenths.
2d.	The latter part of the night it rained hard, and there fell	2	0
	The three following days were cloudy, with ſome very ſlight ſhowers: when there fell only	0	1
7th.	Very fine weather, with land and ſea breezes.		
9th.	We had what they call here an Elephanta, which is an exceſſive hard gale, with very ſevere thunder, lightning and rain, but it was of ſhort continuance. In about four hours, there fell	2	0
15th.	In the morning ſome thunder and lightning with rain	0	3
16, 17.	Cloudy, and ſome ſlight ſhowers. In theſe two days there fell only	0	1
	Total	4	5

22d. Now all is fine and clear, without a cloud to be ſeen, with regular land and ſea breezes, and ſo will continue in general till the next *Monſoon* time arrives.

	Inches.	Tenths.
There fell of rain water in *May*	1	0
June	44	7
July	29	9
Auguſt	19	0
September	11	2
October	4	5
Total	110	3

The few curioſities in the iſland of *Bombay*, which are worth mentioning, are, a large *Terapin* kept at the governor's houſe, the age of which, according to the accounts given by the oldeſt of the natives, is upwards of two hundred years. *Frogs*, which abound every where throughout the *Eaſt India* territories, are remarkably large upon this iſland; I ſaw one that meaſured twenty-two inches from the extremities of the fore and hind feet when extended; and I have great reaſon to ſuppoſe, had the experiment been made, that this creature would have weighed four or five pounds.—On the ſea-ſhore round this iſland, a great variety of beautiful ſhells are alſo to be found; particularly the ſort which is ſo curious, and was held in ſuch eſteem by our ladies ſome years ago, called *Ventletraps* or *Wendletraps*. I have been credibly

credibly informed, that when the late Commodore *Liſle*'s executors ſold his collection of ſhells by auction, one of our modern *curioſi* gave ſeveral pounds ſterling for a ſhell of this ſpecies. 1754.

As no country in the world abounds more with ſnakes than the *Eaſt Indies*, I ſhall here ſubjoin a deſcription or their ſeveral ſpecies, ſo far as they came within my view, or Mr. *Thomas*'s obſervation.—The *Covra Capella*, which has teeth exactly reſembling thoſe of the rattle-ſnake mentioned by Dr. *Mead*. I have ſeen them from four to eight or nine feet long; they kill whomſoever they bite in 15 minutes. There are many of them to be met with at *Cuddalore*.—The *Covra Manilla*, is a ſmall bluiſh ſnake of the ſize of a man's little finger, and about a foot long, often ſeen about old walls: A ſpecies of theſe at *Bombay* kill with their bite much ſooner than even the *Covra Capella* above mentioned.—The *Palmira* is a very thin beautiful ſnake, of different colours; its head is like that of the common viper, but much thicker than the body. I ſaw one that was four feet long, and not much larger than a ſwan's quill.—The *Green* ſnake is of a very bright green colour, with a ſharp head; towards the tail it is ſmaller than in the middle: The largeſt part of it is no bigger than a common tobacco-pipe.—The *Sand* ſnake is ſmall and ſhort, but not leſs deadly than the others.—The *Covra dé Aurellia* is not unlike an earth-worm; it is about ſix inches long, and no bigger than a ſmall crow-quill.—This kills by getting into the ear, and cauſing madneſs, *&c.*—The *Manilla Bombo* is a beautiful ſnake of almoſt the ſame ſize throughout its whole length, except at the two ends, where it comes to a point. It is white under the belly, but is finely variegated on the back. It lives in the ſand, and (they ſay) ſtings with the tail, which cauſes contractions of the joints.

During my ſtay at *Bombay* two fleets of country veſſels came into the bay: One of them belonged to the *Nanna* or prince of the *Mahorattas*, the other to *Monagee Angria*, the brother of *Angria* the pirate. Theſe veſſels were not unlike the *Tartans* of the *Mediterranean*, only a great deal lower; they carried two guns in their bow, and vaſt numbers of men. Their muſic was a plain braſs tube, ſhaped like a trumpet at both ends, and about ten feet in length; and a kind of drum called a *Tomtom*, being a ſkin ſtretched out on a large ſhallow braſs-pan, on which they ſtruck with two large ſticks, and made an amazing noiſe. Each fleet conſiſted of about 30 ſail; but among *Monagee Angria*'s there were two ketches, which they called *Grabs*. Our *Eaſt India* company had here one ſhip of 40 guns; one of 20; one *Grab* of 18 guns, and ſeveral other veſſels; more alſo were building.

The merchants keep their accounts here in *rupees*, *pice*, and nominal *rays*. One hundred *rays* make a quarter of a *rupee*.

A 36 ſhilling piece exchanges for 16 ½ *rupees*.
A guinea — — — for 9 *rupees*.
An *Engliſh* crown — — for 2 *rupees and* 6 *double pice*.
A *Spaniſh* dollar — — for 2 ditto and 3 ditto.
Eighty *pice* make a *rupee*.

1754. In a visit Mr. *Thomas* and I made to a black *Portugueſe* phyſician ſettled here, called *Diego*, he ſhewed us his medicines and drugs, of which he had a pretty large ſtock, and ſome of them were valuable. Amongſt many others, we obſerved great quantities of the tincture and eſſence of *Cantharides*, which *Diego* told us, the ſalacious, and not unfrequently the impotent *Moors*, made uſe of to excite venery, and that they always paid handſomely for ſuch provocatives. He gave us the following liſt of *Indian* drugs, their prices, and the ſeveral places they are brought from.

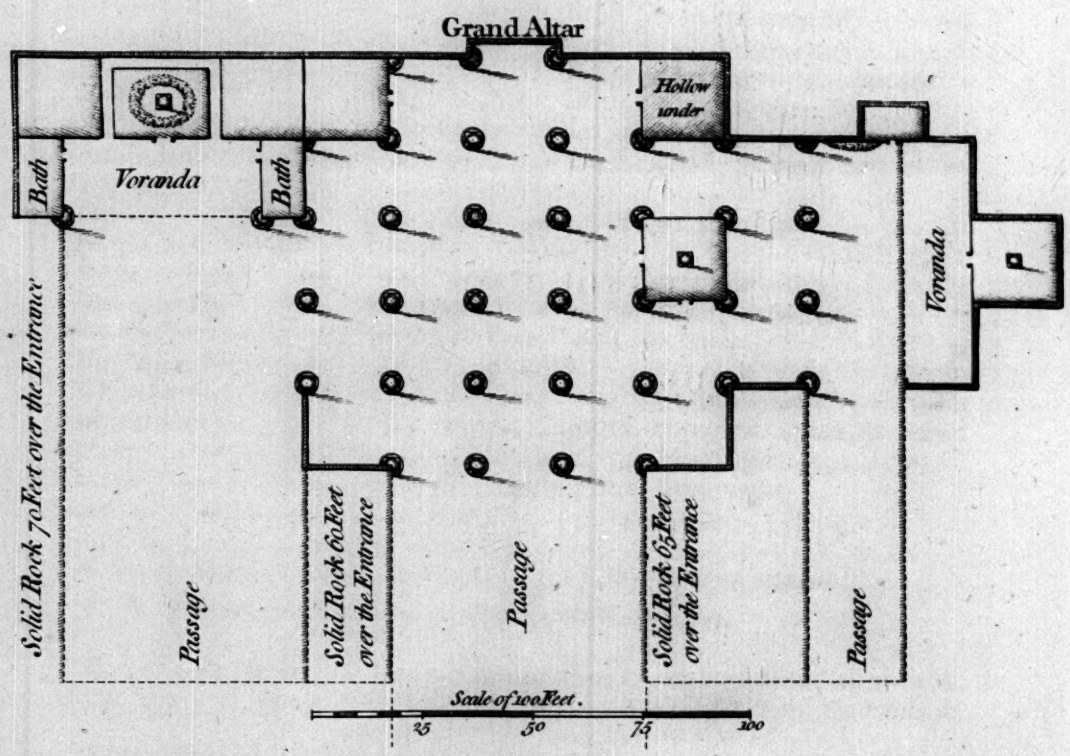
NAMES of DRUGS.	PLACES FROM.	PRICES.
* Bezoar	*Orangabed*	12 rupees *per* ounce.
Fol. Senæ	*Mocha*	4 ditto *per* maund, 36 *lb.*
Gum Arabic	*Arabia*	13 ditto *per* 100 *lb.*
Myrrh	*Arabia*	24 ditto *per* maund.
Olibanum	*Arabia*	12 ditto *per* maund.
Thus	*Arabia*	50 ditto *per* candy, 500 *lb.*
Gambog.	*Succotra*	15 ditto *per* maund.
Aſſafætida	*Perſia*	100 to 80 ditto *per* ditto.
Rad. Salop.	*Perſia*	35 ditto *per* ditto.
Rad. Zinzib.	*all over India*	
Piper long.	*Calicut.*	Theſe are cheap.
Coloquintid.	*Goa.*	
Ol. Cinnamom.	*Cochin*	2 rupees *per* ounce.
Gum Banzoin.	*Bengal*	50 ditto *per* maund.
Cort de Pala, or Congery Bark	*Tellichery*	very cheap.
Sem. Cardamom.	*Calicut*, and	
Ol. Caryophyl.	*Tellichery*	1 rupee *per* ounce.
Rad. Rhubarb.	1ſt ſort, *Bengal*	80 d°. *per* 112 *lb.* flat & clean.
Ditto	2d. ſort, ditto.	50 ditto, large lumps & clean.
Ditto	3d. ſort, ditto.	40 ditto, foul.
Opium	*Bengal*	80 rupees.
Sal Nitri	*Bengal*	
Fol. Roſar. Rub.	*Perſia*	8 rupees *per* maund.

N. B. The price of theſe drugs differs at different times.

Don *Diego*'s method of chuſing *Bezoar*, was to rub it on wood-aſhes held in the hand; if good, it left a faint green colour behind. And his method

* My late ingenious friend Mr. *George Thomas* above mentioned, made me a preſent of part of a ſtone, three of which were found in the gall-bladder of an ox, and greatly reſembled *Bezoar*. They were of the ſize of a hazel-nut, made up of ſeveral ſtrata or ſcales, and each ſtratum, like the layers of an onion, eaſily divided from the whole piece, leaving a ſmooth ſurface behind. They were very tender, and had ſomewhat of a muſk ſmell. The ſame friend alſo obſerved to me that *Pomet*, in his hiſtory of drugs, takes notice of this kind of concreted matter; he calls it *Ox Bezoar*, and ſays, though it is ſometimes uſed in medicine, yet its more general uſe is, like *Gamboge*, for painters in miniature. The *Ox Bezoar* is alſo greatly valued by the *Indians*, who give it in fevers, and will exchange five times the weight in ſilver for it.

ELEPHANTA


Grand Altar
Hollow under
Bath
Voranda
Bath
Voranda
Solid Rock 70 Feet over the Entrance
Passage
Solid Rock 60 Feet over the Entrance
Passage
Solid Rock 63 Feet over the Entrance
Passage
Scale of 100 Feet.
25
50
75
100

of trying the oil of cinnamon, was by touching the noſe ſlightly with a drop of it on the top of the finger; he told us it was almoſt eſcharotic, and of an amber colour, if good. 1754.

Before we take leave of this place, there remains a piece of antiquity to be mentioned, called the *Elephanta*; which is an *Indian* temple, cut out of a large rock, in an iſland of the ſame name, near *Bombay*. The ſame ingenious gentleman, Mr. *Thomas*, in the papers he left behind him, has furniſhed me with the following deſcription of it. "Its dimenſions may be beſt known from the plan annexed, which was drawn on the ſpot. The walls are covered with figures about 12 feet high, except thoſe of the baths, in the front of which, next to the voranda or open gallery, they are only 4 feet in height, and on the back about ſix. The grand altar is filled with a mutilated figure of the god *Orixa*, the head and neck of which are much decayed through time; and all the other principal parts of the temple are crowded with images of the ſame god in different attitudes. The other figures which we ſaw here, I ſuppoſe are repreſentations of famous men. On each ſide of the grand altar is a dark room. Perceiving the floor of theſe to be hollow, we had the curioſity to dig into one of them, and found a large cavity, ſo very deep, that we did not go any farther. The roof of the temple is about 18 feet high, ſupported by pillars, the number of which is given in the plan. They have all a ſquare pedeſtal, circular ſhaft, and fluted corniſh, which is alſo circular. Near each of the *verandas*, there is a ſquare room with a pillar in the middle, and another ſimilar room in the body of the temple. The pedeſtals of theſe pillars are ſquare, and about a foot high; the ſhafts are round, and about a foot and a half long. In the room next the baths, the pillar is ſurrounded with water, as expreſſed in the plan by dots. Theſe three rooms appear to have been formerly private chapels."

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The ſquadron leaves Bombay *and arrives at* Madraſs.—*Deſcription of* Madraſs *or* Fort St. George.—*The buildings and* Indian *inhabitants.*—*A liſt of the ſeveral ſorts of ſervants employed in* India, *their names, wages, religion, and employments.*—*Account of the nature and genius of their mechanics.*—*The phyſical practice of their black-doctors.*—*Manner of inoculating for the ſmall-pox.*

1755. ADMIRAL *Watſon* had long been deſirous of getting round again with his ſquadron to the *Coromandel* coaſt; but the heaving down and refitting the ſhips, had taken up ſo much time, that ſeveral days in *December* had lapſed, before this neceſſary work could be accompliſhed. On the 15th however, we took our leave of governor *Bourchier* and the gentlemen of the council; and on the 16th we weighed anchor, and ſtood for the offing. A freſh gale fortunately ſprang up, which ſoon ran us down the *Malabar* coaſt, and to the ſouthernmoſt point of the iſland of *Ceylon*. On the 13th of *January* 1755, we arrived in *Fort St. David*'s road, (having made an unuſual quick paſſage for this ſeaſon of the year), and on the 18th in that of *Madraſs*; where, to our great ſatisfaction, we found riding at anchor his majeſty's ſhip the *Cumberland*, Commodore *Pocock*; and in eight days afterwards we were joined by the *Tyger*, Captain *Thomas Latham*, who had ſailed from *England* with Mr. *Pocock*. Here we learned, that during Admiral *Watſon*'s ſtay at *Bombay*, a conditional treaty had been adjuſted between Monſ. *Godeheu* and Mr. *Saunders*, which was to continue in force until it ſhould be either ratified or rejected by their reſpective companies; ſo that there was no proſpect of hoſtilities recommencing here, at leaſt for eighteen months; and in this long interval, the *French* had a fine opportunity of acquiring riches ſufficient to carry on another war: for by this conditional treaty, they were to continue in poſſeſſion of thoſe many important countries, as well in the *Carnatic* as the *Deccan*, which by their intrigues they had ſecured to themſelves, and whoſe revenues brought them in almoſt a million ſterling; whilſt our poſſeſſions did not annually bring more than the ſame number of rupees. Indeed, this was by all deemed to have been a maſterly ſtroke of *French* politics: on the contrary, the advantages reſulting from this treaty to the *Engliſh Eaſt India* company, were beyond every ones comprehenſion; for it was by every body known, that at this time, excluſive of our naval force, our troops on the coaſt exceeded thoſe of the *French* in number one thouſand.

The

The town of *Madraſs*, or *Fort St. George*, in the road of which we came to an anchor on the 18th of *January* 1755, is the chief ſettlement belonging to our *Eaſt India* company on the *Coromandel* coaſt; and ſtands between the thirteenth and fourteenth degrees of north latitude. It is ſituated in a ſandy barren ſoil, and the climate is ſo intenſely hot, that were it not for the ſea-breezes, which agreeably cool the air, it would be altogether uninhabitable. But notwithſtanding this inconvenience, the place is exceedingly populous. Many of our countrymen reſiding there, to maintain their dignity among the natives, live in all the magnificence of the eaſt. The governor of *Fort St. George* is inveſted with great authority, little leſs than that of ſovereign power. He is not only preſident of this place, but of all our other ſettlements on the *Coromandel* coaſt. He, and the council under him, have the command of the army, the regulation of the police, and the appointment to all places of truſt and profit. In a word, *Madraſs* is of ſuch importance to the company both for its internal wealth, and the extenſive commerce which is there carried on, that they have taken abundant pains, and have been at an immenſe expence, to make the fortifications as ſtrong as poſſible. The fort (which is the principal defence of the place) is a regular ſquare, with a glacis, and covered way; and the whole town is ſurrounded with walls well mounted with artillery. 1755.

The buildings at *Madraſs*, or the town of *Fort St. George* where the *Engliſh* only reſide, are handſome, and built in the modern *European* ſtile: but the houſes of the *Black-Town* are very low and flat-roofed; ſome of them are tiled, and others thatched, but neither the one nor the other have any chimney. The natives commonly dreſs their victuals without doors; and ſhould they make a fire within, which ſeldom happens, the ſmoke is obliged to make its way through the eaves of the houſe, which has ſcarcely ever any upper rooms. This is the ſtate of the houſes of the merchants and mechanics, who reſide within the town; and as to thoſe of the pooreſt ſort, who live in the ſuburbs, and in the country, they are nothing but huts covered with *Cajan* leaves, and are ſo exceedingly low, that their miſerable inhabitants cannot ſtand upright in them, and whenever they enter, are obliged to creep in on their hands and feet: but though the houſe and garden belonging to theſe country people, ſeldom take up more than half a quarter of an acre of ground, you ſcarcely meet with leſs than ten or twelve perſons in a family, beſides an hog and a buffalo; ſo very numerous are the inhabitants of this country.

The *Indians* in general are very temperate in eating and drinking; they ſeldom uſe ſtrong liquors, unleſs preſcribed by way of phyſic. Their food is chiefly boiled rice, with now and then a little fiſh, and mutton or fowl dreſſed in a *Currey*, as they call it, which is very warm to the palate. This, I have reaſon to think, they alſo feaſt on with great moderation. The *Gentoo* caſts never eat beef; they pay adoration to the image of the cow, and have a proverb among them, "that they would as ſoon taſte of the fleſh of their parents, as of that animal." One ſtrong evidence of the temperance of theſe

1755. people, is their hands, which, if touched by chance, you will be ſure to find very cold, even in the middle of the hotteſt day; while the hands of the *Europeans* are burning with an exceſſive heat, partly the effect perhaps of our intemperate way of living. Let me add too, that the *Indians* are a very quiet, inoffenſive people; and at ſome diſtance from the ſea-ſhore, we were told, that we ſhould alſo find them honeſt and ſincere. On the coaſt, they will make uſe of a thouſand tricks, and ſtratagems, to over-reach a ſtranger. But for this we may thank ourſelves, who firſt ſullied their purity, and debauched their manners. They probably had never known the crime of cheating, had they not firſt learned it from the tricking *European*. Among the lower *caſts* the poor women do all the drudgery; they get all the fodder for the gentlemen's horſes in the fort, and are obliged to bring it ſome miles. They likewiſe grind all the rice uſed in their own houſes; fetch wood and cow-dung to burn; and as the water near the fort is brackiſh, they are daily neceſſitated to go a mile or two to a good well, and to bring a large pitcher of this element upon their heads for the uſe of the gentlemen of the factory. I have more than once ſeen a line of 40 or 50 of them in a morning, engaged in this laborious employment. Their dreſs is much the ſame as that worn by the women at *Fort St. David*; and that of the higher *caſts*, at both places, differs nothing from the lower, except, that the wrapper which goes round the loins of the former is made of finer ſtuff, and that they commonly cover their breaſts with a ſilk handkerchief. It is very ſeldom that any of the women, unleſs thoſe of the loweſt rank, can be ſeen, being forbidden by their caſt to ſtand any where to be gazed upon by ſtrangers. In our morning walks, indeed, we ſometimes ſaw them ſtanding without their houſes for the benefit of the freſh air, but upon the firſt ſight of us, they never failed to run in, and ſhut and bolt their doors. We could not but remark too, that whenever we had occaſion to go into a ſhop, our guide always gave us a hint to ſtand a little while at the door, while he ſtepped in; and he made no ſcruple to confeſs, that his motive for doing it, was to clear the houſe of the women before we entered.

Much has been ſaid in regard to ſervants in this country: ſome ſpeak highly in their favour, while others equally depreciate them. The ſervice of any one of them is exceedingly cheap, but the number which you are obliged to keep, makes it dear in the end. Perhaps it may ſeem ſurprizing, though true, that an *European* gentleman or merchant in a conſiderable way of buſineſs, cannot hire leſs than a dozen or fifteen; for as they are almoſt all of different *caſts*, the higher are not permitted to do the leaſt thing which is the buſineſs of an inferior *caſt*. They all wear turbans; the principal ſervants commonly dreſs neat and clean, in a robe of fine cotton cloth, or muſlin, particularly the *Gentoos*, whoſe religion enjoins much bodily purification; and therefore the firſt thing they do in a morning is to go down to the river's ſide and waſh, and afterwards to ſay their prayers on the banks. If you aſk them what they pray for, they will be ſure to ſay, "*For maſter*"—and "*that God will ſhew favour for maſter, that maſter may ſhew favour for them:*"

them." They are an artful cunning people, and very ready at returning an answer. We met with a thouſand inſtances of this ſort, during our ſtay in the *Eaſt Indies*; but the following ſtory will beſt illuſtrate the natural good ſenſe and ſagacity of theſe black ſervants. 1755.

It happened, that an *Engliſh* officer being with his *Indian* ſervant in a public houſe at *Cuddalore*, was in a violent paſſion, in conſequence of ſomething that had paſſed between them in converſation: In the midſt of the maſter's fury, his philoſophical ſervant calmly placed himſelf at his full length on the floor, with his face towards the ground, at the ſame time ſtopping his ears with both his hands. In this poſture he continued, until his maſter's paſſion had ſomewhat ſubſided; when getting upon his feet, and reſpectfully approaching him, he dryly ſaid, "*Indeed, maſter makes poor ſervant's head ſick: maſter is very ſtrong man, but ſervant is very weak man: if maſter ſpeaks honey-words, then ſervant can do any thing for maſter, but when maſter frightens poor ſervant, then he makes poor ſervant ſick; and when ſervant is ſick, maſter's buſineſs can no be done.*" The officer replied with an hearty d—mn; but upon recollection, felt the juſtneſs of the rebuke, and ſaw very plainly that before they could again proceed on buſineſs, it would be neceſſary for him to conform to the rules which the *Indian* had ſo ſagaciouſly and artfully ſuggeſted for his conduct.

The following liſt of the ſeveral ſorts of ſervants employed in *India*, with their names, wages, religion, and employments, will furniſh the inquiſitive reader with a clear and diſtinct idea on this article.

1. *Chief Dubaſh*; who is a ſervant of ſtate to uſher in company, to receive meſſages, and give an anſwer at your door. He is alſo your linguiſt, and lays out your money. He has for his profit a *Fanam* out of every *Pagoda* paid and received; and a *Pagoda* out of every hundred *Pagodas*. There is no poſſibility of tranſacting any buſineſs in this country without a ſervant of this kind, except at *Bombay*, where they are not made uſe of. They are called *Banians* at *Bengal*, and are every where of the *Gentoo* religion.

2. *Dubaſh Boy* *. He is always about your perſon to aſſiſt you in dreſſing; he walks by the ſide of your *Palanquin*; takes care of your ſword, hat, and cane, when you are viſiting a ſtranger; and waits behind your chair at table. He likewiſe is of the *Gentoo* religion, and his pay at *Madraſs* is 1 *pagoda* and 21 *fanams* by the month; at *Bengal*, 8 *rupees*.

3. *Conucopola*. He keeps your accounts, pays the reſt of the ſervants their wages, and aſſiſts the *Dubaſh* in buying and ſelling. At *Bengal* he is called ſecretary, and is of the *Brahmin* caſt and religion: his pay is 10 *rupees*

* *Boy* is the common appellation in *India* for many of your ſervants, though they ſhould be threeſcore years of age.

1755. by the month. At *Bombay* he is ſtiled *Purvo*, and is of the *Gentoo* religion, and his pay is 5 *rupees* by the month. At *Madraſs*, his pay is 8 *pagodas*.

4. *Roundel-Boy*. He carries a *Roundel* or *Quit dé Soliel* over your head, to defend you from the heat of the ſun, when you ſtep from your *Palanquin*, or when you walk.

5. *Peon*. One who waits about the houſe, to run on meſſages; and he commonly carries under his arm a ſword, or in his ſaſh a *Creſe*, and in his hand a ratan, to keep the reſt of the ſervants in ſubjection. He alſo walks before your *Palanquin*, carries *Chits* or notes, and is your body guard. The more of theſe you keep, the grander you are thought to appear. Some gentlemen have at leaſt 40 of them in their ſervice. They are all fighting caſts, and have 1 *pagoda* and 20 *fanams* by the month paid them at *Madraſs*; 2 *rupees* and a half at *Bengal*; and 4 *rupees* and a half at *Bombay*. At this laſt place they are called *Sepoys*.

6. A *Demar-Boy*. His buſineſs is complicated, and being generally of the *Parriah* caſt, which is a very low one, he makes no ſcruple to perform the moſt ſervile offices. He cleans your ſhoes, ſweeps the houſe, and fetches all the water that is wanted, unleſs you keep a *Harry* or water wench, as ſhe is ſometimes called, for that purpoſe. The chief buſineſs however of the *Demar-Boy* (as appears from his name) is to run with a *Demar* or torch before your *Palanquin* in dark nights.

7. *Palanquin-Boys*. Four, and ſometimes ſix of theſe are employed to carry your *Palanquin*. They are of the lower *Gentoo* caſts at all our ſettlements. Their pay at *Bengal*, where they are called *Bearers*, is 12 *rupees* and a half by the month; at *Bombay*, where they are called *Palanquin Cooleys*, they are allowed 16 *rupees*; and at *Madraſs*, 6 *pagodas* 6 *fanams*.

8. *Compidore*. The office of this ſervant is, to go to market, and bring home ſmall things, ſuch as fruit, *&c.*—He is always of a low caſt. His pay at *Bengal* by the month is 2 *rupees* and a half. At *Madraſs*, 1 *pagoda*. *Compidores* are not uſed at *Bombay*.

9. *Derwan*. Theſe are properly porters, who ſit at the gate to receive meſſages, *&c.*—This office is performed by *Moormen* at *Bengal*, by *Peons* at *Madraſs*, and by *Sepoys* at *Bombay*. Their pay is 2 *rupees* and a half by the month in *Bengal*, and in the ſame proportion at other places.

This diſtinction of ſervants, and the keeping up to it, is reckoned no bad piece of policy in the *Indian* conſtitution. For as the people are naturally indolent and inactive, every man by this means gets a decent livelihood with very little trouble, which is the thing he aims at: for though each of theſe ſervants could earn double the wages in the intervals when his maſter has no

occaſion for him, yet conſcious that he has a ſufficiency, though bare, he ſits down contented therewith, chuſing rather to triſle and ſleep away his time, than to enrich himſelf and family by taking pains. Theſe ſervants have a variety of tricks alſo which they are ſure to play off upon new-comers; and where two or three of them are concerned together in a knaviſh one, they never fail to puzzle the matter ſo, as to make it almoſt impoſſible for the maſter ever to get at the truth *. The *palanquin* bearers, are cunning diſſemblers, for they will be ſure to groan ſadly under the weight of their new maſter or miſtreſs, let them be ever ſo light. This is done with the view of exciting in the human breaſt a compaſſion towards themſelves, and thereby acquiring ſome *Buxie* money; and in this they ſeldom fail of ſucceeding, as there are but few *Europeans*, who, on their firſt arrival, are not averſe to the making uſe of their fellow-creatures in ſo degrading, and in appearance ſo painful an employment. After the ſervants have filled their bellies, they always betake themſelves to reſt on the ground, or in a window, or on a table, or moſt commonly on the ſand, which they prefer before every thing elſe, becauſe of its retaining the heat of the preceding day's ſun. Upon the whole, the *Indian* ſervants have both their good and bad qualities; they are like ſome neceſſary evils we have in *England*, of whom we ſay, there is no living with, nor without them. 1755.

I cannot diſmiſs this ſubject of ſervants without ſpeaking ſomewhat more of the office of a *Conucopola*.—It muſt be premiſed, that the natives in this part of *India* know but very little of the uſe of paper, pens, and ink; and therefore keep all their accounts upon *Cajans*, the leaves of a certain tree. It is the *Conucopola*'s buſineſs to keep the account of all your houſehold expences, to pay the other ſervants wages, and tradeſmen's bills. Theſe ſervants are always to be diſtinguiſhed from all others by their *Cajan* leaves, which hang dangling by their ſide, like a butcher's ſteel. The iron inſtrument they mark with, is kept in a ſheath like a knife. When they have occaſion to ſet down any thing, they hold the iron-pen in the right hand, and the *Cajan* leaves in the left; a little notch or groove is cut in their left thumb-nail for fixing the ſtile, and they will write or rather engrave with great celerity. They are likewiſe very quick and ready at accounts, but ſo very artful, that they ſeldom or never declare their own computation firſt: their low cunning is inconceivable, and it would be endleſs to recount all the artifices and frauds which are practiſed by theſe men. They generally aſk "*What does maſter make account come to?*" If you ſay more than it really is, they preſently cry out, "*Very right, maſter.*" But if you make it leſs, ſo as to prejudice them, they will be ſure to take particular care to correct your reckoning. If you chance to detect them in any intentional cheat, they then plead the cuſtom of their country; for their maxim is, "*What white man forget, that God give black*

* The reader may ſee a very remarkable inſtance of their dark and complicated villainy in *Orme's* excellent hiſtory of the Carnatic, vol. i. p. 350 to 355.

1755. *man, Maſter, forgive this one time; I am poor fooliſh fellow; what ſhould I know? Aha! I ſee maſter knows beſt; God has made good head for maſter.*"

To the account I have given of the ſeveral *Indian Servants*, for the better knowledge of a country now ſo intereſting to *Great Britain*, I beg leave to add a few particulars relative to the nature and genius of their *Mechanics*.—The *Cloth-merchants*, for ſo they are there termed, ſeldom or never make uſe of a yard or meaſure of any kind, but mete out every thing by the *cubit*, which, in well-proportioned people, is the ſpace between the elbow and the tip of the middle finger; and this they do with ſuch exactneſs, as not to err perhaps $\frac{1}{4}$ of a yard in a piece of 70 *cubits*. It is alſo the cuſtom in this part of the world, as it is in moſt of the country towns in *England*, to oblige the taylor to come home, and work at your own houſe: but on viewing the miſerable condition of ſome of this tradeſman's tools, his ruſty ſciſſars in particular, and how looſely riveted, you would think it impoſſible for him ever to cut out a coat with them: It is much the ſame with all his other implements; but in ſpite of every inconvenience he labours under, the *Indian* taylor is ſo exact an imitator, that he ſeldom or ever fails to give entire ſatisfaction. And this is the more ſurprizing, as he never meaſures you; he only aſks "*maſter for muſter*," as he terms it, that is, for a pattern, and they will be ſure to keep exactly to it, be the faſhion thereof ever ſo extravagant.

The ſame obſervation holds true with reſpect to the *Carpenter*, *Black-ſmith*, and many other mechanics. It is aſtoniſhing how exactly they will copy any thing you give them, though they ſcarce know the uſe of ten tools, and though the few they have, are always in bad condition. Every thing they undertake, they keep a long time in hand however, which is entirely owing to their own obſtinacy and abſurdity; for they will never be put out of their old way of working; and ſhould you be ever ſo deſirous of inſtructing them, or ſhewing them a more expeditious method, they will be ſure to plead the cuſtom of their forefathers, for which they have ſo great a veneration, that they were never known even in a ſingle inſtance to depart from it. Hence it is eaſy to conclude, that they muſt always remain poor. Whenever therefore you employ them, you are always obliged firſt to give them in hand, by way of expedition money, commonly half of what your bargain comes to: and beſides this, if the tradeſman you employ be in want of the neceſſary materials, (which is too often the caſe) you are then under a neceſſity of ſupplying him with three parts, if not the whole money beforehand. This is a cuſtom frequently attended with many inconveniences; for under the ſanction thereof, it is not uncommon for theſe tricking mechanics to go about from houſe to houſe borrowing money, though at the ſame time they do not intend to touch the promiſed work with one of their fingers. The *Silver-ſmith*, in regard to his ſmall ſtock in trade, is exactly upon the ſame footing with the reſt of his neighbours: he has not the leaſt article in his ſhop to indicate his profeſſion; if you want any thing to be made by him, he too will aſk for "*muſter*," and you muſt alſo furniſh him with as many *rupees*, or other ſilver

to melt down, as will enable him to go through with the work. The *Barber* however ſeems to be an exception to all the other mechanics here; I mean with reſpect to the condition of his tools and ſhaving tackle. He doth not go about in this country, as in *England*, with a large pewter baſon under one arm, a wig-box under the other, a water veſſel in his right hand, and a powder-bag in his left. The ſhaver and powderer here are two diſtinct trades. The former, for his extraordinary apparatus, is worth remarking: when he enters your houſe, if you did not know him before, it is impoſſible for you to gueſs at his profeſſion. The implements he uſes, ſuch as 8 or 10 razors, an hone, an oil-bottle, two leather-ſtraps, a little looking glaſs, two or three towels, his beetel-nut, beetel-leaf, chunam-box, ſoap and little braſs-baſon, are all contained in the girdle that is round his middle. His manner of operation is ſtill more extraordinary, for he beats up a lather on your head, not in the baſon, which is no bigger than a large tea-cup; and ſhaves you eaſier than ever I experienced from any of the profeſſion in *England*. 1755.

Upon the whole, though the *Indian* mechanics are by no means deficient in the handicraft arts, yet their talents ſeem to be only of a ſecond rate kind. In many reſpects they certainly do not come up to the dexterity of *European* artiſts, particularly in thoſe works where great accuracy is required. They likewiſe labour under a poverty of genius which makes them dull at invention, but at the ſame time it muſt be acknowledged, that they are moſt admirable copyiſts, and indeed their principal excellency ſeems to lie that way.

The ſkill of their phyſical people is very mean. Mr. *Thomas* and I once employed one of the black doctors to procure us a liſt of ſuch medicines as they uſed in their practice. Inſtead of this, he brought with him a number of leaves, plants, barks, roots of trees, *&c.* which, he told us, they generally made uſe of in decoctions; and that their common method of practice was, if one root, leaf, or herb failed, to put in others of different ſorts. In fevers, he added, they uſed pepper, and ſuch-like inflammatory ſubſtances. We enquired whether they had any written accounts of their method of practice; he told us they had, and brought us a large book, made up of a number of leaves of the *Palmita* tree, ſuch as they keep their accounts upon, part of which we afterwards got tranſlated by a black *Conucopola* or clerk. It was written in the high *Eaſtern* ſtile, and began with giving great praiſes to the Almighty for the wonderful formation of man: it then went on with obſerving that this formed man was divided into two or three hundred thouſand parts; ten thouſand of which were made up of veins; ten thouſand of nerves; ſeventeen thouſand of blood; a certain number of bones, choler, lymph, *&c.* *&c.* *&c.* And all this was laid down without form or order, either of hiſtory, diſeaſe or treatment. We found this to be all the written account they have of phyſic; which they never ſtudy, but, like the other caſts, the ſon of a doctor is a doctor alſo, and ſo he will continue to be from generation to generation.

The

1755. The cuſtom of inoculating for the *Small-pox* among the natives, though not common in other parts of the *Eaſt Indies*, is frequent in *Bengal*; and the manner of performing the operation is in many reſpects ſingular, and different from that now practiſed in *England*. They take, as Mr. *Thomas* and I were informed, ſome matter from the pock of a perſon who has the diſeaſe in a favourable way, and put it into a phial or gallipot. They then dip the point of a needle in this matter, and with it prick the perſon intended to be inoculated ſeveral times in a circle, on the fleſhy part of the arm. If he be a grown perſon, they prick him in both arms. After the blood is wiped away, they rub ſome more matter on the part, and order the patient to bathe in cold water three times a day, and to live on the moſt cooling things he can poſſibly procure, ſuch as water-melons, cucumbers, rice, water, *&c.* As ſoon however as the fever comes on, which happens about the fifth or ſeventh day, the patient is ordered to leave off bathing and the cool diet, and to live on milk and ſugar: the fever generally laſts three days, and then goes quite off. On the ſecond day after the pock has appeared, they waſh the whole body with cold water, which fills the puſtules; and this they do for the three ſucceeding days, two or three times each day, continuing the ſame regimen of milk and ſugar for diet. When the pock is drying off, they ſprinkle the patient with roſe-water; or when this cannot be had, with the juice of *Suttamullie*, *Suclapot*, *Culmee*, and root of green *Turmeric*. If the pock be very thick, they give the patient *Joan-ſeeds* to chew, and frequently tie *Bang*-leaves (which is a kind of hemp) on the parts moſt affected. It is a common practice among the *Portugueſe*, and ſome of the *Indians* on the *Malabar* coaſt, when the pock is fairly turned, to lay on wood and cow-dung aſhes very thick, which they think imbibe the matter, and make the ſcab fall off the more eaſily. They leave it to nature to diſengage herſelf from this compound of aſhes and puſtulary diſcharge. Their hopes of a cure from this method, ſeem to be founded on the ſuppoſed antiputreſcent and abſorbent quality of the aſhes. I refer it to better judges to determine whether this practice be rational or not; however, in general the patients recover from this loathſome diſorder.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The ſquadron ſails from Madraſs *for* Trinconomale *in* Ceylon.—*Deſcription of that harbour and iſland.—Account of the Cinnamon-tree,* &c. *with the minerals, and vegetable and animal productions.—Particular deſcription of the Elephant and Tyger, and various ſorts of venomous inſects,* &c.

ON the coaſt of *Coromandel*, the N. E. monſoon * blows from *November* to *March* or *April*, and ſometimes to *May*, when the S. W. monſoon commences. Along this coaſt the current generally ſets with the wind; to the northward in the S. W. monſoon, and to the ſouthward in the N. E. monſoon. To avoid the danger that might, and too frequently doth enſue from the ſhifting of the monſoon, we ſailed from *Madraſs* the 7th of *April*, in company with the *Cumberland*, *Tyger*, *Saliſbury* and *Bridgewater*, for *Trinconomale* in the iſland of *Ceylon*, and on the 22d of the ſame month came to an anchor in that harbour. At five in the afternoon *Mynheer Van Beaumount* the governor came on board to congratulate the admiral on his ſafe arrival at *Trinconomale*, and to offer him every aſſiſtance the place afforded. At his leaving the ſhip we ſaluted him with 13 guns. He afterwards waited on Commodore *Pocock* on board the *Cumberland*, and at his taking leave of him, was ſaluted by the ſame number of guns. The next day the admiral and commodore, attended by all the captains of the ſquadron, waited on the governor at the fort; they were received in the great hall with trumpets, drums, and three vollies of ſmall arms. After drinking coffee, tea, and a glaſs or two of wine, they took their leave. They were complimented, both at their entering and quitting the fort, with a diſcharge of 21 guns. 1755.

Trinconomale harbour is a very good one for ſhips to put into when in diſtreſs, and perhaps is better calculated for wooding and watering a ſquadron, than any other in the *Eaſt Indies*. It very much reſembles that of *Portſmouth*, and is almoſt quite land-locked; but this laſt circumſtance, in ſo

* There is a ſpecies of winds obſervable in the *Indian* ſeas, within the tropics, called by the ſailors *monſoons*, which during ſix months of the year blow one way; and the remaining ſix the other.

The occaſion of them in general is this: when the ſun approaches the northern tropic, there are ſeveral countries, as *Arabia*, *Perſia*, *India*, &c. which become hotter, and reflect more heat than the ſeas beyond the equator, which the ſun has left; the winds therefore, inſtead of blowing from thence to the parts under the equator, blow the contrary way; and when the ſun leaves thoſe countries, and draws near the other tropic, the winds turn about, and blow on the oppoſite ſide of the compaſs. At the time of the ſhifting of theſe winds, the *Indian* ſeas are very ſubject to be tempeſtuous, and the navigation becomes very unſafe.

ROWNING's *Natural Philoſophy*, vol. i.

hot

1755. hot a climate, may be rather reckoned an inconvenience, for hereby the free circulation of the ſea-breezes, ſo neceſſary to refreſh the men on board the ſhips, is greatly obſtructed. The trade of this port is very inconſiderable; and it is manifeſt that the ſole view of the *Dutch* in fortifying this and the ſeveral bays and rivers round the iſland, is to prevent other nations from ſettling here, or having any commerce with the natives.

The iſland of *Ceylon* is very large, being 250 miles long, and 200 broad. The inner part of it is in poſſeſſion of the natives, who are of the *Gentoo* religion, and they call their king the king of *Candy*. The *Dutch* having taken care to ſecure to themſelves the whole ſea-coaſt, endeavour to reconcile him to their converting the rich ſpices of his country to their own advantage, by making him frequent preſents; but ſometimes they have found him very refractory, and their ſucceeding in this important point has been attended with great difficulties.

There are many trees of different kinds to be met with on this iſland, ſuch as the *euphorbium*, *tulip-tree*, *ebony*, *redwood*, *caſſia*, *cocoa-nut*, *cotton*, *lime*, *mangoe*, *citron*, and black and yellow *teak*; theſe laſt have a moſt beautiful grain, but are ſo hard as to be very deſtructive to the cabinet-maker's tools. But the tree peculiar to this iſland, and which has proved the ſource of inexhauſtible riches to the *Dutch*, is the *Cinnamon*, which grows wild in every wood on the ſouth weſt part near *Columbo*, but there are few to be found near *Trinconomale*. This tree is propagated by a bird's eating of the fruit, part of which he diſcharges again, and afterwards the ſeeds of it take root. It grows ſomewhat like our common hazel; the leaves reſemble thoſe of the laurel, but with this difference, that they have only three fibres in their compoſition. According to ſome, it has three barks; but all agree that it has two. What they ſtrip from trees of a middling growth, is the beſt *Cinnamon*. The very young trees are not fit for rinding, and the old ones they cut down for firewood. From the root of this tree, the *Camphora* is extracted. But the greateſt quantity of this laſt drug is brought from *Sumatra*, where it is ſold in ſmall flat cakes, at the enormous price of 4*l.* ſterling an ounce. One pound of this genuine gum, Mr. *Thomas* was told, will produce an hundred pounds of ſuch as is brought to us from the *Indies* after adulteration.

Coffee alſo grows wild here; as do the trees and plants which produce

Balſam. Capivi, *Lacca*,
Gambogium, *Cinquenomale*.

Not having heard of this laſt before, Mr. *Thomas* imagined it to be a name given by the natives to a certain drug. A *Dutch* ſurgeon reſiding here, ſhewed him a balſam or oil extracted from it by diſtillation, and which he aſſured him was a very good medicine in a paralytic numbneſs. This gentleman alſo preſented him with a ſample of a gum growing here, which he called *Badule*:

he

he told me it was but lately noticed, and that as yet they knew not the uſe of it. 1755.

Every morning and evening we were gratified with a fine odour from the trees that were in bloom. At firſt we took them for the *cinnamon*, but they proved to be nothing more than common flowering ſhrubs, of which the whole iſland is full. The ſoil between the hills, which are very high and rocky, is a fat red earth; and the vallies are extremely pleaſant, having a clear rivulet running almoſt through every one of them. Here are alſo veins of black chryſtal, intermixed with ſpar, and iron, and ſome black lead, and copper ores. I am almoſt perſuaded alſo that this country produces tin, for Mr. *Thomas* *, who was a *Corniſh* gentleman, and particularly curious in ſuch matters, aſſured me, that during his ſtay on the iſland, he picked up as fine a piece of ore of that kind as ever he had ſeen in *Cornwal*, and that he intended carrying it home with him in order to ſhew it as a ſample. I ſhall only add, that if this very valuable commodity is really to be met with in this country, it is aſtoniſhing that the crafty *Hollander* ſhould not as yet have found it out, who was never known to ſpare pains in diſcoveries of any kind, as this would manifeſtly turn out to his inexpreſſible advantage. The iſland alſo produces *topazes*, *rubies*, *garnets*, &c. which the inhabitants diſcover by waſhing the ſoil they grow in. Neither *harp-ſhells* nor *ventel-traps* are found here, but numbers of painted *cockles*, and others which are commonly called the *panama-ſhells*.

We found the country to abound alſo with many uncommon curioſities; particularly the *creeping leaf*: This is certainly a ſpecies of the graſhopper; it has every member you ſee in common inſects, ſuch as head, legs, wings, and body, and of a pale green colour, but yet in ſhape and appearance exactly reſembles a leaf.

A great variety both of wild and tame fowl are to be met with here, and which are ſold at a low price. A dozen of fowls, or five ducks, for a *rupee*, not quite a half crown of *Engliſh* money. The bay, which has many coves, abounds in fiſh, eſpecially the *cavally*, and *ſurmullet*; theſe are to be had very cheap. The ſame may be ſaid of the fruits of the iſland, ſuch as *pine-apples*, *jacks*, *bananoes*, *cocoa-nuts*, *mangoes*, &c. &c. A *pine-apple* may be bought for a penny or leſs, and all the other fruits in proportion. Money is the ſame here as in *Holland*; they have only a different way of reckoning, as 8 *doit* to a *caſh*, 12 *caſh* to a *rupee*. A *rupee* goes but for two ſhillings ſterling, or four *ſchillings Dutch*; 96 *doit* make a *rupee*.

Common deer they have here, in great abundance, and alſo *Guinea* deer, but few other horned cattle, and theſe too very ſmall. We killed ſix of

* The author is obliged to Mr. *Thomas* for moſt of the obſervations made on the country near *Columbo*.

1755. their oxen one day during our ſtay at *Trinconomale*, and the weight of the whole amounted but to 714 pounds. One of them weighed only 70 pounds. How different were theſe little, deſpicable animals, from the oxen which we ſlaughtered at *Madagaſcar*, each of which weighed from 6 to 700 pounds and upwards? But however ſmall and contemptible the breed of bullocks may be on this iſland, nature ſeems to have made her full amends in the ſtupendous ſize of her elephants, which are ſaid to be the largeſt of any in the known world *.

The *Elephant* is certainly the moſt extraordinary of all animals, and well merits a particular deſcription. His body is heavy and groſs, generally of a dark, dirty colour; and though, when arrived at full growth, he is from twelve to fourteen feet high, and from eighteen to twenty in circumference, yet his head is ſtill larger in proportion; and what is more extraordinary, his eye is no bigger than that of an hog, which it exactly reſembles. His legs are like four large columns, rather long than ſhort, and jointed like a cat's juſt above the feet, which are round at their bottoms, and do not ſpread much beyond the bulk of the legs. His ears are flat, hanging down, and ſurprizingly large; the tail is ſmall, but long, with a few briſtles at the end. At the two corners of his mouth grow two large tuſks or teeth, which are what we call ivory; theſe are ſix or ſeven feet long in the *male elephant*; in the *female* they are ſeldom half that length. But the moſt extraordinary part of this animal is his *proboſcis* or trunk, which is long and hollow like a trumpet, and ſerves him inſtead of a hand † to feed himſelf, being able to move it with incredible agility and ſtrength, and to take up therewith the ſmalleſt thing from the ground, by means of a little point, which he can twiſt round it. His common food is leaves of trees, graſs, corn, and ſugar-canes, of which laſt he is particularly fond. Notwithſtanding the unwieldineſs of this beaſt, his motions are very alert, and he walks with great eaſe, faſt enough to keep a man on a good run. Many incredible ſtories are related by ancient authors of the docility and ingenuity of this *half-reaſoning* animal. They are ſaid to be ſuſceptible of affection, fondneſs, gratitude and modeſty. There is nothing but they may be taught: *Arrian*, an author of veracity, relates, that he had ſeen an *elephant* dance with two *cymbals* faſtened to his legs, which he touched alternately in cadence with his trunk, and that many others of the ſame ſpecies gambol'd round him, keeping time with an aſtoniſhing exactneſs.

Pliny too, ſpeaking of the elephant which carried *Porus* in the battle he fought againſt *Alexander* the *Great*, tells us, that perceiving his maſter quite ſinking under the wounds which he had received, he lowered him-

* Elephantas ii multo majores erant quam quos fert India. *Plinius.*

† Manus data elephantis, quia propter magnitudinem corporis difficiles aditus habebant ad paſtum. Cic. *de Nat. Deor. lib.* 2. *n.* 123.

ſelf,

ſelf, that he might ſet his maſter down without hurting him, and pulled out the arrows which ſtuck in him with his trunk; at length perceiving him to faint through loſs of blood, he placed him again upon his back, and conveyed him in ſafety to the camp: A moſt amazing inſtance of the docility and gratitude of the *elephant*. No wonder therefore that the ancients made uſe of them in war, and ſometimes with great ſucceſs; but ſince the invention of fire-arms they have not been found of equal uſe as formerly; for they are remarkably terrified at fire, and will at the ſight of it, frequently turn back upon their friends, and overthrow every thing that ſtands in their way. They are chiefly uſed at preſent for the fording deep rivers, and carrying over the baggage on their backs. After the keepers have loaded them with ſeveral hundred weight, they faſten ropes to them, of which the ſoldiers taking hold, either ſwim, or are drawn acroſs the river. In time of action, they now and then fix an heavy iron chain to the end of their trunks, which they whirl round with ſuch agility, as to make it impoſſible for an enemy to approach them at that time. Another uſe they ſtill have for this creature in war, is, to force open the gates of a city or garriſon which is cloſely beſieged. This he does by ſetting his backſide againſt them, riggling backwards and forwards with his whole weight, till he has burſt the bars, and forced an entrance: to prevent which, moſt of the garriſons in this country, have large ſpikes ſtuck in their gates, that project to a conſiderable diſtance. However, after all, thoſe prodigious animals are kept more for ſhew and grandeur than for uſe, and their keeping is attended with a very great expence, for they devour vaſt quantities of proviſion; and you muſt ſometimes regale them with a plentiful repaſt of *cinnamon*, of which they are exceſſively fond. I have been told, that it is no uncommon thing with a *Nabob*, if he has a mind to ruin a private gentleman, to make him a preſent of an *elephant* *, which he is ever afterwards obliged to maintain at a greater expence than he can afford: by parting with it, he would certainly fall under the diſpleaſure of the grandee, beſides forfeiting all the honour which his countrymen think is conferred upon him by ſo reſpectable a preſent. 1755.

The notions of the *Indians* concerning the elephant are various. It has been in all ages, and is to this day, the cuſtom of the *oriental* nations, to wrap up all their wiſdom in ſhort ſentences or proverbs, allegories and parables. Some of the *Indians* literally believe that the globe of the world is ſupported by an *elephant*; which notion probably had its riſe from a proverb of theirs to that purpoſe, but which certainly meant no more, than that the commerce of their country depended in a great meaſure upon *elephants*. I could not but remark too, that in almoſt all their *Pagodas*, or places of worſhip, they have the image of this creature depicted on the walls. Some imagine, that they place the *elephant* here as an emblem of

* ——Eutrapelus cuicunque nocere volebat,
Veſtimenta dabat pretioſa—— Hor. *Epiſt.* xviii. *lib.* i.

1755. *God*'s omniſcience; while others rather think that they pay adoration to him, as being endowed with greater ſagacity than themſelves, and therefore pray to him for a portion of his wiſdom. The natives relate another inſtance of the docility of theſe creatures, that in marching with an army, they gather up every ſtick of ſize they meet with on the road, which towards the evening is ſometimes increaſed to a faggot large enough to dreſs all the proviſions for that night.

But not to mention any more of the multitude of things reported of them; the following particulars are what I obſerved myſelf. They generally *ſtand* under the ſhadow of ſome ſpreading tree, to prevent their being ſtung by the little ant, which, notwithſtanding their gigantic ſize and bulk, is a great terror to them. To prevent his crawling about them, they are continually taking up duſt or ſand in their trunk, and throwing it over their heads and backs; nay they ſometimes take a whiſp of ſtraw or graſs, and bruſh themſelves down with it behind, whilſt with their briſtly tail they ſweep their fore-parts. When you firſt approach them, they are taught by their keeper to make their *Salaam* or obedience to you, which is done by falling almoſt backwards, and making a prodigious eructation or rattling in the throat, not much unlike the firſt breaking of thunder. The keeper then mounts his ſhoulders, which he could not poſſibly do without the *elephant*'s aſſiſtance, who for that purpoſe crooks one of his legs: the keeper's firſt ſtep is made on his lower joint, the next on his knee, and he then ſprings upon his back, laying hold of the flap of his ear. After the *elephant* has performed many tricks at the word of command, then, to ſhew you how capable he is of picking up the moſt minute thing with his trunk, you are deſired to lay a ſilver *fanam* upon the ground: this, which is the ſmalleſt of all coins, the *elephant* feels about for till he finds, then takes hold of it, and gives it to the keeper, as ſeated upon his back. He laſt of all throws out his trunk to its full length, by way of ſhaking hands with you, and thus the ceremony is ended. Another circumſtance I obſerved was, that whenever they drank, they always firſt ſtirred the water, and made it foul with their feet: The reaſon for their doing this, is, that the gravel and ſmall ſtones which they hereby ſwallow, help to digeſt their food; and not, as ſome alledge, that they render the water muddy, becauſe they hate to ſee their own figure in that element. One more particular relating to theſe animals, is their ſurprizing age. If we could depend upon what we are told by *Philoſtratus*, in his life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, and believe that this great traveller ſaw the very *elephant* on which *Porus* rode in the battle againſt *Alexander*, that *elephant* muſt have been above 400 years of age. That they live till between 2 and 300 years is ſtrongly believed; and it is certain, that they are in full vigour, at much above an hundred: but it ſeems that nothing can be ſaid with certainty as to the exact time that they uſually live: whenever I aſked any of the *Indians* a queſtion relative to this ſubject, they always anſwered me, "*This elephant was my great-grandfather's.*"

The natives catch the *elephant* by the following method: they have two places ſtrongly incloſed; one contains ſeveral acres of land, the other is but ſmall. When they intend to hunt, which they always do in the night, they go in a large company, with each man a veſſel of fire on his head. As ſoon as the *elephant* ſees the light, he purſues; the man that is ſingled out runs into the large incloſure, there drops his fire, and retires to a tree; the *elephant* preſently employs himſelf in trampling and ſcattering about the fire. When they have a ſufficient number of them in the large incloſure, they ſhut up the firſt paſſage, and then decoy the *elephants* one by one into the ſmall place, where they get ropes about them, and by the help of tame *elephants* convey them home. Sometimes, however, the men are overtaken before they reach the incloſure, when they throw down the fire, and fly to the next tree for ſecurity. 1755.

The *Tyger* alſo is an inhabitant of *Ceylon*; this beaſt, though ſometimes found in other countries, yet is in a peculiar manner a native of the *Eaſt Indies*. *Malabar* is the moſt famous for the breed of this animal: there are it ſeems three kinds, but that which I am going to deſcribe is the largeſt, and by way of diſtinction, is called the *Tyger Royal:* his ſkin is of a yellow, ſandy colour, ſhining and gloſſy, with long black ſtripes; his head and mouth very large; eyes exceeding lively; teeth long and yellow; legs very thick, with ſurprizing ſharp claws; and the tail is perpetually in motion. The *female tyger* is ſaid to be much more fierce than the *male*, eſpecially when ſhe has young. But they are both beaſts of prey, and that of the moſt cruel and ſavage kind; for it is obſervable, that as the lion never eats any creature till after it is dead, and even groans while he is killing it, indicating a generoſity of temper, ſo the tyger tears his prey to pieces while it is living, and ſeems to delight in torturing it. If he meets with a dead horſe or a ſheep, he will not touch it; but if a *tyger*, *tygreſs*, and their *young* fall in with an herd of cattle, or flock of ſheep, they are ſure to make a terrible havoc among them; for as they will only ſuck their blood, and paunch a few of them, they have been known to deſtroy fourſcore ſheep in one night. They generally hide themſelves behind ſome thicket in an incloſed country, from whence they dart out with incredible fierceneſs either upon man or beaſt that is paſſing by. *Monſieur Thevenot*, a *French* writer, ſays, that "if a man ſtands boldly upright, without betraying any ſymptoms of fear, neither *lion* nor *tyger* will venture to touch him." This aſſertion ſeems to have no manner of foundation, at leaſt I ſhould not chuſe to venture on the experiment. It is very well known, that if ten men are in company, they will ſingle out one particular perſon from the reſt; and they alſo ſeldom care to attack a white man, if a black man be among them. The reaſon for their making this diſtinction, is, probably, that they are better acquainted with the black men, and had rather prey upon them, than upon *Europeans*, to whom they are ſtrangers.

The

1755. The woods in this iſland abound with various ſorts of venomous inſects; ſuch as *ſnakes*, of an enormous ſize and length; I had a view of one that meaſured 15 feet in length, and 30 inches in circumference; *ſcorpions*, *centipedes*, *ſpiders*, *tarantulas*, &c. I ſaw a ſpider here as large as a toad, with brown hair upon it; the legs were of the thickneſs of a large tobacco-pipe, and more than four inches long. A ſcorpion alſo, which was taken out of a piece of wood, was brought on board the 9th of *May*, which meaſured 8 inches from head to tail, excluſive of the claws: the ſhell was as hard as that of a crab. I killed a *centipede* here which was more than 7 inches long.

The natives of this iſland are the ſtouteſt *Indians* I ever ſaw. Mr. *Knox* in his hiſtory reports many ſtrange things of their religion and cuſtoms, none of which I had an opportunity of ſeeing. He ſays, that "they have various ways of treating their dead. Some burn them, (which is not uncommon in *India*,) while others throw their limbs up into the forks of large trees." This may be true, becauſe when our wood-cutters were once hewing down a ſtick of timber, there fell from it, the ſcull, and many bones of an human body; and I alſo ſaw here a human body hanging on a tree.

Other hiſtorians relate, that the natives of *Ceylon* feed on human fleſh; nay that they eat the bodies of their deceaſed parents, imagining that no other ſepulchre is ſo fit for them as their own bowels, ſince hereby they think they are changed into their own ſubſtance, and live again in themſelves. This ſhocking cuſtom is reported of the ancient *Scythians*, and poſſibly it might have been uſed by the old inhabitants of *Ceylon*, but it is now in both countries entirely aboliſhed; and yet even at this time, theſe iſlanders are ſaid to make cups of their parents ſculls *, with a view that amidſt their mirth and jollity they may be ſure to preſerve a reſpectful remembrance of them.—What a difference has cuſtom wrought between

* Sir *William Temple*, in the 2d part of his *Miſcellanea*, obſerves, that it was a fixed and general opinion among the weſtern *Scythians*, that all thoſe who gave themſelves up to warlike actions and enterpriſes, to the conqueſts of their neighbours, and ſlaughter of enemies, and died in battle, or of violent deaths upon bold adventures and reſolutions, went immediately to the vaſt hall or palace of *Odin*, their god of war, who eternally kept open houſe for all ſuch gueſts, where they were entertained at infinite tables, in perpetual feaſts and mirth, carouſing every man in bowls made of the ſculls of their enemies they had ſlain, according to the numbers of which, every one in theſe manſions of pleaſure was the moſt honoured and the beſt entertained.

How this opinion was imprinted in the minds of theſe fierce mortals, and what effect it had upon their thoughts and paſſions, concerning life and death, is moſt lively repreſented in the twenty-fifth and twenty-ninth ſtanza's of that ſong or epicedium of *Rednor Ladbrog*, one of their famous kings, which he compoſed in the *Runic* language about eight hundred years ago, after he was mortally ſtung by a ſerpent, and before the venom ſeized upon his vitals. The whole ſonnet is recited by *Olaus Wormius* in his *Literatura Runica*. But that which is extraordinary in it is, that ſuch an alacrity or pleaſure in dying was never expreſſed in any other writing, nor imagined among any other people. The two ſtanza's are thus tranſlated into *Latin* by *Olaus*.

STANZA

between us and them! ſince thoſe ſpectacles which to us would appear frightful and melancholy, are to them familiar and delightful. 1755.

The boats uſed by the natives of *Ceylon* are trees hollowed; but when the boat on account of the ſize of the tree is too ſmall, they build on top of it a trough, ſquare at both ends; they are about 12 or 14 inches wide, and as many feet long; the tree part at the bottom is much wider; they have outriggers and ſails, much the ſame as at *Madagaſcar*. There are ſome boats of this ſort much larger, built between two trees, with which they go along ſhore; the others are for the fiſhermen, in which they will go many leagues from the land.

The *Dutch* ſhew you in *Ceylon*, *Adam*'s apple (as they call it); it is in ſhape like the quarter of an apple cut out, with the two inſides a little convex, and a continued ridge round the two outer edges. It is of a beautiful orange colour, but of a poiſonous quality. Some writers, induced by the exceeding fruitfulneſs of the iſland, have ſuppoſed it to be the ſeat of the *terreſtrial paradiſe*: but this opinion is not mine: that it was the *Taprobana* of the ancients is not unlikely; and indeed there are ſtrong reaſons for believing that the iſland of *Taprobana* and *Ceylon* is the ſame. The ancients, particularly *Ptolomy*, obſerve that * *Taprobana* was famous for producing the largeſt breed of *elephants*, which is alſo true of *Ceylon*. *Taprobana* likewiſe was greatly celebrated for its ſpices, and in this reſpect *Ceylon* may be ſaid to rival it, for it produces not only *ginger*,

STANZA XXV.

Pugnavimus enſibus,
Hoc ridere me facit ſemper
Quod Balderi patris ſcamna
Parata ſcio in aulâ.
Bibimus cereviſiam
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum:
Non gemit vir fortis contrà mortem
Magnifici in Odini domibus,
Non venio deſperabundus
Verbis ad Othini aulam.

STANZA XXIX.

Fert animus finire,
Invitant me Dyſæ
Quas ex Odini aulâ
Othinus mihi miſit
Lætus cereviſiam cum Aſis
In ſummâ ſede bibam,
Vitæ elapſæ ſunt horæ,
Ridens moriar.

* Eſt in ſinu Gangetico, Narſingæ regno adverſa, *Ceylon*, novem regnis diſtincta, antiquis *Taprobana* dicta. CLUVERII *Geograp. lib.* v.

pepper

1755. *pepper* * and *cardamoms*, but *cinnamon* alſo, and the fineſt in the world. Again, *Taprobana* is ſaid to have abounded with *precious ſtones*; ſo does *Ceylon* †; and its *rubies*, *topazes*, and *ſapphires* in particular are reckoned the beſt in the *Eaſt Indies*. *Taprobana* is celebrated for its great fertility, and in this *Ceylon* is not at all behind it, for from the luxuriance of the ſoil, they have five kinds of *rice* which ripen one after another. From all the above circumſtances ſo exactly tallying with each other, we are led to conclude, that the iſland now called *Ceylon*, was the famous *Taprobana* of the *antients*.

* The pepper grows here like our hops, ſupported by poles; the leaves are of the ſhape of a common plantain, about four inches wide, and the flowers are very like the ſtem and ſeed of that plant; but when the pepper fills, it appears like a large bunch of ſmall grapes as they lie very cloſe to the ſtem. One of theſe, accompanies the leaf on the ſame ſtalk.

† Nec verò ex nomine ſolo, verum etiam ex gemmis & margaritis grandioribus, aliiſque quæ de *Taprobane* veteres tradunt, præcipuè verò ex ſitu, *Zeilan* eſſe antiquum *Taprobanes* apparet. HENR. STEPHANI *in Dionyſium Commentarius.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The ſquadron leaves Trinconomale, *and arrives at* Fort St. David; *is driven out to ſea, but returns ſafe to the road.—The Admiral makes an excurſion to* Chilambaram. — *Manner of travelling in* India. — *Deſcription of the famous* Pagoda *at* Chilambaram.—*Mr.* Watſon *receives his Majeſty's commiſſion appointing him Rear-admiral of the Red.*—Mahomed-Ally, *Nabob of* Arcot, *arrives in the neighbourhood of* Fort St. David.—*He is viſited by the admiral,* &c.—*He returns the admirals viſit; the manner of his reception on board the fleet. — Account of ſome particular* Indian *cuſtoms on that occaſion.—Account of the land-wind, and its violent effects.*

THE ſquadron having ſpent near three weeks at *Ceylon* in wooding, watering, and cleaning, on the 10th of *May*, the admiral, commodore, and all the captains went on ſhore to take leave of the governor; and the next morning, we ſailed with the whole fleet from *Trinconomale*, and on the 14th caſt anchor in *Fort St. David*'s road. But in a few days after, we began to be ſenſible that our anxiety for leaving *Trinconomale* in order to return again upon the coaſt, (the ſcene of action) had occaſioned us to be there too ſoon; for unluckily the *monſoon* did not change till after our arrival; and when it did, it blew with ſo much violence, that we ſoon deſpaired of riding out the ſtorm. Therefore, on the 24th of *May* all the ſhips were obliged to put to ſea, but returned again to *St. David*'s road on the 31ſt, without having received any material damage*. 1755.

The

* The S. W. monſoon is commonly called the *little monſoon*, becauſe the ſtorms attending it, are not in general ſo ſevere, as thoſe in the autumn ſeaſon; but ever ſince the deſtruction of part of Admiral *Boſcawen*'s ſquadron, which happened at this time of the year, the *Engliſh* cannot be too fearful of its conſequences.

The following copy of a letter to me, though of an old date, from Lieutenant *James Alms* of the navy, (now commander of his majeſty's ſhip the *Montreal*) cannot be unacceptable to the reader, as it is pertinent to the ſubject of this vernal monſoon, and as it contains the only particular and authentic account that ever was publiſhed of the loſs of his majeſty's ſhip the *Namur* of 74 guns, and upwards of 500 choice ſeamen, who periſhed on this occaſion: Mr. *Alms*'s probity as a man, and courage and ability as a ſea officer, are well known both in *England* and the *Eaſt Indies*.

1755. The Admiral, Commodore *Pocock*, and Captain *Knowler*, happened to be on ſhore at the time the gale came on, and during the whole of its continuance, were much more agreeably engaged in a little excurſion they made to *Deve-Cotah*, and the famous *Pagoda* of *Chilambaram*. They were accompanied by Lieutenant *Carnac*, Mr. *Doidge* the Admiral's ſecretary, and Mr. *Cobbe*, who gave me the following agreeable relation of their tour.

" Our retinue conſiſted of two ſets of *Palanquin-boys* for each perſon; *Dubaſh-boys*, 20 *Peons*, a great number of *Cooleys* to carry the tent-baggage, tables,

" We were at anchor in the *Namur*, in *Fort St. David*'s road, Thurſday *April* 13th 1749. In the morning it blew freſh. Wind N. E.—N. E. by E. At noon we veered away to a cable and a half on the ſmall bower. From 1 to 4 o'clock, we were employed in ſetting up the lower rigging. Hard gales and ſqually, with a very great ſea. At 6 o'clock rode very well. At half an hour after, had four feet water in the hold. Immediately we cut the ſmall bower cable, and ſtood to ſea under our courſes. The ſhip laid out S. E. and S. E. by S. Our mate who cut the cable was up to his waiſt in water at the bitts. At half paſt ſeven, we had ſix feet water in the hold, when we hauled up our courſes, and hove overboard moſt of our upper, and all the quarter-deck guns to leeward. By three quarters after eight, the water was up to our orlop gratings, and there was a great quantity between decks, ſo that the ſhip was water-log'd. Then we cut away all the maſts, by which the ſhip righted. At the ſame time we manned the pump, bailed, and ſoon perceived that we gained upon the ſhip, which put us in great ſpirits. A little after nine o'clock, we ſounded, and found ourſelves in nine fathom water. The maſter called to cut away the ſheet-anchor, which was done immediately, and we veered away to a little better than a cable, but before ſhe came head to the ſea, ſhe parted at the cheſs tree. By this time it blew an hurricane!——You may eaſier conceive, than I deſcribe, what a diſmal, melancholy ſcene now preſented itſelf. The ſhrieking, cries, lamentations, raving, deſpair, of above five hundred poor wretches verging on the brink of eternity!

I had preſence of mind however to conſider, that the *God All-mighty* was alſo the *God All-merciful*, with the comfortable reflection and hope, that I had ever put my whole truſt in him. I then made a ſhort prayer for his protection, and jumped over board. The water at that time was up to the gratings on the poop, from whence I leaped. The firſt thing I graſped was a capſtan-bar: from which, in company with ſeven more, I got to the David, but in leſs than an hour, I had the melancholy ſight to ſee them all waſhed away, and myſelf remained alone upon it, almoſt ſpent. I had now been above two hours in the water, when, to my unſpeakable joy, I ſaw a large raft with a great many men driving towards me; when it came near, I quitted the David, and with much difficulty ſwam to, and by the aſſiſtance of one of our quarter-gunners, got upon it. The raft proved to be the *Namur*'s booms. As ſoon as we were able, we laſhed the booms cloſer together, and faſtened a plank acroſs; and by this means made a good *Catamaran*.—It was by this time one o'clock in the morning. Soon after that, the ſeas were ſo mountainous as to turn our machine upſide down, but providentially with the loſs only of one man.

About four o'clock we ſtruck ground with the booms, and in a very little while, all that ſurvived got on ſhore. After having returned God thanks for his almoſt miraculous goodneſs towards us, we took each other by the hand (for it was not yet day), and truſting ſtill in the divine providence for protection, we walked forwards to find ſome place to ſhelter us from the inclemency of the weather, for the ſpot where we landed afforded nothing but ſand. When we had walked about for a whole hour, but to no manner of purpoſe, we returned back to the place where we had left our *Catamaran*, and to our no ſmall uneaſineſs found it gone. Day-light appeared ſoon after, when we found ourſelves on a ſandy bank a little to the ſouthward of *Porto-Novo*; and as there was a river running between us and this *Dutch* ſettlement, we were under a neceſſity of fording it, and ſoon afterwards arrived at *Porto-Novo*, where we were received with much hoſpitality.

From

tables, ſtools, liquors, and proviſions; one or two *Hircars* *, one *Havildah* †, and a company of *Sepoys*, by way of body-guard. So that our whole train conſiſted of near 200 perſons. The firſt night we reached *Porto-Novo*, where we encamped. The next day we got to *Deve-Cotah*. Mr. *Hopkins* the chief, having received ſome previous notice of our coming, met us upon the road with another company of *Sepoys*; and becauſe the weather was ſo bad as to prevent our proceeding in our journey, he entertained us for three days at his own houſe in the moſt friendly manner. 1755.

Deve-Cotah is a ſmall ſettlement belonging to the *Engliſh Eaſt India* company, and was taken from the king of *Tanjour* by Major *Lawrence* in the year 1749. It is but weakly fortified; and indeed the only reaſon that induces them to hold it, is, becauſe it is a ſort of key to all the *Tanjour* country. Here we continued till the weather became more favourable, when we again ſet out upon our journey, and having croſſed one branch of the *Coleroon*, we on the ſame night reached a *Choltre* within a few miles of that river. A *Choltre* is not much unlike a large ſummer-houſe, and in general is little more than a bare covering from the inclemency of the weather. Some few indeed are more ſpacious, and are alſo endowed with a ſalary to ſupport a ſervant or two, whoſe buſineſs is to furniſh all paſſengers with a certain quantity of rice and freſh water. They are all of them built at the expence of private perſons; for as it is a fundamental law in this country, that every individual ſhall do ſomething towards the benefit of the whole community, ſo they are ſure exactly to fulfil it, according to their reſpective abilities. One man therefore plants a *tope* or grove, a ſecond digs a *tank* or large pond, another repairs a

From our firſt landing to our arrival at *Porto-Novo*, we loſt four of our companions; two at the place where we were driven on ſhore, and two in croſſing the river. After we had ſufficiently refreſhed ourſelves at *Porto-Novo*, the chief there was ſo obliging as to accommodate me with an horſe and guide to carry me to *Fort St. David*, where I arrived about noon the day following, and immediately waited upon the admiral, who received me very kindly indeed; but ſo exceſſive was the concern of that great and good man for the loſs of ſo many poor ſouls, that he could not find utterance for thoſe queſtions he appeared deſirous of aſking me concerning the particulars of our diſaſter.

Till I reached *Porto-Novo* you beheld me ſhipwrecked and naked: I muſt again repeat it, that the *Dutch* received, refreſhed, and kindly conveyed me to my truly honourable patron; through whoſe goodneſs and humanity, I am not only cloathed and comforted, but alſo made lieutenant of the *Syren*, from which ſhip I date this letter.

I am, *&c.*

JAMES ALMS.

P. S. There were only 23 of us ſaved from the wreck, 20 of whom came on ſhore on the booms."

* *Hircars*, commonly ſignify ſpies, here meſſengers.

† An officer of *Sepoys*, of the rank of a ſerjeant.

1755. road, whilſt a fourth builds a *choltre*, or perhaps a *pagoda*. Theſe ſtructures are ever afterwards looked upon as the property of the public, and the founder of either of them is as much cried up in this country for his humanity and munificence, as any perſon in *England* is for erecting an hoſpital or an infirmary.

The method of travelling in this part of the world is very ſingular, and therefore worthy of notice.

As the roads are not furniſhed with inns, you are obliged to carry moſt of your proviſions with you, and all the implements to dreſs it. To your *Cooleys* or ſervants, whom you hire for this purpoſe, you pay ſo much by the day, and they find themſelves in victuals. Their chief food is rice, and their drink *toddy*, both of which are eaſily to be procured in any part of the country, and at a reaſonable price. The *Cooleys* are very extraordinary fellows for bearing fatigue; and are very little impatient either of hunger or thirſt. Their common rate of travelling is four miles an hour, and I have known them walk four-and-twenty hours without once breaking their faſt. As people in this part of the world always travel in large companies, it ſeldom happens that the whole *caravan* arrives at the place of deſtination at the ſame time. It is the cuſtom therefore for thoſe who get in firſt, to make the neceſſary preparations for the reception of ſuch who are behind. The making a fire for dreſſing the victuals, is always the firſt thing done, for which purpoſe ſome are immediately ſent out to pick up ſticks, whilſt others are as neceſſarily employed in mixing the ingredients for making punch, *&c.*

One of the greateſt inconveniencies attending a traveller, is the difficulty of his getting a draught of water from any of the natives, ſhould he chance to go on faſter than the *Cooleys* who carry his utenſils. Among the higher *caſts*, I have known their ſuperſtition carried ſo far in this reſpect, as to inſiſt on all *Europeans* lying upon their backs, while the water is poured into their mouths, leſt they ſhould defile the veſſel by the touch of either their hands or lips. Upon the whole, though the method of travelling in *India* is not a little inconvenient to ſtrangers; yet it muſt be owned, that the many ridiculous ſhifts they are neceſſarily put to, and the ſeveral laughable occurrences which happen upon ſuch occaſions, more than compenſate for the loſs of better accommodations.

After having paſſed a very merry evening at this *choltre*, every man betook himſelf to his *palanquin* as a bed, while all our attendants ſlept around us. And it muſt be confeſſed, that except when they have drank too deeply of the fermented *toddy*, or ſtupified their brain with *bang* and *beetel-nut*, theſe fellows are very vigilant, and will wake with the leaſt noiſe or diſturbance. Next morning before ſun-riſe, we reſumed our march, and went on without any impediment till we got to another branch of the

Coleroon,

Coleroon, which was ſo much ſwelled by the late rains, that for the preſent it was judged impaſſable. We were now within little more than gun-ſhot of *Chilambaram*, and therefore were very unwilling to turn back, after having taken ſo much pains. Our *Harcar* preſently relieved us from our anxiety, by aſſuring us, that we ſhould be able to ford the ſtream in leſs than two hours, for he well knew that the tide had a great influence on this river, and he added, that it was now on the ebb. This intelligence gave us all great pleaſure; therefore we made no difficulty of putting into the next *choltre*, and there with great content we ſat down to breakfaſt. During our ſtay at this *choltre*, we had leiſure to examine the ſeveral travellers, who had poſſeſſion of it before our arrival. They chiefly conſiſted of thoſe remarkable pilgrims, who come from the kingdom of *Bengal*, and carry about with them veſſels filled with the water of the *Ganges*, which is ſaid to have been conſecrated by the ancient *Brachmans*, and at this time is ſuppoſed to perform many miraculous cures. What truth there is in it, I cannot pretend to ſay; but this is certain, that almoſt the whole life of theſe poor creatures is ſpent in this kind of pilgrimage, and there are many families in *Bengal*, whoſe ſole dependence is the carrying about this ſacred water to the ſeveral *Brahmins* in the ſouthern part of *India*, who again diſpoſe of it among their reſpective diſciples. It is a common ſaying, that there are cheats in all profeſſions; and for ſome time we had reaſon to ſuſpect it here. For upon our offering a large ſum of money for one of their veſſels, a certain old woman in the company began to liſten to the propoſal, and looked rather with a wiſhful eye upon the gold which we held in our hands. On this a general clamour and uproar aroſe among the reſt, which had ſuch an effect upon the old woman, that, whatever her intention might have been, ſhe burſt into a flood of tears, which put an end to our offering her any farther temptation. 1755.

In about two hours we plainly perceived that the ebb was made; and ſeeing at the ſame time an herdſman with a drove of cattle paſſing over, we were induced to try the ſame experiment, and ſucceeded in it without any difficulty.

We had no ſooner got into the town of *Chilambaram*, but Mr. *Carnac* ſat down on the bank of the river, and wrote a letter to Monſ. *Ville Nove* the commandant, reſiding at this famous *pagoda*, acquainting him with Mr. *Watſon*'s arrival, and that the whole party were deſirous of making him a viſit. To which he immediately returned an anſwer, that "We did him a great deal of honour, and hoped that we would come in *ſans ceremonie*." Monſ. *Ville Nove* was only a lieutenant in the *French* ſervice, but a very genteel, well bred man. He entertained us with all the politeneſs of his country. After dinner we drank their *Britannic* and *Moſt Chriſtian* Majeſty's health's, good ſucceſs to each of our *Eaſt India* companies affairs; and the ladies at *Madraſs* and *Pondicherry*. Our ſtay here was not above

five

1755. five hours, rather too ſhort to make any remarks upon the place; but what I remember I will briefly ſet down.

Chilambaram Pagoda is one of the largeſt in all *India*. It was once in the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, who neglecting it too much, entruſted the defence of it to only a ſerjeant and twelve men. The *French* taking advantage of this, made a ſudden attack upon it, and took it with great eaſe. Its walls and gateways are ſtrong and well-built. On the third inner wall are four ſubſtantial towers, curiouſly wrought with figures of gods and *pagods*, and very much reſembling the weſt end of our cathedrals. In the middle court or ſquare is a very large *tank* of water, which is common in this country, and is uſed for bodily purification. It has a great number of little *pagodas* or chapels round it. The paintings are but indifferent, and conſiſt of ſtrange prepoſterous figures. Towards the upper end, there is a dark repoſitory, where they keep their *Swamme*, that is their chief god. The *French* indulge the *Indians* with full liberty of coming hither to perform the duties of their religion, and never in the leaſt interrupt them. This indulgence, by the bye, brings in no ſmall gain to the craftsmen; for as this place is a kind of *Mecca*, where all perſons are obliged once in their lives to come and pay their devotions, ſo the pilgrims are always making the *French* conſiderable preſents for granting them this toleration. However, the preſent grand remains of the *pagoda* at *Chilambaram*, are very well worth a traveller's obſervation, as they convey to the mind a very clear and diſtinct idea of its former magnificence."

Not many weeks after Mr. *Watſon*'s return from his excurſion to *Chilambaram*, he had the ſatisfaction to receive his majeſty's commiſſion, promoting him to the rank of Rear-admiral of the *Red*, and he accordingly hoiſted the red flag at the mizen-top-maſt head: and at the ſame time Mr. *Pocock* (to the very great pleaſure of the admiral, and of every other gentleman of the ſquadron) hoiſted the white flag on the ſame maſt-head on board the *Cumberland*. The promotion of theſe two gallant officers gave great ſatisfaction not only to the officers in the marine department, but to thoſe of the king's troops, and the company's land forces, to all of whom our two admirals had carried themſelves with ſo much affability and politeneſs, that they ſtood very high in their affection and eſteem. Such an harmony and good underſtanding prevailed among the ſeveral branches of military gentlemen in this part of the world, as promiſed the ſureſt hopes of ſucceſs, ſhould an opportunity offer of attacking the enemy.

Whilſt our ſquadron lay at *Fort St. David*, MAHOMED-ALLY, *Nabob* of *Arcot* (in whoſe intereſt we were engaged) arrived in that neighbourhood. As ſoon as he drew near the boundaries, Colonel *Adlercron*, with a captain's guard, immediately waited upon him; as did the ſame day Mr. *Starke*, the deputy governor of *St. David*, and his whole council. The next morning the admirals *Watſon* and *Pocock*, with the ſeveral captains, lieutenants,

tenants, and midſhipmen of the ſquadron, made him a viſit; Admiral *Watſon* having firſt given him notice of their intention, and the *Nabob* in return ſending word that he was ready to receive them. The ceremonial obſerved upon this occaſion, was, the admirals, captains, and lieutenants were carried in *palanquins* two and two a-breaſt. The number of midſhipmen indeed was ſo great, that no *palanquins* could be got for them; they therefore walked on foot, four and four a-breaſt, at the head of the *palanquins*, dreſſed in their uniforms, and with their ſwords. The admiral's ſecretary, chaplain, and a few other ſtaff-officers of the ſquadron, cloſed the proceſſion. At their coming within a ſmall diſtance of the *Nabob*'s camp, they were met by his captain-general, who was ſent out in compliment to the admiral, and who preſently conducted him to the *Nabob*'s tent; at the entrance of which he ſtood, and received Mr. *Watſon* with great politeneſs, embracing him at the ſame time in his arms. The admiral immediately preſented to him his brother officer Mr. *Pocock*, and after him, the captains, lieutenants, and midſhipmen, acquainting the *Nabob*, as he received them ſeverally to his embraces, in what characters they ſtood. When this firſt ceremony was over, the *Nabob* ſhewed them the ſeveral apartments of his tent. He placed Admiral *Watſon* on a wool-pack, which made his ſeat ſomewhat more raiſed than the reſt. At Mr. *Watſon*'s left hand Mr. *Pocock* was ſeated; and to the left of him the captains, lieutenants, *&c.* On the admiral's right hand, the *Nabob* placed himſelf, and next him were ranged in order the ſeveral officers of his court. 1755.

The *Nabob* was between thirty and forty years of age, and of a middle ſtature. His complexion was much lighter than that of the common *Indian*. His dreſs was entirely white, and conſiſted of a long robe or veſtment which reached down to his heels. His turban was alſo white, and quite plain. In ſhort, he had no other mark of diſtinction about him, but that of a truly majeſtic countenance, tempered with a great deal of pleaſantneſs and good-nature. The admiral (by means of an interpreter) congratulated the *Nabob* on his ſeeing him in ſuch good health, and aſſured him that he was particularly happy in having this opportunity of paying him perſonally thoſe marks of friendſhip and eſteem which he had long entertained for him, on account of his excellent character. To this compliment of the admiral's, the *Nabob* made a very handſome reply. Mr. *Watſon* afterwards rejoined, that "he was extremely concerned for the calamities which the *Nabob*'s country had experienced in the late war; but he hoped better times were now coming on, which would more than compenſate for all paſt misfortunes." The *Nabob* in the eaſtern ſtile replied, "It is true, ſir, that I have ſuffered much, but the remembrance of thoſe troubles is no more; the heavens have made me ample amends for all thoſe misfortunes in the honour I receive from your viſit." Mr. *Watſon*, with a heart full of honeſty, and with a countenance which ſpoke the ſincerity of his ſoul, aſſured him, that "the thing he moſt paſſionately wiſhed for, was an occaſion to do him ſervice; and that it was principally for this purpoſe, the king his maſter had

1755. had ſent him with his ſquadron into the *Indian* ſeas." The *Nabob* appeared greatly pleaſed with the frankneſs of this declaration, and immediately turning to the ſeveral officers of his court, he repeated to them the admiral's words, and they too, upon hearing them, did not fail to participate in the joy of their maſter.

The *Nabob*, upon this occaſion, ordered a rich perfume of what is called the *Otta* of roſes to be brought to him, a few drops of which, he put into his hand, and having himſelf opened the boſom of Mr. *Watſon*'s ſhirt, he rubbed the ſame over the admiral's breaſt. This was intended as the higheſt honour he could confer upon him. He afterwards did the ſame to Admiral *Pocock*; and his *Bukhſhi*, or treaſurer, performed the like ceremony on all the other officers: *Beetel-nut* and *chunam* were then moſt plentifully diſtributed, and ſhowers of roſe-water fell upon all. *Mahomed-Ally* then ſolicited Mr. *Watſon* to give him leave to make him a preſent, which the latter nobly declined, repeating to him, that "the king of *Great Britain* had ſent him thither to do the *Nabob* ſervice, and to ſecure to him his country from the attacks of all his enemies; which commiſſion he would always execute with fidelity, but could never think of diſtreſſing him by accepting preſents, which he very well knew in the preſent circumſtances of things could be but ill ſpared." He concluded, with "deſiring him always to look upon him as his ſincere well-wiſher, who would be glad to ſhew him thoſe real marks of friendſhip which his king and countrymen had for him, and of the attention which they paid to his intereſts." The *Nabob* appeared extremely ſurprized at this uncommon ſtrain of generoſity in the admiral, though at the ſame time he could not be diſpleaſed with it. They parted ſoon after, exchanging a more familiar embrace, than what they had given each other at their firſt meeting. Mr. *Watſon* returned to the fort with his whole company, which conſiſted of about an hundred perſons, and all had the honour of dining with him.

The day following, Captain *Haſlup*, a brave and experienced officer, and commandant of his majeſty's artillery, waited upon the *Nabob*, accompanied with almoſt all the other officers in that department. And they all met with a moſt gracious reception. The *Nabob* ſoon returned theſe ſeveral complimentary viſits, paying them in the order his own judgment beſt directed him; *viz.* to the admirals, colonel, governor, and commanding officer of the train.

In the viſit which he made to the two admirals, he came from his camp to within a ſmall diſtance of the fort, ſeated on the back of an elephant. He was accompanied by two moſt beautiful boys, his ſons, who rode on the ſame animal, and whom he afterwards introduced to the admirals. Nine other Elephants were loaded with his *grandees*, domeſtics, and band of muſic. His train conſiſted of ten or twelve camels, beſides three or four hundred horſes, five or ſix thouſand Sepoys, and perhaps ten thouſand

cooleys and ſpectators. As ſoon as he came near the fort, he alighted from his elephant, and then got into his *palanquin*, which was the richeſt I ever ſaw; the *Pinjeree*, bed and cuſhions, being embroidered and inlaid with gold. The admirals met him at the entrance of the fort, and as they were now well acquainted, they familiarly embraced him, and led him up the ſtairs into the great room deſigned for his reception; where he was placed between them on a ſeat, covered with crimſon-velvet cuſhions, embroidered with gold. One very remarkable circumſtance happened on this occaſion; Mr. *Cobbe*, at the admiral's requeſt, had put on his canonical dreſs, and the *Nabob* perceiving that he was uncommonly attired, ſeemed very deſirous of knowing who he was. Upon being informed that he was the admiral's chaplain, he made him a ſecond *ſalaam*, and deſired much that his own *Faquier* * might be introduced to him; who entered preſently afterwards, quite in the apoſtolic habit. He had a kind of white cloth that went round his loins, and another of a coarſer ſort flung careleſsly over one ſhoulder. He had no turban, and his hair was tied in a knot behind, while his beard hung down almoſt to his middle. He wore a ſort of ſandals on his feet, and looſe iron chains about his legs. But excluſive of his extraordinary habit and appearance, he had ſomething very wild and ſtaring in his looks; and indeed none are admitted into this particular order, without having manifeſted ſome degree of enthuſiaſm and madneſs. The two holy men congratulated each other on their reſpective office, and then ſeated themſelves with the reſt of the company. ——The *Nabob* was ſaluted by the guns of the fort; and all the officers and troops of the garriſon were under arms upon the occaſion. The ſeveral ſhips of the ſquadron likewiſe fired, upon a certain ſignal being given to them from the fort. The *Nabob* attentively eyed theſe laſt, and ſeemed much pleaſed with the view of them, though they lay at their anchors at the diſtance of at leaſt three miles. Mr. *Watſon* gave the *Nabob* an invitation to go on board the ſquadron, which he at that time declined, by reaſon (as we imagined) of the ſurf of the ſea, which in general is very rough here. He deſired however, that the curioſity of his generals and ſome other of his grandees might be gratified with a nearer view of the ſhips; accordingly, attended by ſome of our officers, they went on board immediately. While they were viſiting the ſeveral ſhips of the ſquadron, the *Nabob* took his leave of the admirals, and directed his courſe to the water-ſide, where he had ordered his tents to be pitched, that he might the more conveniently dine † there, and entertain himſelf 1755.

* *Faquier* or *Fakir* in the *Arabian* tongue ſignifies a mendicant monk. This is a particular prieſtly order, of a mortifying caſt, who make a vow of poverty, and live entirely on the charity of others.

† The *Indian* cuſtoms differ ſo much from our's in regard to eating, that it was impoſſible for the admiral to aſk the *Nabob* to dine with him.

1755. with the ſea proſpect. After dinner he returned Colonel *Adlercron*'s and the governor's viſits, and the next day that of captain *Haſlup*. When his generals and other *grandees* returned from the fleet, they gave him ſo pleaſing an account, that he reſolved to go on board himſelf; and accordingly having ſignified his deſire to the admiral, the latter appointed the next morning for attending him to the *Kent*.

The *Nabob* accordingly came, and paſſed through the ſwell in the boat, with the greateſt unconcern, and after he got on board, heard the ſhip ſalute him without any ſurprize or emotion at the noiſe. Admiral *Watſon* led him by the hand to every part of the veſſel. He was very inquiſitive, and made many pertinent remarks on ſo vaſt, ſo curious, and wonderful a machine; but above all other things, the lower deck battery, which conſiſted of 28 guns, carrying balls of 32 pounds, ſtruck him with aſtoniſhment: the admiral perceiving this, ordered the gunner to exerciſe a few of the cannon as in the time of an engagement. The *Nabob* appeared greatly pleaſed with this, and the other different *manœuvres* within the ſhip; and afterwards retiring to the great cabbin, the admiral told him, he would now give him a view of a man of war under ſail, and accordingly threw out the *Tyger*'s ſignal to chace to windward. Captain *Latham*, having had previous notice of the admiral's intention, immediately ſlipped his cable, ſet his ſails, and worked to windward; and as he paſſed the *Kent*'s ſtern, ſaluted the *Nabob* with his cannon. This added greatly to the ſatisfaction he had before felt, and he expreſſed himſelf thoroughly ſenſible of the honour that had been done him. After he had thus agreeably ſpent three or four hours on board the *Kent*, he moved for going aſhore. Both the admirals accompanied him, and on his leaving the ſhip, the whole ſquadron fired together. The yards were manned at the ſame time, and the ſailors gave three hearty cheers. This general acclamation gave the *Nabob* a particular pleaſure, and he ordered the interpreter to tell the admiral it was "truly war-like." The admirals waited upon the *Nabob* to his tent, where they parted, after exchanging reciprocal profeſſions of friendſhip and eſteem for each other *.

Upon the admirals being firſt introduced to the *Nabob*, they were by ſome perſons given to underſtand, that it would be expected they ſhould ſend in preſents, and pull off their ſhoes at entering his tent. Both theſe are ſtrictly and truly the cuſtoms of the *Eaſt*, and from the earlieſt ages have prevailed among the oriental nations; and the *Indians* always inſiſt upon them; but as Mr. *Watſon* repreſented his *Brittannic* majeſty, neither of theſe humiliating ceremonies was ſubmitted to by him or his company. The preſent made upon theſe complimentary occaſions is a mere trifle, for an orange or lemon never fails to gain admittance. Two or three *Indian* gentlemen coming one day on board the *Kent*, they, agreeable to this cuſtom, preſented every

* Soon after the exchange of theſe viſits, the author wrote an account of them to a friend in *England*; an imperfect copy of which ſoon appeared in one of the monthly magazines.

officer

officer on the quarter-deck with a lime, before they preſumed to look into any of the cabbins or apartments of the ſhip. But when they approach a great perſon for a favour, it is uſual to bring preſents of the richeſt and moſt valuable things of the country: thus the *Magi* who came from the eaſt to viſit our Saviour, it is ſaid "opened their treaſures and preſented to "him gifts, gold and frankincenſe and myrrh." As for the other cuſtom, the pulling off the ſhoes very much prevails now throughout the eaſt, more particularly when the *Mahometans* enter their *Moſques*, and the *Gentoos* their *Pagodas*. Probably they derived this cuſtom from the divine command given unto *Moſes* in the 3d chapter of the book of *Exodus*: "Put off thy ſhoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou ſtandeſt "is holy ground." Let me add, that in this country we ſee as many ſlippers and ſandals at the doors of a *Pagoda*, as we do hats hanging up in our churches: and your *Indian* ſervants never even enter your room with their ſhoes on, if they have a mind to ſhew *maſter* any reſpect. 1755.

There ſtill remains another cuſtom which comes properly to be noticed here, and which is very common in this country, the ſending for a ſet of women, who are called *dancing girls*, upon every joyful occaſion. We engaged a ſet of them upon the day the *Nabob* returned Mr. *Watſon*'s viſit. I could not ſee any thing in their performance worthy of notice. Their movements are more like tumbling, or ſhewing poſtures, than dancing. Their dreſs is thin and light, and their hair, necks, ears, arms, wriſts, fingers, legs, feet, and even the toes are covered with rings of gold and ſilver, made after a clumſy manner. They wear two rings in their noſes, and by their ſtaring looks and odd geſticulations, you would rather ſuſpect them to be mad-women than morris-dancers. The band of muſic that attends them is not leſs ſingular in its way: it is chiefly compoſed of three or four men, who hold two pieces of bell-metal in their hands, with which they make an inceſſant noiſe; another man beats what he is pleaſed to call a drum; and that they may not want vocal muſic to complete the band, there are always two others appointed to ſing. Theſe laſt generally lay in their mouths a good loading of beetel-nut before they begin, which after having been well-chewed, tinges the ſaliva with ſuch a redneſs, that a ſtranger would judge them to bleed at the mouth by too violent an exertion of their voice. Theſe gentry are called *Ticky-Taw* boys, from the two words *Ticky Taw* which they continually repeat, and which they chant with great vehemence.

The dancing girls are ſometimes made uſe of in their religious ceremonies; as when the prieſts bring forth the images of their gods into the open fields on a car ornamented with laſcivious figures, theſe girls dance before the images amidſt a great crowd of people;* and having been ſelected for their ſuperior beauty, are very profitable to their maſters the prieſts, who are ſaid to

* "And *David* danced before the Lord with all his might, and was girded with a linnen "ephod; ſo *David* and all the houſe of *Iſrael* brought up the ark of the Lord with ſhouting, "and with the ſound of the trumpet." 2 *Sam.* vi. 14.

1755. proſtitute them to all comers. They will tell you indeed that their *god* firſt debauched them upon account of their beauty, and that ever after they muſt remain ſacred to the *church*.

During our ſtay this time at *Fort St. David*, a very melancholy accident happened to ſome of our people, for the *Kent*'s boat in trying to get over the bar, was overſet by the violence of the wind and ſurf, and a young gentleman who was a midſhipman and relation of Admiral *Pocock*'s, the maſter-carpenter, captain's clerk, and two other men, were unfortunately drowned. This misfortune was entirely owing to their making uſe of their own boat, inſtead of the common bar-boat, which is much better calculated for this particular purpoſe.

I ſhall finiſh this chapter with a ſhort account of the cauſe and violent effects of the land-wind, which in the ſouthern parts of *India* blows for two or three hours in the morning with an heat that is almoſt intolerable. As to the cauſe, we may ſpare ourſelves the pains of enquiry, if we only look on a map of the continent of *India*, and obſerve, what a vaſt tract of land this wind comes over, ſome hundred miles of which are ſand, which neceſſarily muſt give the wind every burning quality long before it reaches the *Coromandel* coaſt. That this is the grand cauſe of this common phœnomenon, is very manifeſt whenever a ſhower of rain falls at the time this land-wind prevails; for if the wind in its way towards you, chances to paſs through the ſhower, you are ſure to find the air agreeably cool, even though the day be ever ſo clear, and the ſun ſhines in its meridian luſtre; whereas they who live only at the diſtance of a few miles from you, but out of the direct line where the ſhower paſſed, ſhall at the ſame time be fainting under the uſual exceſſive heat. Very many and great inconveniencies ariſe from theſe winds. It is affirmed with confidence, that they will ſnap glaſs, if too much expoſed to them. I have ſeen them ſtrip off the fineering from a cheſt of drawers, and they will certainly crack and chap almoſt every wood that is not well ſeaſoned. Another great inconvenience ariſing from theſe land-winds, is the whirling of the ſand in one's eyes: the air is ſo full of ſand, that there appears a perpetual hazineſs the whole day juſt above the horizon. And when theſe winds blow with more than ordinary violence, great quantities of ſand may be ſwept from the decks of the ſhips riding in the road, though near three miles from the land. This abundantly convinced me of the truth of that ſurprizing circumſtance mentioned by the ancient hiſtorians, of whole armies being buried under the mountains of ſand, which are ſometimes raiſed by theſe winds *.

But beſides the inconveniencies I have already mentioned, theſe land-winds have another quality which deſerves particular notice; and that

* Ad Ammonis nobiliſſimum templum expugnandum, exercitum mittit; qui tempeſtatibus & arenarum molibus oppreſſus, interiit. JUSTINI, *lib.* i. *cap.* ix.

is, the baneful effect they have on any perſon they blow upon, while he is ſleeping. The conſequence of this is always dangerous, as it ſeldom fails to bring on a fit of the *Barbiers* † (as it is called in this country), that is, a total deprivation of the uſe of the limbs, which the patient never gets the better of till he returns to *England*, or is braced up by ſome other climate. The method our gentlemen make uſe of to cool their liquors, is to wrap a wet cloth round the bottle, and ſet it in the land-wind. And what is very remarkable, it will cool much ſooner by being expoſed thus to this burning wind, than if you take the ſame method, and ſet it in the cold ſea-breeze. 1755.

† See Dr. *Lind*'s treatiſe on the diſeaſes incidental to *Europeans* in hot countries.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The ſquadron leaves Fort St. David, *and comes to an anchor in* Madraſs *road.—Sails again for* Bombay.—*The ſhips proceed againſt* Geriah.—*Account of the attack and ſurrender of that fortreſs; and of the cannon, ſtores, monies, and valuable effects found there.—Admiral* Watſon *pays a viſit to* Angria's *wives and children.—His humanity towards them.—Liſt of* Europeans *redeemed from ſlavery.—Deſcription of a* Mahomedan Taliſman *found in* Angria's *houſe.*

1755. IN the morning of the 19th of *Auguſt* 1755, we once more took our leave of *Fort St. David*, and the ſame evening came to an anchor with the whole ſquadron in *Madraſs* road *. At the ſame time, Commodore *James* in the *Protector*, who commanded the company's marine force in *India*, and had come round to this coaſt after his expedition and ſucceſs againſt *Angria* †, (commonly called the *Pirate*,) ſailed for *Bombay*. It being the time of the contrary monſoon, he proceeded by the *ſouthern paſſage* which he himſelf had happily explored the year before, and accompliſhed in forty days, although obliged to croſs the equinoctial line, and to advance as far as 10° 30′ ſouth latitude, for the advantage of having the S. E. trade-wind freſh and certain to run to the weſtward. This diſcovery is of important and general benefit to navigation, Mr. *James* having proved the paſſage to be, in the height of the contrary monſoon, very practicable, and not long; as it may be performed in little more than one of the ſix months that the contrary monſoons blow on the *Malabar* coaſt, and which till now had rendered the communication by ſea between the preſidencies on the coaſts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel* almoſt impracticable till the change. But beſides its great importance to navigation, the diſcovery is of eſſential ſervice to the company; for ſhould *Bombay* be

* "In working up from *Fort St. David* to *Madraſs*, if during the N. E. monſoon, the moſt certain and expeditious method is to ſtretch about 20 leagues to ſea before you ſtand in for the land. I know an inſtance of two ſhips of war ſailing together from *Fort St. David*, one of which never ſtood farther than about 6 or 7 leagues from the land, and was 14 days in her paſſage to *Madraſs*; but the other, by the forementioned method, performed it in 4 days. So in working to windward on this coaſt in the S. W. monſoon, ſhips ſhould be cloſe in with the land about ſix o'clock in the evening to make advantage of the land-wind; and ſhould be well off ſhore between 11 and 12 o'clock at noon, to make a good ſtretch in with the ſea breeze."

Extract of minutes made by Captain Richard King, *an officer whom I ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention.*

† In the month of *April* this gallant officer with a very ſmall force reduced ſix of *Angria*'s forts, and took or deſtroyed fifteen armed veſſels in their harbours. One of theſe forts, *Severndroog*, was the ſtrongeſt *Angria* had, *Geriah* excepted, and covered his beſt port for ſheltering his ſhips to the northward of *Geriah*, and was that which gave independency to his anceſtors. Its vicinity alſo to *Bombay* gave his cruizers an opportunity of being with impunity very troubleſome to the *Engliſh*, as there they always had an aſylum of retreat, eſteemed impregnable. *See a particular account of the* Commodore's *conduct and courage in this expedition, in* Orme's hiſtory of India.

attacked

attacked by an enemy, though our ſquadron was on the other coaſt, we can by this paſſage proceed at any time to its relief. 1755.

We lay at *Madraſs* till the 10th of *October*, when we alſo ſailed for *Bombay*, to avoid the tempeſt which was to be expected on the change of the monſoon, and to refit our ſhips. We arrived at *Bombay* the 11th of *November*, and found there Lieutenant-colonel *Robert Clive*, who had lately landed on the iſland with three companies of the king's artillery from *England*. He was ſent out with a deſign of acting in conjunction with the *Mahârattas*, againſt the *French* in the *Carnatic* and *Deccan*; but finding that a truce had been agreed upon with that nation, and perhaps partly excited by Mr. *James*'s late ſucceſs, it was judged proper by Admiral *Watſon*, Mr. *Bourchier* Governor of *Bombay*, Colonel *Clive*, &c. that the ſea and land forces united with the *Mahârattas* ſhould attempt the deſtroying *Angria*'s piratical ſtate, which was become exceedingly formidable, troubleſome, and dangerous, not only to the *Mahârattas*, who were his neighbours, but alſo to our *Eaſt India* company, and the whole *Malabar* coaſt. The admiral immediately informed Mr. *Bourchier*, that his majeſty's ſhips which he had the honour to command, were in readineſs to proceed on the intended expedition, and that the ſooner they entered on the buſineſs the better; as the careening and refitting the ſquadron would be a work of time, and more proper to be done after, than before, ſuch an undertaking. But the governor not having been able to ſettle every thing relative to the co-operation of the *Mahâratta* forces, and thoſe of the *Eaſt India* company; or the government of the fortreſs in caſe it ſhould be taken; he ſent Mr. *Watſon* word, that all theſe preliminaries ought to be adjuſted before the expedition took place, leſt any diſpute might ariſe afterwards; and that from the preſent complexion of our allies, he apprehended the ſettling theſe matters would take up ſome time.

Upon receiving this intelligence, the admiral thought fit to alter his firſt plan, and accordingly ordered the whole ſquadron to ſail into the harbour to careen. But while the careening work was going forwards, the admiral thought proper to diſpatch Commodore *James* with three of the companies ſhips to look into *Geriah*, and reconnoitre the harbour and fortifications; this gentleman's diligence and ſucceſs in the affair cannot better be expreſſed than in his own words, in a letter he ſent to the admiral the day of his return from *Geriah*.

To Charles Watſon Eſq; *Rear-admiral of the Red ſquadron of his majeſty's fleet, and commander in chief of all his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels in the* Eaſt Indies, *and of the marine force of the* Eaſt India *company.*

SIR,

I Have the honour to inform you, that I arrived off *Geriah*, with the *Protector*, *Revenge*, and *Guardian* under my command, on the morning of the 14th inſtant; where I ſaw the enemies fleet, conſiſting of 3 three-maſt

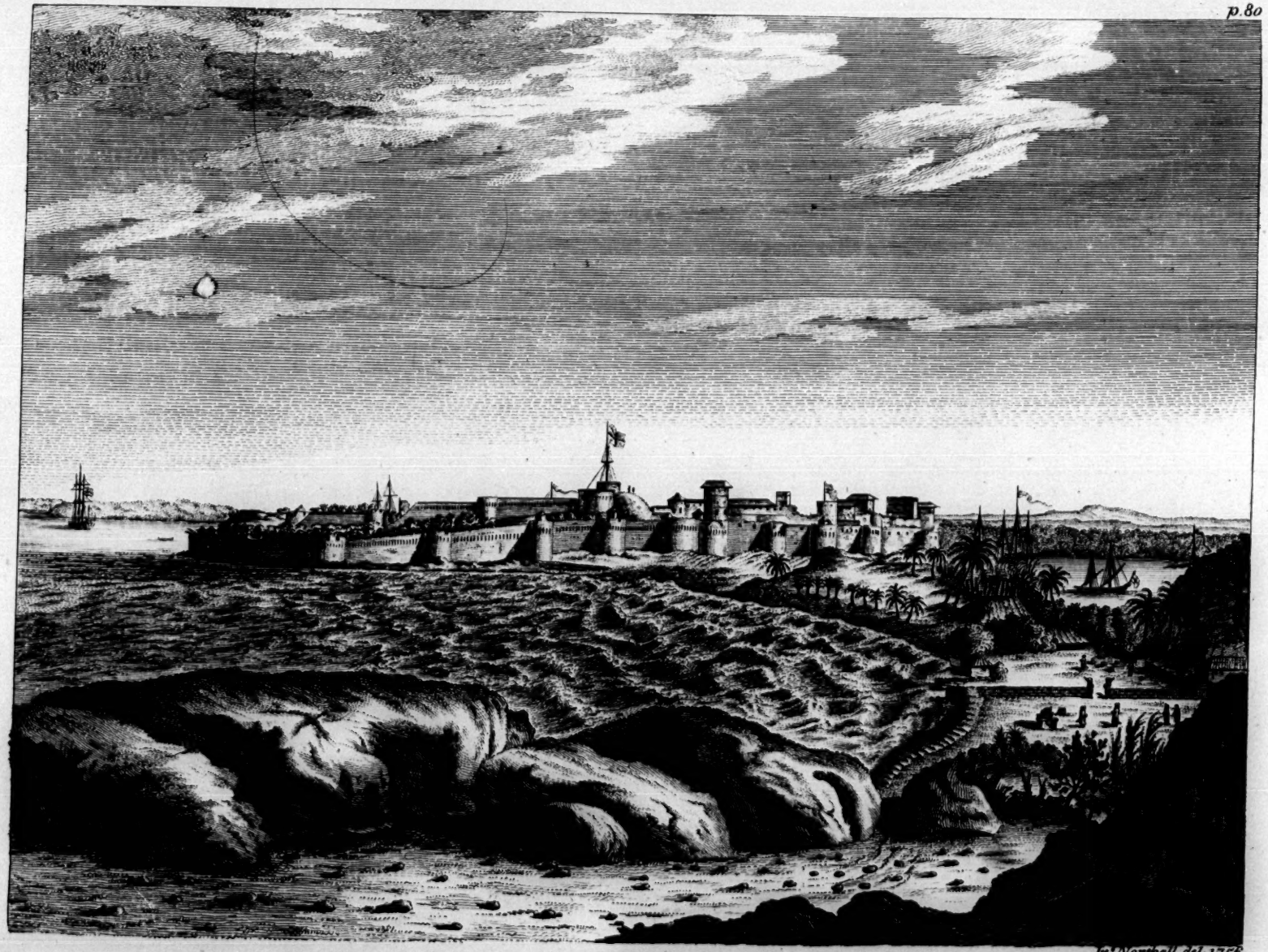
1755. grabs, 8 ketches and 12 or 14 gallivats in the harbour, rigged and their ſails bent, with one three-maſt grab having only her lower maſts rigged.—I ſtood into ſeven fathom water, when I think I was within point blank ſhot of the fort, but they did not fire at us.—I was exceedingly ſurprized at finding the place ſo widely different from what I had heard it repreſented: I aſſure you, Sir, it is not to be called high, nor in my opinion ſtrong; it is indeed a large maſs of buildings, and I believe the walls may be thick, but that part of the works which fell under my obſervation, and which was three quarters of their circumference, is quite irregular, with round towers and long curtains in the eaſtern manner, and which diſcovered only thirty-two embraſures below, and fifteen above. On the weſt ſide of the harbour is a fine flat table land oppoſite the fort, and I think within gun ſhot, but I am ſure within diſtance for bombarding, and from whence a very good diverſion might be made, while the principal attack is carried on by the ſhips, and from a hill to the ſouthward of the fort. The hill is very near to, and full as high as the fort, for when we were at a conſiderable diſtance it hid all the fort except the top of one houſe and the flag-ſtaff: it is alſo very plain from our depth of water, that the ſhips can go near enough for battering, and conſequently for throwing ſhells. There are alſo three ſandy bays under this hill, without any ſurf to render the landing difficult; the firſt two are rather too near the fort, but the third is out of their line of fire—The water is deep enough for the ſhips to cover the deſcent, and the hill ſo acceſſible as to make the getting up of cannon, *&c.* quite eaſy afterwards. There is a very large town betwixt the fort and this hill, the houſes of which are covered with *Cajans*, and which the inhabitants will undoubtedly abandon and deſtroy upon our landing, and then fly to the fort as at my attack of *Severndroog*; in which caſe, great numbers muſt be killed by the ſhells, the place being ſo crowded and populous that they cannot fall amiſs, and many upper buildings muſt of courſe be knocked down, which will occaſion great diſorder and confuſion.—They ſent out no boats while I was off the place, and to deceive them, I cauſed all the ſails to be furled a little before dark, and made the ſignal to anchor; after which I ran out of ſight in the night, ſo that they are ignorant whether I proceeded to the northward or ſouthward.—Several of the *Gallivats* had blue, or green, and white pendants like the *Portugueſe* at their maſt heads, and one of them had a white flag with a red croſs in the middle, which they hauled down when I drew near.—Nothing remarkable has happened in this cruiſe; the *Maharatta* fleet was at *Severndroog* on my going down and coming up.—— I ſhall be happy to wait upon you to relate farther particulars, and have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your moſt humble
and obedient ſervant,
W. JAMES.

Protector, off Bombay,
21 Dec. 1755.

About



Jn.° Northall. del. 1756.

South View of GERIAH FORT, From the Land Side.

About ten days after Mr. *James*'s return, it being rumour'd that *Angria*, alarm'd at the great preparations to attack him, had in a fit of deſpondency reſolved to invite the *Portugueze* to take poſſeſſion of *Geriah*, and to hoiſt the flag of that nation in the fortreſs, the admiral ſent alſo his own firſt lieutenant, Sir *William Hewet* Baronet, and who was a good draughtſman, in the *Revenge* frigate before *Geriah*, to obſerve whether any alteration had taken place there, and with orders to aſcertain as near as poſſible the exact ſtate of the harbour and the fort. *Tullagee Angria*, on ſeeing the *Revenge* come to an anchor in the very mouth of his harbour, and her boat ſounding all round it, gave orders to the commanders of his grabs and gallivats, ſome of which he filled with combuſtible matter, to puſh out, and burn Sir *William Hewet*'s veſſel, to puniſh him (as he termed it) for his inſolence. His intentions however were entirely fruſtrated by Sir *William*'s judicious and ſpeedy manner of executing the buſineſs he was ſent upon. 1755.

The heaving down and refitting the ſeveral ſhips of the ſquadron, engaged all our attention for ſome time, and this important affair was attended with many unforeſeen difficulties: for on our endeavouring to heave down the *Kent*, her careening tackle broke, ſo that ſhe righted ſuddenly before ſhe was keel out. In a few days afterwards we made the ſame experiment again, but then her main-maſt gave way. This was attended with great concern and vexation, and ſuch as would have been without reſource, had there not been another ſtick in the company's marine yard, which, after a whole month's inceſſant labour upon it, furniſhed us with another main-maſt. The *Cumberland* had been ſo very leaky for a long time, it was judged expedient to bring her on the ſhore, to ſearch out and repair the defect. This was accordingly attempted the firſt ſpring-tide, but as ſhe could not be made to heel ſufficiently at that time, ſhe was brought off again the next tide, and ſoon after happily hove down by the *Kent*. The defect, which had been ſo long complained of, proved to be in her garboard ſtrake, and was effectually repaired with much leſs trouble than was at firſt apprehended. The admiral, anxious to have all his ſhips ready for the ſea, and apprehenſive that another accident might happen ſhould he attempt again to heave down the *Kent*, by the advice of the proper officers, ordered her to be brought to heel on the mud, and there her bottom was cleaned to within a few ſtrakes of the keel. The *Tyger* and *Saliſbury* hove down by each other without the leaſt accident, and the *Bridgewater* and *King's-fiſher* ſloop went into the company's dock.

All things being at laſt in readineſs for putting to ſea; a council was held, at Mr. *Watſon*'s particular deſire, between the ſea and land officers, both of his majeſty's forces, and thoſe of the *Eaſt India* company, with a view of obviating any difficulties that might ariſe in regard to the proper diſtribution of prize-money, ſhould the intended expedition be crowned with ſucceſs. It was ſettled at this council, that Admiral *Watſon*, as commander in chief of the king's ſquadron, ſhould have two thirds of one eighth of the whole; and Rear-admiral *Pocock*, one third of one eighth. 1756.

1756. Lieutenant-Colonel *Clive* and Major *Chambers* were to ſhare equally with the captains of the king's ſhips. The captains of the company's ſhips, and armed veſſels, and captains of the army, were to have an equal ſhare with the lieutenants of the men of war. The ſubaltern officers of the army, and lieutenants of the company's armed ſhips and veſſels, were to have the ſame diſtribution as the warrant-officers of the navy, *&c.*

Theſe articles however had ſcarcely been agreed upon in council, before Colonel *Clive*, who commanded in chief on ſhore, paid a viſit to Mr. *Watſon*, and acquainted him, that the army was not ſatisfied with the terms on which he, as their commander in chief, was to ſhare; and that to make thoſe gentlemen eaſy, who were to ſerve under him, he found himſelf under the diſagreeable neceſſity of remonſtrating, and requiring that, as commander of the army, he might be entitled to a more honourable diviſion. The argument the gentlemen of the *army* went upon, was, that tho' Mr. *Clive*, by virtue of the commiſſion he bore in common of lieutenant-colonel, could claim but an equal ſhare with a captain in the navy; yet on this occaſion, being commander in chief of the army, he ought certainly to be particularly diſtinguiſhed, and be admitted, at leaſt, to ſhare with Mr. *Pocock*, the ſecond ſea-officer, who was a *Rear* admiral. Mr. *Watſon* replied, that it was impoſſible for him to make any alterations in the articles agreed upon in council; neither indeed would his doing it be at all conſiſtent either with cuſtom, or the different ranks which Admiral *Pocock* and Colonel *Clive* bore in the reſpective ſervices: He told the colonel however, that to ſatisfy the wiſhes of the army, which in the preſent ſituation of affairs, he deemed to be a point of the utmoſt conſequence, he would give ſecurity under his own hand, to make good the deficiency, out of any monies he himſelf might be entitled to, ſo as to make the ſhare of the commander in chief of the army and that of Mr. *Pocock* exactly alike. The colonel, ſenſibly ſtruck with Mr. *Watſon*'s diſintereſtedneſs, anſwered, that provided his officers were ſatisfied with the propoſal, he for his own part ſhould come into it with great chearfulneſs. He accordingly took the firſt opportunity of making thoſe gentlemen acquainted with the admiral's declaration, who were ſo much pleaſed therewith, that from that moment all diſcontent ceaſed, and the expedition went on with the greateſt unanimity *.

The troops, conſiſting of about 700 *Europeans*, 300 *Topaſſes*, and 300 *Sepoys*, being put on board the king's, and company's ſhips, the whole

* After the reduction of *Geriah*, and the money taken there had been diſtributed according to the articles agreed upon in council, it was found that a conſiderable ſum, a thouſand pounds at leaſt, was due from Admiral *Watſon* to Colonel *Clive* upon this account. The admiral preſently ſent this ſum with his compliments to the colonel; who returned it in the moſt polite manner, acquainting the admiral at the ſame time, that altho' for the good of the ſervice, he had found it neceſſary to appear to accept of the terms he had ſo generouſly offered him, yet as the money could not come to him but out of the admiral's private purſe, he had always determined with himſelf, and now an opportunity offered for him to declare, that he could not, and would not accept of it by any means. Thus did theſe two gallant officers endeavour to outvie each other in mutual proofs of diſintereſtedneſs and generoſity.

fleet ſailed from *Bombay February* 7th 1756, and came to an anchor in *Geriah* road on the 11th following. We found cruizing off the place, Captain *Martin* with his majeſty's ſhip the *Bridgewater*, and *King's-fiſher* ſloop; and the *Protector* and two 20 gun ſhips belonging to the company, which the admiral had diſpatched in *January* to block up the port. The *Maharatta* fleet were alſo here, conſiſting of 3 or 4 *grabs*, and 40 or 50 of their ſmaller veſſels, or *gallivats*. They lay to the northward of *Geriah*, in a creek called *Rajapore*, the ſmall fort of which, they had taken from *Angria* juſt before our arrival. This fleet was commanded by *Nari-Punt*. The *Maharattas* had alſo aſſembled an army, conſiſting of about 5 or 6000 horſe, and the ſame number of foot, who were under the command of *Ramajee-Punt*, another of their general-officers: this laſt came on board the *Kent* to pay his reſpects to Admiral *Watſon*; ſome guns were fired on the occaſion; and the admiral, to do him the greater honour, conducted him in perſon to the ſeveral parts of the ſhip, but at the ſight of its batteries he appeared greatly aſtoniſhed. 1756.

The very ſame day we arrived before *Geriah*, the admiral ſummoned the fort to ſurrender. He received for anſwer, "That the garriſon were well apprized of the force he brought with him; but if, agreeable to the ſummons he had ſent, he was reſolved to be maſter of the fort, he muſt take it by force, for they were reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity." The next morning, however, ſeveral of *Angria*'s relations, accompanied by ſome officers of *Ramajee-Punt*'s army, came on board, in order, as they pretended, to take a view of the ſquadron; but their real buſineſs was to ſound the admiral in regard to his final determinations. They had before waited upon the *Maharatta* general on the ſame errand. Mr. *Watſon* gave orders for their ſeeing the ſhip, and afterwards told them to acquaint *Angria*, that he once more demanded a ſurrender of the fort; and that if he would give it up peaceably and with a good grace, before any hoſtilities commenced, he, his family and people might depend upon his protection. In reply to this offer of the admiral, they earneſtly intreated him to continue with his ſhips where they then lay, and promiſed in a few days to return again to him with an anſwer. But the admiral, having been furniſhed with demonſtrative proofs from the obſervations made by thoſe who had reconnoitered the port, and by Commodore *James*'s venturing to go one night in the *Protector's* barge ſo far as to bring the flag-ſtaff to bear S. W. which is within the fort, where he found not leſs than three and a half fathom water, (ſufficient depth for the large ſhips to go in); he told them, he would not wait one moment, but on that very day, as ſoon as the ſea-breeze would permit, he was determined to ſail into the harbour, and there, and there only, would he treat. At the ſame time he gave them his word, that unleſs the *fort* fired firſt on his ſhips, *while they were under ſail*, he would not commence hoſtilities, nor before he had received an anſwer from *Angria*; giving them to underſtand however, that he ſhould not wait a great while for this anſwer, and that at all events he was determined to make himſelf maſter of the place. And as an earneſt of his fixed reſolu-

1756. tion in this laſt particular, he ordered that a thirty-two pound ball ſhould be put into their hands, which he deſired them to carry as a preſent to their maſter, and then diſmiſſed them.

Between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, the ſquadron weighed anchor, and ſtood in with a light breeze, in two columns, for *Geriah* harbour. The outſide column was led by the *King's-fiſher* ſloop, Captain *Henry Smith*.* The *Bridgewater*, Captain *Martin*, led the line of battle ſhips, conſiſting of the *Tyger*, Captain *Latham*; *Kent*, Admiral *Watſon*, and Captain *Speke*; *Cumberland*, Admiral *Pocock*, and Captain *John Harriſon*; *Saliſbury*, Captain *Thomas Knowler*; and the *Protector*, Commodore *James*, and Captain *Morgan*, a ſhip of 44 guns belonging to the *Eaſt India* company. By which wiſe diſpoſition, according to the orders † which the admiral iſſued, each line of battle ſhip covered a bomb-ketch, and protected the column of ſmaller veſſels from the fire of the enemy. The *Drake*, *Warren*, *Triumph*, *Viper*, and *Diſpatch* bomb-veſſels, were under the direction of Captain *Tovey*, of his majeſty's train of Artillery; and the *Maharatta* gallivats and other ſmall veſſels formed a third line out of gun-ſhot.

The engagement began about two, by the enemy firing on the *King's-fiſher*; which ſhe and the *Revenge* ſoon returned. In leſs than a quarter of an hour, being ſtill under ſail, the admiral made the general ſignal to engage. Soon after that, the *Revenge* anchored, as did alſo the *Kent*, and the other ſhips of the ſquadron. But the *Tyger* having done this, without the admiral's perceiving her ſignal, for he had ordered each ſhip to make a ſignal on her coming to anchor, the *Kent* fell on board her, carried

* On the death of Captain *Mighel* in 1755, Admiral *Watſon*'s firſt lieutenant, Mr. *John Harriſon* ſucceeded to the command of the *King's-fiſher*; but on Mr. *Pocock*'s hoiſting his flag, Captain *Harriſon* was appointed to the command of the *Cumberland* under Admiral *Pocock*, and Mr. *Smith*, then firſt lieutenant of the *Kent*, ſucceeded to the *King's-fiſher* ſloop.

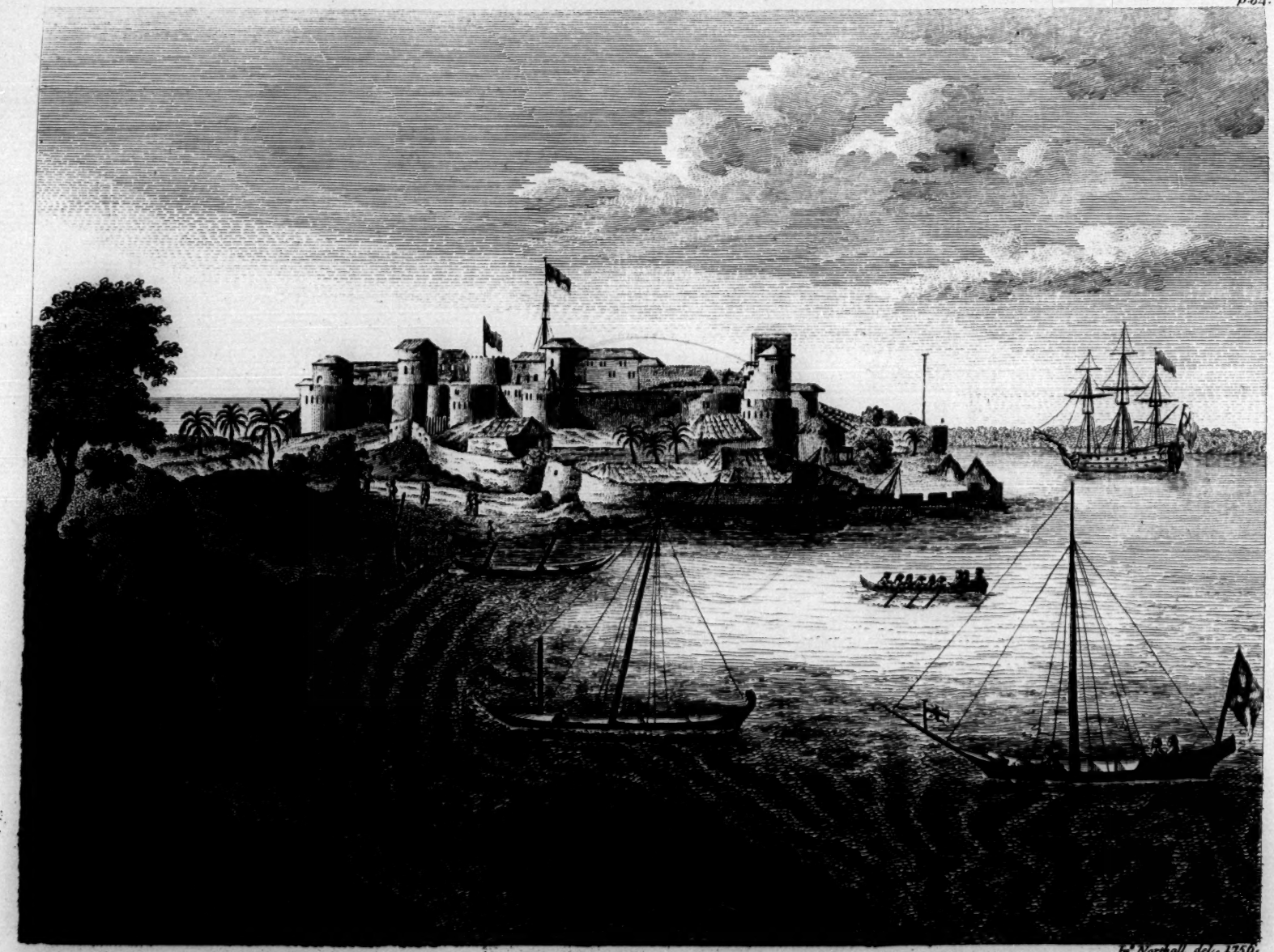
† "By Charles Watſon, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Red ſquadron of his majeſty's fleet, and commander in chief of all his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels employed in the *Eaſt Indies*, and of the marine force of the united company of merchants trading to, and in theſe parts.

"YOU are hereby required and directed to obſerve the following form in ſailing into the harbour of *Geriah*:

King's-fiſher.	
Revenge.	
Bombay Grab.	
Guardian.	*Bridgewater*.
Drake Bomb-ketch.	*Tyger*,
Warren ditto.	*Kent*,
Triumph ditto.	*Cumberland*,
Viper ditto.	*Saliſbury*.
Diſpatch ditto.	*Protector*.

Each ſhip is required to keep as near as poſſible, but to take care not to run on board one another; and when the ſignal is made to anchor, each ſhip is to repeat it as far as the *Saliſbury*. The *King's-fiſher* ſloop, and the ſhips aſtern of her, are to make ſail up the harbour, and do their utmoſt endeavour to annoy the enemy, and to take, ſink, burn, or otherwiſe deſtroy all their grabs and ſmall veſſels. Dated on board his majeſty's ſhip the *Kent*, off *Geriah*, 12th of *February*, 1756."

away



Jn.Narshall. del. 1756.

South East View of GERIAH FORT, The Landing place and Entrance.



away her bowſprit end, and broke her ſpritſail yard. The two ſhips however ſoon got clear of each other, and then the engagement began with vigor. After an inceſſant fire had been kept up againſt the fort for about half an hour, the admiral ſent orders to the *Revenge* and *Guardian* to ceaſe from firing, for he plainly perceived that their ſhot fell ſhort; and at the ſame time he gave the ſignal to the *Tyger* and *Saliſbury* to direct their whole fire againſt the north-eaſt baſtion. Soon after this, a ſhell fortunately ſet fire to the *Reſtoration-grab*, which had formerly been taken by *Angria* from our *Eaſt India* company; and ſhe driving among the reſt of the enemy's ſhipping, which were laſhed together, ſet them all in flames; ſo that in a few hours almoſt the whole of *Angria*'s fleet was deſtroyed. The fire alſo was communicated to a large ſhip lying on the ſhore, and from her to ſeveral ſmaller veſſels that were building; and from theſe laſt it was conveyed to the arſenal, ſtorehouſe, ſuburbs, and city, and even to ſeveral parts of the fort, particularly to a ſquare tower, where it continued burning all the night with ſuch violence, that the ſtone walls appeared like red-hot iron. 1756.

About half after four in the afternoon, the admiral perceiving that the enemy's guns were almoſt ſilenced, made the ſignal for the ſquadron alſo to leave off firing; and taking the advantage of the tide, which was now at its height, he ordered the ſhips which had been thrown a little out of the line by the before-mentioned accident, to warp in nearer the fort into four fathom water, cloſe to Admiral *Pocock* in the *Cumberland*, who, contrary to the advice of his pilot, had, in ſtanding in, ventured as near as the ſhips which drew much leſs water, and by a very judicious and officer-like manœuvre in bringing his ſhip up by an anchor dropt from one of the gun-room ports, prevented her ſwinging with the flood-tide and ſea-breeze which ſet right in. In a ſhort time after, the enemy having again briſkened their fire, the admiral made the proper ſignal for the ſquadron to do the ſame. This had ſuch an effect, that at half paſt ſix the enemy's fire was entirely ſilenced; which the admiral obſerving, he again gave orders to ceaſe from firing.

At half after ſeven, Colonel *Clive*, with the troops under his command, left the ſhips, in order to land at the moſt convenient place to the eaſtward of the fort; and at about a quarter after nine, the Colonel made two falſe fires, to ſhew that he was ſafely landed, and that the troops which had been obſerved on the hill were our *Mahratta* allies. The *bomb-veſſels* continued throwing ſhells into the fort till day-light, when the admiral ordered all the line of battle ſhips to warp in as cloſe as poſſible, that they might be ready to batter in breach as ſoon as he ſhould throw out the ſignal; and in that caſe he commanded them to make uſe of their lower deck guns only, unleſs their upper ones ſhould afterwards be found neceſſary to ſilence any fire which might chance to be made by the enemy. An officer was then ſent with a flag of truce to the governor, and with a ſecond ſummons to ſurrender the fort. He ſoon came back with the governor's refuſal; upon which all the ſhips immediately warped within a cable's length of the fort in three fathom and a quarter water, and the ſignal was thrown out to renew the attack.

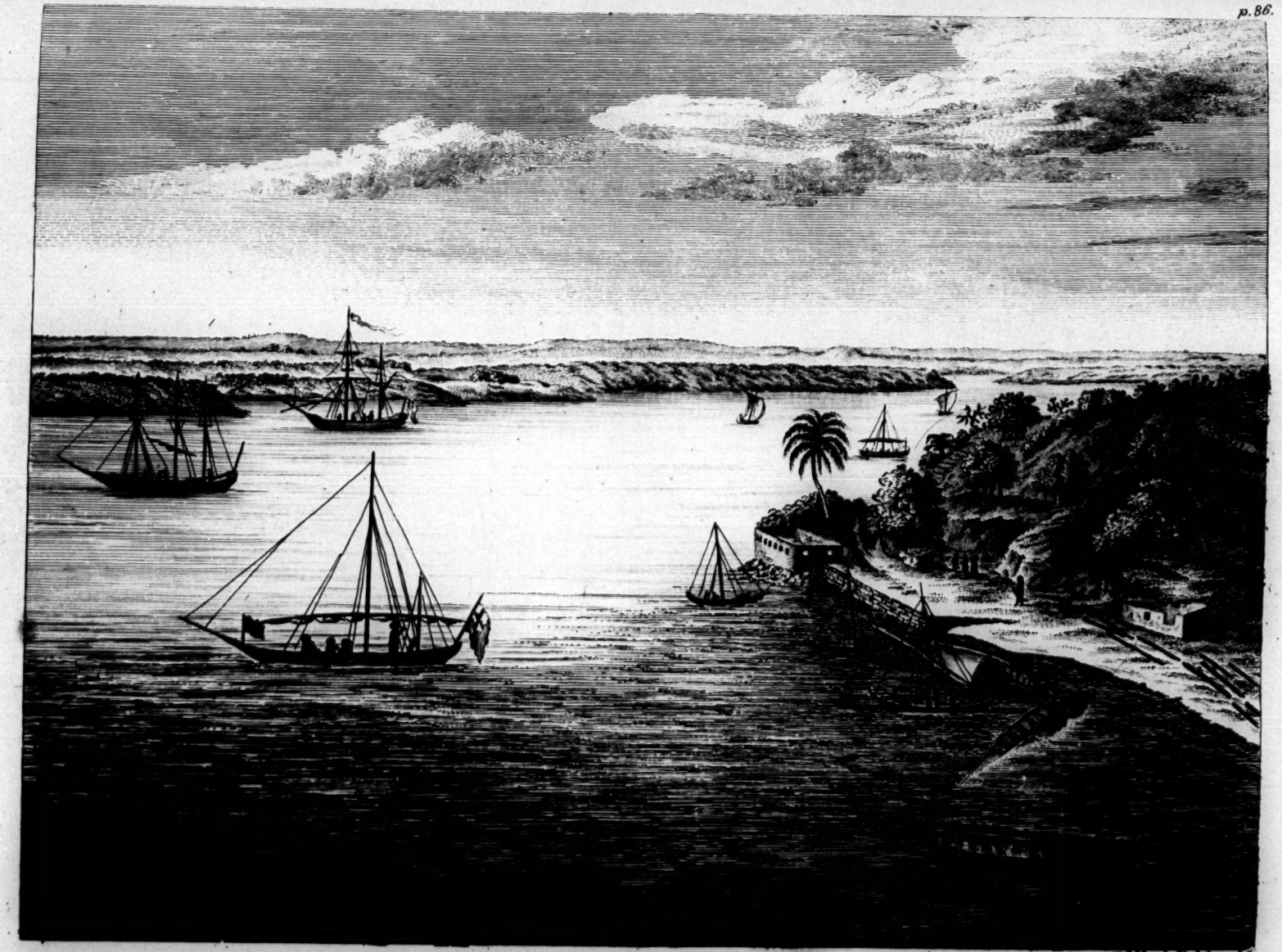
1756. This was done with ſo much ſpirit, that about two o'clock a magazine in the fort blew up, and about four, a flag was hung out as a ſignal of ſubmiſſion. Upon this the admiral ſent Lieutenant *Richard King* to demand an immediate entrance into the fort for the king's troops, and that the *Britiſh* flag ſhould be hoiſted on one of the baſtions. A little before five, the lieutenant returned with an account, that the governor conſented to the hoiſting *Engliſh* colours, that he was willing to admit five or ſix of our men that evening, and that the enſuing morning he would ſurrender the place. This anſwer not being deemed ſatisfactory, we once more renewed our fire; but at a quarter after five, they again thought proper to hang out the flag of capitulation, and all hoſtilities ceaſed. Colonel *Clive*, who, from the time he diſembarked with the troops, had been making his approaches by land, and had greatly annoyed the enemy with his cannon, then came on board the admiral's ſhip, bringing with him an officer from the fort with articles of capitulation. Theſe were preſently agreed to by the two admirals and colonel; and an *Engliſh* officer was ſent in to take poſſeſſion of the fort, and to hoiſt *Engliſh* colours. Preſently afterwards the Captains *Forbes* and *Buchanan* were detached with ſixty men to ſee the garriſon lay down their arms; and on the 14th, at ſun-riſing, the colonel and the whole army marched into the place *.

Thus at the expence of no more than twenty men killed and wounded, the important fortreſs of *Geriah* fell into the hands of the *Engliſh*, in which the victors found 250 pieces of cannon, ſix mortars, an immenſe quantity of ſtores and ammunition: one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling in ſilver rupees, and about thirty thouſand more in valuable effects. By this conqueſt too, the notoriouſly infamous *Angria* was entirely ruined, and his whole country, which extended four degrees of latitude along the coaſt, was taken from him. He himſelf eſcaped our hands, having left the fort two or three days before it was attacked; the government of which he committed to one of his wife's brothers, under whoſe care alſo he put his two wives and both his children †.

* Captain *Thomas Knowler* of the *Saliſbury*, who enjoyed but a poor ſtate of health in this country, after a gallant diſcharge of his duty on the expedition to *Geriah*, was permitted to quit his ſhip, and return to Europe. Captain *Martin* of the *Bridgewater*, on this ſucceeded to the *Saliſbury*; Captain *Smith* to the command of the *Bridgewater*; and Admiral *Watſon*'s firſt lieutenant, Sir *William Hewet*, to the *King's-fiſher*; but this gentleman's bad ſtate of health, and his being charged with the admiral's diſpatches home on account of the ſucceſs at *Geriah*, ſoon made room for Mr. *Richard Toby*, the next in command on board the *Kent*, to ſucceed to the *King's-Fiſher*.

† Soon after the ſurrender of *Geriah*, *Angria*'s two children, and one of his wives, were taken ill of the ſmall-pox. At Mr. *Watſon*'s requeſt, I conſtantly attended them, and ſent ſuch medicines as I judged were proper for them. They always appeared very thankful for what I did; but I afterwards diſcovered that they had not taken any of the medicines. They preferred the common method (deſcribed in chap. 4,) uſed by the phyſical practitioners in their country, beſprinkling the patient with ſifted wood-aſhes as ſoon as the puſtules begin to fill, which they add to, or diminiſh from, according to the greater or leſs quantity of variolous matter. One of his family had a pock of the confluent kind, and was covered from head to foot with aſhes; which, towards the latter end of the diſorder, appeared like a maſs of paſte, ſurrounding the whole body. The whole family of *Angria* recovered however from the diſeaſe.

Admiral



Jn.ᵒ Northall. del. 1756

North West View from GERIAH FORT, Up the River.

Admiral *Watſon*, ſoon after the reduction of the place, took an opportunity of viſiting theſe unfortunate captives; and the interview between them was beyond meaſure affecting. Upon his entering their houſe, the whole family made a grand *ſalaam*, or reverential bending of their bodies, touching the very ground with their faces, and ſhedding floods of tears. The admiral deſired them to be comforted; adding, "that they were now under his protection; and that no kind of injury ſhould be done them." They then again made the *ſalaam*. The mother of *Angria*, though ſtrongly affected with theſe teſtimonies of goodneſs and humanity, yet could not help crying out, "that the people had no king, ſhe no ſon, her daughters no huſband, the children no father!" The admiral replied, "that from henceforward they muſt look upon him as their father and their friend." Upon which the youngeſt child, a boy of about ſix years old, ſobbing ſaid, "*Then you ſhall be my father*;" and immediately took the admiral by the hand, and called him "*father*." This action of the child's was ſo very affecting, it quite overpowered that brave, that good man's heart, and he found himſelf under a neceſſity of turning from the innocent youth for a while, to prevent the falling of thoſe tears, which ſtood ready to guſh from his eyes *. 1756.

Mr. *Watſon*'s intention was to have taken the whole family with him to *Bombay*, and to have ſettled them at that place; and they appeared at firſt to be greatly pleaſed with the propoſal, for above all things they dreaded being put into the hands of the *Maharattas*. But this intention of the admiral's was never put in execution; for afterwards, at their own requeſt, he permitted them to remain in *Geriah*. They probably were ordered, by ſome letter or meſſage they received from *Angria* himſelf, before the ſquadron left the place, to aſk this favour of the admiral.

Tullagee Angria was an arbitrary, cruel tyrant, making his own imperious will the only rule of his government. He was originally tributary to the *Serajah*; but finding himſelf very powerful, he had for a long time ſhook off all ſubjection, and had treated ſome ambaſſadors ſent to him from that prince, to put him in mind of his duty, with great inſolence; ſlitting their noſes, and commanding them to go and tell their maſter, that he would ſend him his pr—te pa—ts to treat with him. On his quitting his principal fortreſs of *Geriah* (as before related) he repaired to *Puna*, the capital city of the *Maharattas*, and made his ſubmiſſion to the *Nanah*, who pardoned him, but upon what terms could never be exactly known. It was conjectured however, and with great probability, that he diſcovered to this prince the place where he had hidden his treaſure; for it cannot be ſuppoſed that ſo notorious an offender as he had been, would have dared to have thrown himſelf at his ſovereign's feet, unleſs he had it in his power in a pecuniary way (the only way then left him) to atone for his paſt behaviour. And what ſtrengthens the ſuſpicion is, our finding only

* An account of the conqueſt of *Geriah*, and of this affecting ſcene, was ſent by the author to a friend in *England*, who ſoon publiſhed it in one of the monthly magazines.

100000 *l.*

1756. 100000 *l.* in money after the capture of *Geriah*, which could not be the tenth part of what he really poſſeſſed. The annexed views of the fort, harbour, and country round it, were taken by the late Captain *Northall* on the ſpot with the utmoſt exactneſs; and to Sir *William Hewet*'s and Commodore *James*'s reports, Mr. *Watſon* always acknowledged himſelf greatly obliged; and Mr. *James* had the ſatisfaction to receive the public thanks of the admiral after the reduction of the fort. The harbour of *Geriah* is ſo exceedingly commodious, as to make it the beſt upon the coaſt; and the fort was ſo ſtrong both by art and nature at the time we attacked it, that it might have held out a long time againſt all our efforts, had it been defended with any tolerable degree of ſkill and reſolution.

The *Europeans* that were found in *Geriah*, and relieved from ſlavery, were,

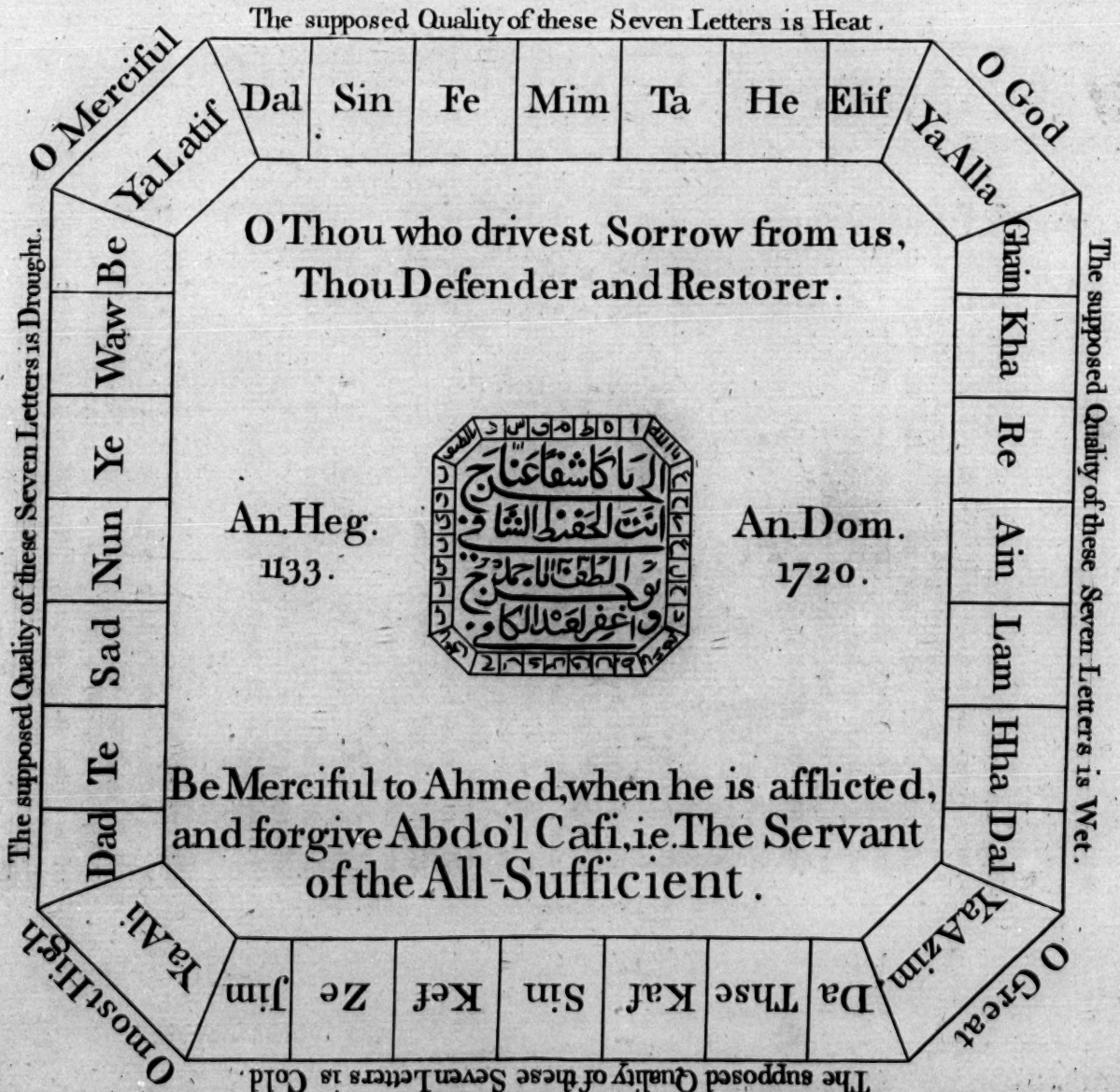
Mr. *Robinſon*, *Gamble Connor*, *Thomas Weſt*, *Stephen Rice*, *Nicholas Maund*, *John Brown*, *Joſeph Gallington*, *James Theſt*, *James Durce*, *William Colley* — — —	Engliſh.
Jacob Buſſy, *Garret Blough*, *Abraham Paenick* — —	Dutch.

Before I entirely quit the account of our tranſactions at this place, I muſt not omit to obſerve, that a young gentleman of the ſquadron found a *Mahomedan Taliſman* in *Angria*'s own houſe, of which he was ſo obliging as to make me a preſent. As I wiſhed to have it explained, I put it into the hands of Sir *James Foulis* Baronet, major and commander in chief of the company's forces at *Bombay*, a gentleman diſtinguiſhed for his learning and ſpeculative turn of mind, from whom I afterwards received a letter, an extract of which I ſhall make no ſcruple to lay before the reader.

" It coſt me no ſmall pains to procure a proper explication of your *Taliſman*; for though it was eaſy to give a literal tranſlation of the words, yet few underſtood the proper meaning and efficacy of the inſcription, which is a real curioſity drawn from the moſt profound depths of muſſulman erudition. The force of it, according to their notions, conſiſts principally in the different names of *God* at the four corners, and in the letters round the edge; by the different combinations of which, different miracles are to be performed; one manner of combining them, raiſing ſtorms; another, bringing on calms, or procuring riches, *&c.* This of yours was particularly calculated as a preſervative againſt all diſeaſes; and by ſome marks, which I have not yet been able to decypher, it is conjectured that *Abdul Caffee*, whoſe name is on it, is a man of diſtinction. I hope to be ſoon able to procure a more exact account of the ſuppoſed nature of it; in the mean time I ſend you incloſed a literal tranſlation. How the letters round the edge came to mean cold or hot, moiſt or dry, I have not yet learned; *Taliſmans* of this valuable kind being only made by *Saints* who have paſſed a long time in prayer in the holy temple at *Mecca*, and many years in contemplation, without any communication with ſinful men."

CHAP.

Translation of a Distich on an Arabian Seal or Talisman.



J. Ridge sculp.

CHAP. VIII.

Mr. Watſon *with his ſquadron leaves* Geriah *and arrives at* Bombay, *and from thence proceeds to* Fort St. David.—*He there receives his majeſty's permiſſion to return to* England, *but is obliged to relinquiſh it, by diſagreeable advices from the directors of the* Eaſt India *company.—An intended expedition to* Golconda *defeated by the ſame intelligence.—An expreſs arrives from* Bengal, *with the news of the taking of* Calcutta, *and the tragedy of the* Black-hole *priſon.—The ſquadron ſails for* Bengal, *and after a tedious paſſage arrives in* Ballaſore *road.—Account of its operations and conqueſts in the river* Ganges *to the retaking of* Calcutta.

ON the 19th of *February* 1756, the *Tyger* was diſpatched to *Bombay* with the ſick and wounded of the ſquadron; and on the 17th of *March*, Admiral *Watſon* in the *Kent*, came to an anchor in *Bombay* harbour; as did Admiral *Pocock* in the *Cumberland* the day following. On the 27th of *April*, Mr. *Watſon* with his ſquadron left *Bombay*, and once more ſailed for the *Coromandel* coaſt. We touched at *Geriah* in our way, and on the 14th of *May* got to *Fort St. David*'s road. Soon after our arrival here, the admiral had the ſatisfaction to receive letters from the Secretary of State, and from the Admiralty, acquainting him that his majeſty had been pleaſed to comply with his requeſt of quitting the *Eaſt Indies*, and directing him, whenever that event happened, to reſign the command of the ſquadron to Rear-admiral *Pocock*. The heat of the climate had, ever ſince his firſt arrival, been greatly diſtreſsful to Mr. *Watſon*, whoſe conſtitution was ſanguine, and whoſe habit was rather corpulent. The permiſſion therefore he now had of quitting the ſervice, could not fail of being agreeable to him, and he pleaſed himſelf with the expectation of ſailing back to *Europe* in the month of *October*. 1756.

This fair proſpect was ſoon clouded, however, by the diſagreeable intelligence which the governor and council of *Madraſs* at this time ſent to him, and which they juſt before had received from the directors of the *Eaſt India* company. The purport of it, was, that 3000 regular troops had embarked from *France* in ſix ſhips of the line, and in the ſame number of large veſſels belonging to their *Eaſt India* company; and that theſe laſt, as

1756. ſoon as they arrived at the iſland of *Mauritius*, were to be converted into ſhips of war. With this account, orders were ſaid to have been alſo ſent from *England* to the preſidency at *Fort St. George*; "*To ſtand well on their guard, and to do their beſt to protect and defend themſelves againſt the threatening power of* France."

An expreſs was ſoon diſpatched with theſe tidings to Admiral *Watſon*, deſiring him above all things to have a watchful eye on the proceedings of the *French* at *Pondicherry*. The news flew like lightning into every quarter, and different perſons argued very differently upon it. Many concluded, that the intelligence ſent by the directors was ill founded, becauſe the ſame ſhip that brought the alarming account, had brought alſo letters from Lord *Holderneſſe*, one of his majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, who wrote not a ſyllable on the ſubject. This ſilence of his lordſhip on a matter of ſo much conſequence was very ſtriking; yet as there was a poſſibility that the directors in this inſtance might be furniſhed with better intelligence than the Secretary of State, Admiral *Watſon* from this moment gave over all thoughts of ſoon leaving the *Indies*; for however agreeable it was to him, he could not think of taking ſuch a ſtep, at a time when ſo heavy a cloud was ſaid to be juſt ready to burſt on our moſt important ſettlements in that part of the world. So predominant in his breaſt was the ſpirit of patriotiſm, and the love of glory, that though ſolicited to return home by every allurement of domeſtic felicity, he waved all theſe conſiderations, and reſolved ſtill to expoſe himſelf to the hazards of a climate, peculiarly fraught with danger and diſeaſe.

It was ſoon determined between him and the gentlemen of the preſidency, that in every department we ought to be prepared to receive the *French* in the moſt effectual manner. For this purpoſe the two admirals, and all the officers of the ſquadron left their houſes, and repaired on board their ſhips, where they lived for the ſpace of ſix weeks, cauſing a good look out to be kept for the enemy from their maſts heads. At the ſame time, to increaſe the alarm, the gentlemen of the *French* nation reſident in *India*, very induſtriouſly and politically reported, and which report was echoed by our *good* friends the *Dutch*, that this formidable armament from *France* was actually arrived in the *Indian* ſeas. This poſitive aſſertion ſeriouſly affected the government at *Madraſs*, who immediately requeſted the admiral, to take on board his ſquadron the king's regiment then at *Fort St. David*, and with it repair to the preſidency. The admiral with great reluctance quitted *Fort St. David*, as he knew it was upon all accounts the propereſt ſtation for intercepting the *French* fleet, and for counteracting any deſigns which the enemy might have formed againſt our ſettlements. But as he did not chuſe to have any diſputes with the preſidency, he immediately took Colonel *Adlercron*'s regiment on board, and ſailed with it to *Madraſs*, where he purchaſed a veſſel for the king's ſervice, and after having converted her

into a fire-ſhip under the name of the *Blaze*, he appointed to the command of her, his firſt lieutenant, Mr. *Richard King*. 1756.

On our arrival at *Madraſs*, we had the ſatisfaction to find the active and ſpirited Governor *Pigot*, at the head of a great number of artificers and labourers, making incredible additions to the fortifications of the place, hardly allowing himſelf time to take any refreſhment, and ſhewing by his own example, that it was poſſible for men, in times of imminent danger, to expoſe their perſons in the hotteſt hours of the day, and in the moſt ſultry ſeaſon of the year.

Juſt before the account of this armament from *Europe* reached our ears, the *Nabob* of *Golconda* had quarrelled with the *French* general *Monſ. Buſſy*, who for a long time had been preying on the vitals of his country. The *Nabob* had made overtures to the leading men of our preſidency for their aſſiſting him in getting rid of ſo troubleſome a gueſt, and they with pleaſure had liſtened to the propoſal. Nothing indeed prevented their ſuccouring him at this time, but their own ſuppoſed danger from the formidable *French* armament which was ſoon expected to arrive upon the coaſt. The apprehenſion of this made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on their minds, that for ſome time they appeared more ſolicitous about defending themſelves, than of ſending any effectual ſupport to their new ally. At length, however, two ſhips belonging to the company arrived from *England*; and as they ſailed the lateſt in the ſeaſon, and brought with them no kind of confirmation of the firſt alarming intelligence, every one immediately concluded that it never had the leaſt foundation. A detachment of troops therefore, and a train of artillery, were ordered to be gotten ready to march with all expedition for the kingdom of *Golconda:* a country of vaſt opulence, the ſource of thoſe amazing ſums which the famous Monſ. *Dupleix* and his countrymen had amaſſed together, and from whence indeed all their importance was derived.

But before theſe troops could be ſent away, an expreſs arrived from *Bengal* with the diſagreeable account of our fort at *Caſſimbuzar*, near *Muxadabad*, being taken by the new *Nabob*, *Serajah al Dowlah*, who was a compound of temerity, cruelty, ambition, and avarice: he was particularly incenſed at Mr. *Drake* the *Engliſh* governor of *Calcutta*, under the pretence of his having given protection to ſome of his offending ſubjects; but his attack of the *Engliſh* ſettlements, certainly proceeded from the hopes of conſiderable plunder, added to the deſire of impreſſing his ſubjects with an awe of his military talents and proweſs. Inſtead of marching with the great army he had raiſed, into the *Purbunean* country, as he firſt intended, we were informed he had turned his arms againſt us, and was expected ſoon to appear before the gates of *Fort William* in *Calcutta*. Theſe unfortunate tidings gave us all great concern; and ſcarcely were the firſt tranſports of our chagrin abated, before another

1756. diſpatch arrived with the news of his having taken *Calcutta*, and of the dreadful tragedy which happened in the *Black-hole* priſon *. This was ſuch a blow, as filled us all with inexpreſſible conſternation; and was enough indeed to ſhake the credit of our *Eaſt India* company to its very foundations; for hereby they loſt their principal ſettlement in *Bengal*, and a fort which ſecured to them the moſt valuable part of their commerce.

Here I cannot help reflecting on the fatal effects of that piece of intelligence already mentioned, which too haſtily reached us, from the directors of the *Eaſt India* company. Had we at the firſt arrival of our ſquadron from *Bombay* on the coaſt, been at liberty to act, inſtead of being fixed to a certain ſpot, no doubt but the greateſt advantages would have enſued. Our troops would inevitably have marched into the kingdom of *Golconda*, as auxiliaries to *Salabad-jing* the *Nabob* of that country, and in all probability would have made themſelves maſters of all the ſtrong-holds the *French* poſſeſſed there; *Buſſy*'s retreat would infallibly have been cut off, and every *Frenchman* there muſt have fallen into our hands †. The ſquadron, in this caſe, would likewiſe have ſailed to *Maſulipatnam*, and there have ſeized upon a ſhip from *Pondicherry* with 400 troops on board, under the command of Mr. *Law*, intended as a reinforcement for Monſ. *Buſſy*. Thus our countrymen would have firmly eſtabliſhed themſelves in one of the richeſt provinces of *India*; the ſpot, which had been the cauſe of all the jealouſy between us and the *French*, and the original ſource of all the troubles which had ariſen in this part of the world: And that detachment of our troops, which muſt have been in the country of *Golconda*, at the time the melancholy account reached us of our loſſes in *Bengal*, would have been ſo far advanced in their way to the relief of their diſtreſſed countrymen; with this additional advantage, that *Salabad-jing*, being then in alliance with us, would probably have joined our forces with a body of his own; by which means our company's affairs would much ſooner have been retrieved, than they were; the tedious voyage we afterwards had from *Madraſs* to *Bengal*, prevented; and perhaps our worthy admiral and other gallant men, who died there through the inclemency of the weather, might have left the river before the exceſſive heats and rains ſet in, and have been now alive and happy with their reſpective families in *Great Britain*. But ſuch a train of fortunate events, heaven thought not fit to permit! and it would but ill become us to find fault with its diſpenſations, however we may be allowed to ſympathize in the afflictions of our countrymen and friends.

* An affecting narrative of this memorable and ſhocking affair, was drawn up by *John Zephaniah Holwell*, Eſq; one of the ſurviving ſufferers, and publiſhed by him in the year 1758.

† This was afterwards effected under the command of the gallant Colonel *Forde*.

Many were the opinions that prevailed in *India*, concerning the diſaſter at *Calcutta*; let it ſuffice to obſerve, that the conduct of the governor was univerſally blamed in abandoning the fort ſo precipitately; while the courage and reſolution of Mr. *Holwell*, who, with the aſſiſtance of a few gallant officers and a feeble garriſon, defended it for ſeveral days after the other had left it, could not fail of being much applauded. There were perſons however at *Calcutta*, who would not allow any ſhare of praiſe to be due to theſe gentlemen; for they inſiſted, that their having defended the fort, was a matter of neceſſity, not of choice; and that both Mr. *Holwell* and his officers would have followed the governor on board the ſhips, had there been any boats left to carry them off. 1756.

By the loſs of the two forts at *Caſſimbuzar* and *Calcutta*, the *Engliſh Eaſt India* company's affairs were reduced ſo low, that nothing but the gallantry, and fortitude of a *Watſon*, and the magnanimity and good fortune of a *Clive*, could poſſibly have retrieved them. A plan of operations was immediately concerted between the company's principals, and theſe two brave and worthy officers, for reſtoring the company's affairs in *Bengal*, recovering *Calcutta*, and taking ample vengeance on the *Barbarian*, who had exerciſed ſuch horrid cruelties on many of our unhappy countrymen. The neceſſary ſtores and implements of war, were ſcarcely embarked, when a veſſel arrived from the *Malabar* coaſt, which brought a packet for the admiral, containing a commiſſion appointing him vice-admiral of the blue *, and orders for him to return to *England* with the ſquadron under his command.

Mr. *Watſon* immediately called on his faithful counſellors and friends, Admiral *Pocock*, Captain *Speke*, and his ſecretary Mr. *Doidge*, to conſult with them what was proper to be done in ſo critical a conjuncture; and it appearing to them, as it had before to the admiral, that the miniſtry in *England*, when they ſent theſe orders for his return, could not poſſibly foreſee the dreadful event which had ſo lately happened at *Bengal*; they unanimouſly agreed, not only that the admiral ſhould poſtpone his own departure for *Europe*, but alſo that of the ſquadron, until the company's affairs ſhould be put upon a better footing than they were at preſent. The admiral then ſignified his deſire to the governor and ſelect committee at *Fort St. George*, to meet them in council, in order to communicate to them the contents of his packet. When they were aſſembled, he acquainted them with the tenor of his late orders. On which the committee, quite confounded, declared with great ſerioufneſs and concern, that the company muſt be totally ruined, unleſs the king's ſhips immediately proceeded to

* And ſome time after, Mr. *Watſon* was made Vice-admiral of the White, but he did not live to receive the commiſſion.

Bengal;

1756. *Bengal*; for it was not poſſible for them to tranſport a ſufficient number of troops thither in their own ſhips, neither indeed would they be of any uſe when they got there, without the aſſiſtance of two or three men of war. It was therefore reſolved, that the whole ſquadron ſhould proceed as far as the mouth of the *Ganges*, and anchor in *Ballaſore* road, when the company's ſhips and veſſels already in the river, ſhould fall down where the ſquadron lay, and receive the troops from the ſhips of war. The *Saliſbury*, *Bridgewater*, and *King's-fiſher*, were deſigned to be put under the command of Captain *William Martin*, to carry on the expedition againſt the *Nabob*; for it was then looked upon as a certainty that the *Kent*, *Cumberland*, and *Tyger*, could not be got over the *Braces* *. Another delay and matter of debate, was, what force ſhould be ſent to *Bengal*, and who ſhould command the military; ſometimes Colonel *Adlercron*, and ſometimes Colonel *Clive*, was thought to be the moſt proper perſon; at laſt they determined on Colonel *Clive*, and indeed the general voice of our countrymen was in his favour.——Another ſubject of the governor and council's conſultations, was, concerning whoſe hands the affairs of the company in *Bengal* ought to be placed in, provided ſucceſs ſhould attend the expedition. At one time it was determined, that the preſidency here ſhould ſend three of its own members in the ſhips to *Bengal*, who were to act in obedience to the orders they were to receive from this place; it being agreed that the governor and council of *Fort St. George* ought now, until the pleaſure of the *Eaſt India* directors ſhould be known, to take on themſelves the management of this diſſolved, but once independent ſettlement. However, Mr. *Watſon* in particular, having ſtrongly oppoſed this reſolution, and declared (as I have been informed by his ſecretary) that he would not undertake the expedition on any other terms, than having it in his power to deliver the ſettlement to the management of ſuch as were appointed by the company to be their repreſentatives in that province; after many debates, it was reſolved that the former governor and council ſhould be reſtored to their reſpective honour and ſtations; and it is principally to the admiral's interpoſition on this critical occaſion, that theſe gentlemen are indebted for their ſubſequent good fortune and unexpected affluence. But the greateſt difficulty that preſented itſelf was the late ſeaſon of the year; for the *monſoon* was now ſet in, and there was a neceſſity for the ſquadron's getting to *Bengal* againſt it, which was conſidered as very near impracticable. We were given to underſtand, that ſhips ſailing at this ſeaſon from *Madraſs* to *Ballaſore*, were obliged to ſtand over to the eaſtern ſide of the bay, and that the currents generally proved ſo ſtrong againſt them, that whilſt they were looking out by their reckoning for the coaſt of *Pegu*, they had often, to their great aſtoniſhment, found themſelves driven again on the coaſt of *Coromandel*; and after ſtanding over a ſecond time in the ſame manner, and

* Dangerous ſhoals at the entrance of the *Ganges*, in the way up to *Fulta*.

looking

looking out for the eaſtern ſhore, they had been carried to the ſouthward as far as the iſland of *Ceylon*, and then, for want of proviſions, had been obliged to bear away for the *Malabar* coaſt *. The admiral however, putting great confidence in the ſtrength of his ſhips, and the dexterity of Captain *Speke*, who was much acquainted with theſe ſeas, reſolved to try this difficult experiment, in order to ſave the company from ruin; and having diſpatched the *King's-fiſher* to *Bengal*, with intelligence to our countrymen, that aſſiſtance would ſoon be ſent to them, he on the 16th of *October* ſailed from *Madraſs* with his whole ſquadron, and ſeveral of the company's ſhips, for *Ballaſore* road in the mouth of the *Ganges* †. 1756.

The time the ſquadron weighed from *Madraſs*, was preciſely the ſeaſon when the currents ſet ſtrongeſt out of the bay of *Bengal*, ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by the heavy rains which fall in that kingdom during the months of *July*, *Auguſt*, and *September*, and which about this time diſcharge themſelves into the ſea from the numerous branches of the great river *Ganges*. The winds too at this ſeaſon ‡ being either faint or very ſtormy, the admiral determined to puſh over to the eaſtern ſhore; but ſoon had the mortification to find, that in ſpite of all his efforts to the contrary, his ſquadron, by the force of the current, was driven down as far as *Ceylon*, although by our reckonings it appeared that we had gained ſome degrees of longitude to the eaſtward. A few days afterwards we had freſh gales from the north-eaſt, and in the night one of the ſhips made the ſignal of diſtreſs; upon which the admiral bore down towards her, and found it to be the *Saliſbury*, that had ſprung a dangerous leak, and could not poſſibly keep company with the ſquadron; the admiral therefore was obliged to lay to all night and part of the next day to aſſiſt her. As the leak was in her bow, they were obliged to bring the ſhip by the ſtern, by moving her guns and other things aft, that the leak might be brought out of the water. In this they partly ſucceeded, and ſtopped the leak with oakum; but as this was not

* "In what is called the latter paſſage from the coaſts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel* during the months of *October* and *November*, in order to make a quick paſſage it is neceſſary to go as far to the ſouthward as 5 degrees, or 4° 30′ north latitude, where you will find ſouth-weſterly winds, which will carry you to the *Nicobar* iſlands, and ſometimes quite up to the *Andamans*, from which iſlands, in ſhaping a courſe toward *Ballaſore* road, or to the entrance of the *Ganges*, a point of the compaſs ſhould be allowed, for a very ſtrong current which ſets to the *Aracan* ſhore."

Extract from Captain King's *minutes.*

† On board the ſquadron and other veſſels, were 700 *Europeans* and 1200 *Sepoys* belonging to the company, and a detachment of 250 of *Adlercron*'s regiment to ſerve as marines.

‡ "Though at *Bombay* and *Bengal*, the *monſoon* commonly changes from S. W. to N. E. about the time of full moon in *Auguſt*, yet the change is only partial, for the wind is gradually ſhifting down the coaſts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel*, until the month of *November*, when the change becomes general."

Extract from Captain King's *minutes.*

effectual,

1756. effectual, the admiral left it to Captain *Martin*'s choice, either to bear away for the iſland of *Ceylon*, or try to puſh on with the reſt of the ſquadron. Captain *Martin* knowing that his ſhip had been particularly fixed upon for going up the *Ganges*, and that he had more than 200 of the king's and company's troops on board, thought his quitting the ſquadron might be a ſort of check on the ſucceſs of the whole expedition; he therefore reſolved to proceed, as long at leaſt as he could do it with any degree of ſafety to the mens lives.

The *monſoon* this year was uncommonly tempeſtuous, which made it a long time before we got to the eaſtern part of the bay; at length however, by great perſeverance and unwearied induſtry, the whole ſquadron reached one of the mouths of the *Ganges:* but our arrival there being in the middle of the night, we were obliged to come to an anchor, not knowing exactly where we were; and when the day came on, we had the mortification to find ourſelves off the *Palmira*, or *Palm-tree* point, and could eaſily diſcern an immenſe ſand-bank ſtretching far to the northward of us. Some of our ſhips falling to leeward, had a very narrow eſcape; the *Cumberland*, Admiral *Pocock*, ſtruck the ground, but fortunately got off again without receiving much damage. Two days after this, the *Kent* and *Tyger* reached the road of *Ballaſore*, but the other ſhips could not weather the point. Admiral *Pocock*, after ſeveral fruitleſs efforts, and being in want of proviſions, was obliged to bear away for *Vizagapatnam*, and the *Saliſbury*, after being toſſed about for ſome time at ſea, and her whole crew, both officers and common men, put to an allowance of a purſer's quart of water a day, was in great danger of periſhing for want of common neceſſaries; but at laſt, by the perſeverance of her captain, and a kind providence, ſhe got into *Ballaſore* road, and afterwards proceeded over the ſands to join the Admiral at *Fulta*.

As ſoon as the *Kent* arrived in *Ballaſore* road, two *Engliſh* pilots came on board us, who gave the admiral a farther account of the miſerable ſituation of affairs in *Bengal*; as, that ſince the reduction of *Calcutta*, almoſt every inhabitant who ſurvived the attack of the place, or the dreadful cataſtrophe of the *Black-hole* priſon, had made their eſcape to *Fulta*, a deſpicable village on the river's ſide; that ſome families lived in tents on ſhore, while others continued on board the ſame ſhips and veſſels in which they had eſcaped from *Calcutta*. In ſhort, they repreſented the deplorable ſtate in which the *ladies* as well as gentlemen were, in ſo pathetic a manner, that the admiral was greatly affected with the relation, and determined to puſh on immediately to their relief. He was thoroughly ſenſible indeed, that no time was to be loſt, becauſe he was informed that the *Nabob* was then raiſing ſeveral additional batteries on purpoſe to obſtruct his paſſage. He therefore conſulted the two pilots, whether the *Kent* and *Tyger*, at the moſt favourable time of the tide, could poſſibly paſs the *Braces*; they both

both hesitated very much in their answers; but at last the admiral, biassed by the enterprizing spirit and sound judgment of Captain *Speke*, who had been in the river several times before, came to a resolution of making the attempt; which we happily succeeded in, though not without great risk to the ships in pushing through the shoals, for through them, and not entirely over them, we forced our way *. 1756.

On the 14th of *December* we had the satisfaction to arrive at *Fulta*, where we had the pleasure of meeting Captain *King*, who being sick at *Madrass* when the squadron sailed, was left behind; but, eager for action, before he was quite recovered, had taken his passage in the *Protector*, one of the company's ships, commanded by Captain *England*, who was ordered to *Bengal* with *Sepoys*, to reinforce the troops under Colonel *Clive* †. Captain *King*'s ship the *Blaze* (commanded in his absence by Lieutenant *Peter Porter*, an excellent but unfortunate officer, and who was afterwards killed in the expedition against *Manilla*) having been obliged to bear away for *Bombay*, and not joining the squadron afterwards, the captain served on board the *Kent* as a volunteer; and this unlucky incident reduced his share of prize-money, in consequence of our victories in the *Ganges*, 10000 *l.* less than otherwise it would have been.

The reader may better conceive than I express, what welcome visitors we were to our distressed countrymen at *Fulta*; who, after having lived in the most affluent circumstances, were now sunk down to a condition that scarcely afforded them common necessaries. The cup of affliction is always bitter, but has the taste of gall itself, when it suddenly succeeds a state of opulence. To sink at once into the lowest poverty from an easy fortune; and from a condition that drew respect from others, to be reduced to one too often attended with derision and contempt; are circumstances that quicken the sense of misery, and make misfortunes more intolerable. This was exactly the case of the present unhappy sufferers; they had sustained some figure in the world; they had kept a generous and hospitable table, where the friend and the stranger had tasted of the elegancies of life; but now, by a sudden reverse of fortune, were themselves obliged to descend to the most servile offices, and to be dependent on the commiseration of others for a precarious subsistence. They were crowded together in the most wretched habitations, clad in the meanest apparel, and for almost five months had been surrounded by sickness and disease, which made strange havoc among them; and yet, when we saw them first, to our great surprize, they appeared with as chearful countenances, as if no misfortunes had happened to them. This serenity of theirs was certainly in great

* In the year 1769 the *Lord Holland*, one of the company's ships, was lost on these shoals.

† The *Protector* sailed the 29th of *October*, thirteen days after the squadron, and arrived two days before us, by pursuing the track before mentioned.

1756. meaſure owing to the pleaſing hopes they now entertained of a ſpeedy deliverance from their afflictions: though ſome little ſhare of it might alſo be imputed to their having been ſo long diſciplined in the ſchool of adverſity, as to make them kiſs the rod, and in the true ſpirit of chriſtianity chearfully ſubmit themſelves to the diſpenſations of that benevolent Being, who, for wiſe and good reaſons, had laid the burthen upon them.

From theſe reflections, to which the ſubject inſenſibly led me; I ſhall now proceed to our operations for their relief.——The third day after our arrival at *Fulta* the admiral ſent the following ſpirited letter to the *Nabob*, on the behalf of his injured countrymen.

Admiral *Charles Watſon*, the great commander of the fleet belonging to the puiſſant king of *Great Britain*, irreſiſtible in battle, to *Munſerood Muluk Serâjah Dowlah*, *Soubahdar* of the provinces of *Bengal*, *Bahar* and *Orixa*.

"THE king my maſter (whoſe name is revered among the monarchs of the world) ſent me to theſe parts with a great fleet to protect the *Eaſt India* company's trade, rights, and privileges; the advantages reſulting to the *Mogul*'s dominions from the extenſive commerce carried on by my maſter's ſubjects, are too apparent to need enumerating: how great was my ſurprize therefore to hear that you had marched againſt the ſaid company's factories with a large army, and forcibly expelled their ſervants, ſeized and plundered their effects, amounting to a large ſum of money, and killed great numbers of the king my maſter's ſubjects.

I am come down to *Bengal* to re-eſtabliſh the ſaid company's ſervants in their former factories and houſes, and hope to find you willing to reſtore to them their ancient rights and immunities. As you muſt be ſenſible of the benefit of having the *Engliſh* ſettled in your country, I doubt not you will conſent to make them a reaſonable ſatisfaction for the loſſes and injuries they have ſuffered, and by that means put an amicable end to the troubles, and ſecure the friendſhip of my king, who is a lover of peace, and delights in acts of equity. What can I ſay more?"

From on board his *Britannic* Majeſty's ſhip *Kent*, at *Fulta*, the 17th of Dec. 1756 *.

On the 27th of *December* the admiral ſailed from *Fulta* with the *Kent*, *Tyger*, *Saliſbury*, *Bridgewater*, *King's-fiſher*, and *Walpole Indiaman*, having firſt embarked the troops, which had been landed to refreſh them, and which now amounted to 600 *Europeans* and about one thouſand *Sepoys*: Theſe were made up of the troops which we brought with us, and the remains of a detach-

* To this letter the *Nabob* returned no anſwer, till after our taking *Calcutta* and *Houghley*.

ment from *Madraſs*, which, as far back as *Auguſt*, had been diſpatched to this river under the command of Major *Kilpatrick*, an experienced and good officer; and intended for the relief of *Calcutta*, then ſuppoſed to be in danger. The detachment at firſt conſiſted of 240 men; but an epidemical fever had made ſuch deſtruction among them, that not above ten were capable of doing duty when we arrived at *Fulta*, and, to the beſt of my remembrance, not thirty of the whole detachment were left alive. 1756.

On the 29th of *December*, at ſix o'clock in the morning, the admiral having landed the company's troops the evening before at *Mayapore*, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel *Clive*, cannonaded *Bougee Bougee* fort, which was ſtrong and built of mud, and had a wet ditch round it. The fort began to fire at the *Tyger* at 7 in the morning, and ſoon after at the whole ſquadron till 1 in the afternoon, but its batteries were at length ſilenced by the cannon from the ſhips. About 11 o'clock the admiral made the ſignal for the king's troops to land, and join ſome of the company's, that were ſeen marching under the bank of the river. Captain *Coote* accordingly landed with the troops from the *Kent* and *Tyger*, joined the company's diviſion, and advanced and took poſſeſſion of two out-forts which the enemy had quitted without taking away their colours: about 4 o'clock, two of the *Kent*'s 9 pounders were ſent on ſhore to make a breach in the gate-way, and Colonel *Clive*'s troops, after a very fatiguing march, were poſted at the back of the fort to intercept the enemy, ſhould they attempt to make a retreat, and for this purpoſe were divided into ſeveral different parties. One of theſe was unexpectedly attacked by 3000 horſe and foot under the command of *Monich-chund* the *Indian* governor of *Calcutta*, and in this ſkirmiſh more than twenty of our troops were killed and wounded; but notwithſtanding this advantage, as ſoon as the colonel himſelf came up with a reinforcement, and had diſcharged a few of his field-pieces, which did great execution among the *Moors*, this commander in chief of the *Nabob*'s army, after a muſket ball had paſſed though his turban, retired with precipitation.

The cannon of the fort being ſilenced by the ſquadron, but the garriſon not offering to ſurrender, and continuing to diſcharge fire-arrows and ſmall arms, it was determined in a council of ſea and land officers on board the *Kent*, that Colonel *Clive* ſhould endeavour to take it by aſſault. For this purpoſe, at five o'clock in the evening, the admiral landed an officer, two midſhipmen, and about forty ſailors from each ſhip, under the command of Captain *King*, to aſſiſt the colonel in ſtorming the fort, which he intended doing juſt before day-light, under the cover of two 24 pounders mounted cloſe to the ditch. In the mean time, the colonel had given directions, that the whole army, (the neceſſary guards excepted) and the detachment from the ſhips, ſhould reſt on the ground, in order to recover themſelves as much as poſſible from the great fatigues they had under-gone in the preceding day's ſervice. All now was quiet in the camp; and we on board the ſhips,

1756. which lay at their anchors but at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore, had entertained thoughts of making uſe of this interval to refreſh ourſelves alſo with an hour or two of ſleep; but ſuddenly, a loud and univerſal acclamation was heard from the ſhore, and ſoon afterwards an account was brought to the admiral, that the fort had been taken by ſtorm. This was a joyful piece of news, and the more ſo, as it was quite unexpected; but when the particular circumſtances that uſhered in this ſucceſs, were related, our exultation was greatly abated, becauſe we found that the rules ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary in all military exploits, had been entirely diſregarded in the preſent inſtance, and therefore could not help looking upon the perſon, who had the principal hand in this victory, rather as an object of chaſtiſement, than of applauſe.—The caſe was this.——During the tranquil ſtate of the camp, one *Straban*, a common ſailor belonging to the *Kent*, having been juſt ſerved with a quantity of *grog*, (arrack mixed with water,) had his ſpirits too much elated to think of taking any reſt; he therefore ſtrayed by himſelf towards the fort, and imperceptibly got under the walls; being advanced thus far without interruption, he took it into his head to ſcale at a breach that had been made by the cannon of the ſhips; and having luckily gotten upon the baſtion, he there diſcovered ſeveral *Moor-men* ſitting on the platform, at whom he flouriſhed his cutlaſs, and fired his piſtol, and then, after having given three loud huzzas, cried out, "*The place is mine.*" The *Mooriſh* ſoldiers immediately attacked him, and he defended himſelf with incomparable reſolution; but in the rencounter had the misfortune to have the blade of his cutlaſs cut in two about a foot from the hilt: this miſchance however did not happen, till he was near being ſupported by two or three other ſailors, who had accidentally ſtraggled to the ſame part of the fort, on which the other had mounted. They, hearing *Straban*'s huzzas, immediately ſcaled the breach likewiſe, and echoing the triumphant ſound, rouſed the whole army, who taking the alarm, preſently fell on pell-mell, without orders and without diſcipline, following the example of the ſailors. This attack, though made in ſuch confuſion, was attended with no other ill conſequence, but the death of the worthy Captain *Dougal Campbel*, who was unfortunately killed by a muſket-bullet from one of our own pieces in the general confuſion. Captain *Coote* commanded the fort for that night, and at day-light the fort ſaluted the admiral. It was never exactly known what number of *Moors* there were in the fort when our people firſt entered: probably there were but very few, the major part of the garriſon having made their eſcape ſoon after their batteries were ſilenced. We took in the fort 18 cannon from 24 pounders downwards, and 40 barrels of powder.

Straban, the hero of this adventurous action, was ſoon brought before the admiral, who, notwithſtanding the ſucceſs that had attended it, thought it neceſſary to ſhew himſelf diſpleaſed with a meaſure in which the want of all military diſcipline ſo notoriouſly appeared. He therefore angrily enquired into the deſperate ſtep which he had taken: "Mr. *Straban*, what is this that you have been doing?"—The fellow, after having made his bow, ſcratched

ſcratched his head, and with one hand twirling his hat upon the other, replied, "Why, to be ſure, Sir, it was *I* who took the fort, but *I hope there was no harm in it.*" The admiral with difficulty was prevented from ſmiling at the ſimplicity of *Straban*'s anſwer; and the whole company were exceedingly diverted with his awkward appearance, and his language and manner in recounting the ſeveral particulars of his mad exploit. Mr. *Watſon* expatiated largely on the fatal conſequences that might have attended his irregular conduct, and then with a ſevere rebuke diſmiſſed him; but not before he had given the fellow ſome diſtant hints, that at a proper opportunity he ſhould certainly be puniſhed for his temerity. *Straban*, amazed to find himſelf blamed, where he expected praiſe, had no ſooner gone from the admiral's cabin, then he muttered theſe words; "*If I am flogged for this here action, I will never take another fort by myſelf as long as I live, by G—d.*" The novelty of the caſe, the ſucceſs of the enterprize, and the courageous ſpirit which he had diſplayed, pleaded ſtrongly with the admiral in behalf of the offender; and yet at the ſame time the diſcipline of the ſervice, required that he ſhould ſhew him outwardly ſome marks of his diſpleaſure. This the admiral did, for ſome little time; but afterwards, at the interceſſion of ſome officers, which interceſſion the admiral himſelf prompted them to make, he moſt readily pardoned him. And it is not improbable, that had *Straban* been properly qualified for the office of boatſwain, he might on ſome other pretence, before the expedition had ended, have been promoted to that ſtation in one of his majeſty's ſhips; but unfortunately for this brave fellow, the whole tenor of his conduct, both before and after the ſtorming of the fort, was ſo very irregular, as to render it impoſſible for the admiral to advance him from his old ſtation to any higher rank, how ſtrongly ſoever his inclinations led him to do it *.

1756.

December 30, the ſame afternoon of our taking poſſeſſion of *Bougee Bougee* fort, the king's and company's troops were again ſent on board the ſquadron to proceed up the river; but the *Sepoys* were ordered to march on by land.

On the 1ſt of *January* 1757, the boats of the *Kent* and *Tyger* took poſſeſſion of *Tanna* fort, which was built with bricks; and of another mud-fortification on the oppoſite bank; both of which, after one fire of their cannon, were abandoned on our approach, leaving us 40 cannon, many of which were 24 pounders. The next morning all the ſquadron weighed, and proceeded on to *Calcutta*, except the *Saliſbury*, which was ordered to ſtay behind, and, after bringing off the guns, *&c.* demoliſh *Tanna* and *Bougee Bougee* forts.——At nine o'clock the *Tyger*, which was the foremoſt ſhip, got

1757.

* Since theſe ſheets were firſt ſent to the preſs, *Straban* has paid the author a viſit, and told him that he had ſerved in every of Admiral *Pocock's Eaſt-India* engagements; and that, in conſequence of a wound he received in one of them, he is become a penſioner to the cheſt at *Chatham*: at preſent he acts alſo as a ſailor in one of the guard-ſhips at *Portſmouth*; and he ſays, that his higheſt ambition is to be made cook of one of his majeſty's capital ſhips.

within

1757. within ſight of *Calcutta*, when the enemy began the attack by firing upon her. Captain *Latham* however had no ſooner brought his ſhip to an anchor, (which he did very much like an expert and gallant officer) but he briſkly returned the fire: and the *Kent* having come to an anchor alſo and diſcharged a few broadſides, the *Indians* at 11 o'clock gave up the conteſt; and obſerving alſo that Colonel *Clive* at the ſame time had nearly inveſted the town on the land ſide, they abandoned the fort. On this ſome of the old inhabitants of the town waved their hands from the ſhore, and one of them hoiſted an *Engliſh* pendant on a tree. The admiral immediately ſent Captain *King* aſhore to take poſſeſſion of the fort in his majeſty's name, and in a few minutes after it was garriſoned with a detachment of *Adlercron*'s regiment, under the command of Captain *Coote*, who ſerved on board the *Kent*, and who was appointed governor of this new conqueſt.

Soon after Captain *Coote* had taken poſſeſſion of the fort, Colonel *Clive* entered the place at the head of the company's troops, when the captain preſented to the colonel an order † which he had received from the admiral, appointing him governor of the fort; the colonel denied any authority Admiral *Watſon* had to appoint an inferior officer to him as governor, and told Captain *Coote* that he would take on himſelf the command; and if he offered to obſtruct him, or diſobey his orders, he would immediately put him under an arreſt: the captain deſired that he might acquaint Mr. *Watſon* with theſe particulars; to which the colonel conſented.—Upon this the admiral ſent Captain *Speke* on ſhore to know by what authority the colonel took upon him the command of the fort; who anſwered, by the authority of his majeſty's commiſſion as lieutenant-colonel and alſo commander in chief of the land forces. Captain *Speke* went to the admiral with this anſwer, and ſoon returned with a meſſage from Mr. *Watſon* to the colonel, that if he did not abandon the fort, he would fire him out. The colonel replied, he could not anſwer for the conſequences, but that he would not give up his command. Soon after this, Captain *Latham*, who was in a ſtrict intimacy with him, was ſent by the admiral to

† "By *Charles Watſon*, Eſq; Vice-admiral of the blue ſquadron of his majeſty's fleet, and commander in chief of his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels employed in the *Eaſt Indies*, and of the marine forces of the united company of merchants trading to and in theſe parts.

You are hereby required and directed to garriſon the fort of *Calcutta* with his majeſty's troops which you have now on ſhore, and take care to poſt centinels and guards ſo as not to be ſurprized by the enemy. In the evening I ſhall be on ſhore; and you are not to quit your poſt, or deliver up your command till farther orders from me. During your continuance on ſhore, you are to take care that no diſorders be committed by his majeſty's troops, or any other people, but to treat the natives with humanity, and take particular care that there is no plundering, as ſuch offenders may depend on the ſevereſt puniſhment. Given under my hand on board his majeſty's ſhip the *Kent*, off *Calcutta*, 2d *Jan.* 1757.

CHARLES WATSON."

To Captain *Eyre Coote*, of his majeſty's 39th regiment of foot.

By command of the admiral.
Henry Doidge.

Colonel

Colonel *Clive*; they talked the affair over with calmneſs, and ſoon ſettled a diſpute which otherwiſe might have ended greatly to the prejudice of the public cauſe. The colonel's meſſages to Mr. *Watſon* implied, that if the admiral would come on ſhore and command in perſon, he ſhould have no manner of objection to it: And on Admiral *Watſon*'s going on ſhore the next day, the colonel delivered the keys of the garriſon into his hands, and then the admiral delivered them to the late governor, Mr. *Drake*, and his council. And theſe gentlemen, perſuaded by Colonel *Clive* of the neceſſity of the ſtep, immediately publiſhed a declaration of war againſt the *Nabob*, in the name of the *Eaſt India* company, as did Admiral *Watſon* in that of the king his maſter. 1757.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Operations againſt Houghley, *and burning the* Granaries.—*The* Nabob *marches with a great army towards* Calcutta.—*A briſk cannonade between him and Colonel* Clive.—*Meſſrs.* Walſh *and* Scrafton *ſent to the* Nabob *with propoſals of peace, which prove abortive.—Colonel* Clive *attacks the* Nabob *in his camp.—The* Nabob *concludes a treaty of peace very advantageous to the* Engliſh Eaſt India *company.—Admiral* Watſon *reſolves to reduce the* French *power in* Bengal.—*Correſpondence between the Admiral and the* Nabob.—*Account of the attack of* Chandernagore.—*The* Engliſh *forces take poſſeſſion of the place.—Gallant behaviour of Captain* Speke *and his ſon*, &c.

1757. AFTER the ſucceſs of our forces at *Calcutta*, ſome of the council of the *French* ſettlement at *Chandernagore*, and alſo of the *Dutch* ſettlement at *Chinſura*, came to pay their congratulatory compliments to the admiral and colonel. The firſt were empowered to propoſe a formal confirmation of the neutrality which had been hitherto ſtrictly obſerved between the two companies in the *Ganges:* they ſuggeſted, that ſuch a neutrality was not only neceſſary for the mutual intereſts of both nations, but pleaded a claim of particular indulgence on account of the many good offices they had done the *Engliſh* in the time of their diſtreſſes at *Fulta*. Theſe arguments certainly carried great force with them, and they were attentively liſtened to by Admiral *Watſon*, and our other principals; who would not have ſcrupled to cloſe with them, if the *French* in return would have joined our forces in the war we were now to carry on againſt the *Nabob*. But when this propoſal was made to their deputies, they replied, that they were not inveſted with proper authority to treat on that ſubject. They therefore deſired that they might be allowed to return to *Chandernagore*, to conſult their governor and council on ſo important a ſubject.

The uninterrupted train of ſucceſſes we had met with ſince our firſt entering the mouth of the *Ganges*, had ſtruck the *Nabob* and his adherents with ſuch a panic, that our commanders came to a reſolution of loſing no time, but to puſh on the war with the greateſt vigour. Accordingly *Houghley*, a very large and rich city belonging to the *Nabob*, ſituate on the river about thirty miles above *Calcutta*, was fixed upon as the next object of our military ope-

rations. This reſolution was no ſooner taken, but the *Bridgewater*, Captain *Henry Smith*, the *King's-fiſher* ſloop, Captain *Toby*, and the *Thunder* bomb-ketch, Captain *Warrick*, (which veſſel had been added to the ſquadron in the *Ganges*) with all the boats of the ſquadron mann'd with 150 ſailors, 200 *European* troops and 250 *Sepoys*, were ordered on the expedition. Major *Kilpatrick* was appointed by Colonel *Clive* to command the land forces, and Captain *King* was, by the admiral, put at the head of the ſailors who were to act on ſhore. This armament ſailed from *Calcutta* the 5th of *January*, and though they were impeded two days in their paſſage, owing to the *Bridgewater*'s running aſhore, yet we had the ſatisfaction to hear, that on the 9th they came to an anchor off the place, and on the 10th the ſhips cannonaded the fort till 12 o'clock at night, when Major *Kilpatrick* ſent Captain *Coote* to examine the breach they had made; he finding it practicable to enter, two attacks were immediately formed; 50 men went to the main gate, and kept a conſtant firing, while the chief force entered privately at the breach, and with very little reſiſtance took poſſeſſion of the city and fort, the enemy going to the place of the falſe attack, and then running away through one of the gates. The fort was much ſtronger than was at firſt imagined, and the garriſon conſiſted of 2000 men, who fired very ſmartly from five in the afternoon till ten at night, and killed and wounded ſeveral of our men before they ſtormed. We took ſome ammunition, and 20 guns, from 24 pounders downwards. A ſmall quantity of *Tutenegg*, *Tinkal* and *Japan Copper* was alſo found here, but far ſhort of what was reported to have been in the place: however, it is very certain, that in *Houghley* we ſhould have met with a very conſiderable booty, had not our old friends the *Dutch* at *Chinſura* taken all the valuable effects and principal perſons of the *Moors*, under their protection. 1757.

Soon after the ſtorming and capture of *Houghley*, Captain *Speke* of the *Kent*, being ſent up by the admiral, took on him the command of the ſailors, and in conjunction with 50 ſoldiers and 100 *Sepoys*, under the command of Captain *Coote*, undertook to burn a place called the *Gongee*, containing ſeveral large granaries and other ſtorehouſes belonging to the *Nabob*, for the ſupport of his army, about three miles from the fort. In their march, they entered a *Portugueſe* convent, where they were informed that between three and four thouſand of the enemy were encamped behind the village they were going to burn. Nothing daunted, they proceeded, and marched into the village for about a mile and half, when Captain *Coote* deſired the ſailors, and ordered the land-forces to begin to ſet fire to all the houſes in the rear, as they marched back. This was done; but before they had gotten half way, ſome of the advanced guard came running and told the captain, that the enemy to the number of 5000 were marching up towards them, and had taken poſſeſſion not only of ſome houſes, but of the men of war's boats. As the rear of the detachment was well ſecured by the houſes in flames, Captain *Coote* formed his 50 *European*

1757. ſoldiers into three platoons; but the ſtreet was ſo narrow, they were obliged to march by files, and the captain made every platoon into two firings, and ſo advanced by ſtreet firing briſkly upon them. At our firſt fire the chief officer and 5 of the enemy fell, on which their horſe gallop'd off; but their muſketry, under cover of ſome houſes, and at the corner of lanes, killed and wounded ſome of our men, but dared not openly attack us. Major *Kilpatrick*, on hearing the firing, marched out of the garriſon at *Houghley* to ſupport the detachment, but the affair was over before he joined it, and on their return they found the ſhips boats all ſafe.

After this ſervice was performed, Captain *Speke* gave his commands to the ſailors to repair on board their boats, when three of them were miſſing, who were then ſuppoſed to be either killed or deſperately wounded; but it afterwards appeared that they had ſtraggled into the country, and through their great fatigue had thrown themſelves on the ground, and fallen faſt aſleep. About the middle of the following night, ſeveral of the country villages were ſeen in flames by the officers on board the ſhips, which appeared to them very extraordinary, and they could not poſſibly account for it. Early the next morning, however, a raft was obſerved floating down the river, and on it ſat, with the greateſt compoſure imaginable, our three miſſing ſailors; who, after they were taken off, and brought on board their ſhips, gave the following account of their adventure: "that awaking in the beginning of the night, and perceiving their companions had left them, they judged it expedient to ſet fire to all the villages, in order to intimidate the enemy, and make them believe that the whole detachment ſtill continued on ſhore, which had done them ſo much miſchief the preceding day. That as ſoon as the day broke they repaired to the water's edge to ſearch for a boat, in which they hoped to be conveyed on board their ſhips. No ſuch thing however could be found; but luckily for them this raft at length preſented itſelf, on which they reſolved to truſt themſelves." By good fortune, they arrived ſafe among their companions, before their enemies had ſo far recovered from their panic, as to think of cutting off their retreat.

I cannot now aſcertain the number of ſeamen killed in this expedition, but by the books of the hoſpital, it appeared that twenty-five were wounded; among whom was Mr. *Edward Roberts*, a young gentleman of the *Iſle of Wight*, who ſerved as midſhipman on board the *Kent*, and was ſo much hurt by a muſket-ball he received in his hand, as to be obliged to have it taken off, and was in great danger of his life for ſome time afterwards. The admiral being informed of his misfortune, of the intrepidity he had ſhewn in the action, and of his manly reſolution at the time of the amputation, ſent him a meſſage by me, deſiring him to keep up his ſpirits, and that for his good behaviour, he would ſoon make him a lieutenant.

This

This promiſe Mr. *Watſon* moſt punctually fulfilled, by giving him a commiſſion, dated *January* 1757 *. Mr. *Hamilton*, another brave young gentleman, a midſhipman alſo of the *Kent*, was killed upon the ſpot. Mr. *Owen* and Mr. *Samble*, midſhipmen of the *Tyger*, were wounded, but not mortally. And in conſequence of this expedition to *Houghley*, though not by the ſhot of the enemy, Lieutenant *James Roddam* of the *Kent*, loſt his life: he was a moſt amiable young gentleman in every reſpect, and ſo nicely ſcrupulous of his honour, that when the expedition took place, he carefully concealed from the admiral's knowledge an indiſpoſition which he had laboured under for ſome days, and chearfully ſet off with the armament from *Calcutta*; but through the great fatigue he underwent when the *Bridgewater* ran aſhore, his diſeaſe, which was a *Diarrhœa* and fever, ſo much increaſed, that it became abſolutely neceſſary for Captain *Smith* to ſend him back to the hoſpital. He was received there on the 11th, and died the 16th of *January*, greatly lamented by all his acquaintance, who reſpected him not leſs for his ſocial than his military virtues. Lieutenant *John Clerke*, (a ſenſible and gallant young officer, a great favourite of the admiral's, and who from his earlieſt youth had been bred up at ſea under him) had a very narrow eſcape in this expedition, from a muſket-ball which entered at the fore-part of the crown of his hat, and went through it, but did him no kind of harm. Mr. *Pye*, ſtorekeeper to the ſquadron, who went a volunteer to *Houghley* with his friend Captain *Speke*, was very near loſing his life; a bullet from the enemy went through the breaſt of a ſailor, and killed him on the ſpot, as he was walking cloſe by Mr. *Pye*'s ſide. 1757.

Soon after the reduction of *Houghley*, the admiral diſpatched Captain *Richard King* in a ſloop of 60 tons, to *England*, with an account of our fortunate proceedings thus far; and preparations were made for carrying the war as far as *Dacca*, by another branch of the river: had this expedition taken place, doubtleſs it would have been attended with ſucceſs, and conſequently we ſhould have been put in poſſeſſion of an immenſe treaſure; for here were no *Dutchmen* to counteract us in ſecuring the perſons, and ſecreting the effects of our enemies. But our attention was called off from this very deſirable and tempting object, by the alarming intelligence we received, that the *Nabob*, incenſed at the loſs of all his late conqueſts, and alarmed at the rapidity of ours, had raiſed a formidable army, and was marching at the head of it from his capital *Muxadabad* towards *Calcutta*, fully determined to drive the *Engliſh* out of all his territories, and take ample vengeance for the diſgraces we had brought upon him.

* This gallant officer remained in the *Eaſt Indies* after the author left that country, and ſerved with great honour in all the ſea engagements which happened between the *Engliſh* and *French* fleets under the command of Admiral, now Sir *George Pocock*.

1757. On our taking of *Houghley*, and burning the granaries, the *Nabob* thought proper to take ſome notice of Admiral *Watſon*'s letter to him on his arrival at *Fulta*; and the following is a tranſlation of the letter ſent by *Serajah Dowlah* to the admiral; dated *January* 23d, 1757.

" YOU write me, that the king your maſter ſent you into *India* to protect the company's ſettlements, trade, rights, and privileges: the inſtant I received that letter, I ſent you an anſwer *; but it appears to me that my reply never reached you, for which reaſon I write again. I muſt inform you that *Roger Drake*, the company's chief in *Bengal*, acted contrary to the orders I ſent him, and encroached upon my authority: he gave protection to the king's ſubjects, who abſented themſelves from the inſpection of the *Durbar* †, which practice I did forbid; but to no purpoſe. On this account I was determined to puniſh him, and accordingly expelled him my country. But it was my inclination to have given the *Engliſh* company permiſſion to have carried on their trade as formerly, had another chief been ſent here. For the good therefore of theſe provinces, and the inhabitants, I ſend you this letter; and if you are inclined to re-eſtabliſh the company, only appoint a chief, and you may depend upon my giving currency to their commerce, upon the ſame terms they heretofore enjoyed: If the *Engliſh* behave themſelves like merchants, and follow my orders, they may reſt aſſured of my favour, protection, and aſſiſtance.

IF YOU IMAGINE THAT BY CARRYING ON A WAR AGAINST ME, YOU CAN ESTABLISH A TRADE IN THESE DOMINIONS, YOU MAY DO AS YOU THINK FIT ‡.

The ſlave of *Allum-gueer*, king of *Indoſtan*, the mighty Conqueror, the Lamp of Riches, *Shah Kuly Khan*, the moſt valiant among warriors."

To this letter, the admiral ſent the following anſwer, dated 27th of *January*, 1757.

" YOUR letter of the 23d of this month I this day received. It has given me the greateſt pleaſure, as it informs me you had written to me before; a circumſtance I am glad to be aſſured of under your hand, as the not anſwering my letter, would have been ſuch an affront as I could not have put up with unnoticed, without incurring the anger of the king my maſter.

* This aſſertion was never credited. † The court or levee of the *Nabob*.

‡ This paragraph, printed in SMALL CAPITALS, was written with the *Nabob*'s own hand; and the Reader is deſired to obſerve, that in the ſeveral letters which paſſed between the Admiral and *Nabob*, here inſerted, what was written by themſelves is thus diſtinguiſhed.

You tell me in your letter, that the reaſon of your expelling the *Engliſh* 1757.
out of theſe countries, was the bad behaviour of Mr. *Drake*, the company's chief in *Bengal*. But beſides, that princes, and rulers of ſtates, not ſeeing with their own eyes, nor hearing with their own ears, are often miſinformed, and the truth kept from them by the arts of crafty and wicked men; was it becoming the juſtice of a prince to puniſh all for one man's ſake? Or to ruin and deſtroy ſo many innocent people, as had no way offended, but who, relying on the faith of the royal *Phirmaund**, expected protection and ſecurity both to their property and lives, inſtead of oppreſſion and murder, which they unhappily found? Are theſe actions becoming the juſtice of a prince? Nobody will ſay they are. They can only then have been cauſed by wicked men, who have miſrepreſented things to you through malice, or for their own private ends; for great princes delight in acts of juſtice, and in ſhewing mercy.

If therefore you are deſirous of meriting the fame of a great prince and lover of juſtice, ſhew your abhorrence of theſe proceedings, by puniſhing thoſe evil counſellors who adviſed them; cauſe ſatisfaction to be made to the company, and to all others who have been deprived of their property; and by theſe acts turn off the edge of the ſword which is ready to fall on the heads of your ſubjects.

If you have any cauſe of complaint againſt Mr. *Drake*, as it is but juſt the maſter alone ſhould have a power over his ſervant; ſend your complaints to the company, and I will anſwer for it, they will give you ſatisfaction.

ALTHOUGH I AM A SOLDIER AS WELL AS YOU, I HAD RATHER RECEIVE SATISFACTION FROM YOUR OWN INCLINATION TO DO JUSTICE, THAN BE OBLIGED TO FORCE IT FROM YOU BY THE DISTRESS OF YOUR INNOCENT SUBJECTS."

The *Nabob* being determined by all means to extirpate the *Engliſh*, took no notice of this letter, till he had collected together his forces, and began his march towards us, when the admiral received from him the following.

" YOU have taken and plundered *Houghley*, and made war upon my ſubjects: theſe are not actions becoming merchants! I have therefore left *Muxadabad*, and am arrived near *Houghley*; I am likewiſe croſſing the river with my army, part of which is advanced towards your camp. Nevertheleſs, if you have a mind to have the company's buſineſs ſettled upon its ancient footing, and to give a currency to their trade; ſend a perſon of confidence to me, who can make your demands, and treat with me upon this

* *Phirmaund* or *Firmaun*, a grant or decree of the *Mogul* or emperor; but commonly uſed in *Bengal* for the patent of the emperor *Furrukhſeer* which granted to the *Engliſh* ſeveral important privileges.

1757. affair. I ſhall not ſcruple to grant a *Perwannah* * for the reſtitution of all the company's factories, and permit them to trade in my country upon the ſame terms as formerly. If the *Engliſh*, who are ſettled in thoſe provinces, will behave like merchants, obey my orders, and give me no offence, you may depend upon it, I will take their loſſes into conſideration, and adjuſt matters to their ſatisfaction. You know how difficult it is to prevent ſoldiers from plundering in war; therefore if you will on your parts relinquiſh ſomething of the damages you have ſuſtained by being pillaged by my army, I will endeavour to give you ſatisfaction even in that particular, in order to gain your friendſhip, and preſerve a good underſtanding for the future with your nation. You are a *Chriſtian*, and know how much preferable it is to accommodate a diſpute, than to keep it alive; but if you are determined to ſacrifice the intereſt of your company, and the good of private merchants, to your inclinations for war, it is no fault of mine: to prevent the fatal conſequences of ſuch a ruinous war, I write this letter."

The *Nabob* waited not for a reply, but advanced with his forces, which conſiſted of 18,000 horſe and 15,000 foot, 10,000 pioneers, and about 40,000 *Cooleys*, horſekeepers, cooks, *Bazar-men*, &c. 50 elephants, and 40 pieces of cannon; and yet, infinitely inferior as our troops were in number to this vaſt multitude, being but 711 *Europeans* in battalion, about 100 artillery, 1300 *Sepoys*, with 14 field pieces 6 pounders, beſides the cannon on our batteries, they placed ſuch confidence in the good fortune and abilities of their commander, that they did not in the leaſt heſitate to abide the attack. Agreeable to this reſolution, the colonel formed his camp on a ſpot of ground near the river, about four miles to the northward of *Calcutta*, between it and the *Nabob*'s army: indeed *Calcutta* was then not defenſible, the fort had no ditch, its baſtions did not deſerve the name, and there were houſes ſo near the fort as to command the few fortifications it had †.

On the 2d of *February*, the admiral by invitation dined with the colonel in his camp; but they had not finiſhed their meal, before the *Nabob*'s army appeared in view, marching at about a mile diſtance from them, in the way towards *Calcutta*. The admiral ſoon took his leave of the gentlemen of the army, and returned in his boat to *Calcutta*, to give the enemy a proper reception, ſhould they attempt to recover the fort; one or two of their ſcouting parties fired at him as he paſſed down the river. The ſame evening, the colonel marched out of the camp with a detachment of men and ſix field pieces two miles towards the enemy, and drew up oppoſite to their line of march. A cannonade preſently began between him and the *Nabob*, (who fired from 10 pieces of cannon, ſome of them 32 pounders) and which con-

* An order or grant.

† While the colonel was in ſearch of a proper place for an encampment, a wild buffalo ran at his guard; and although the *Sepoy* it attacked, diſcharged his muſket ball into its body, and received it on his bayonet, yet the creature killed the man, and made off. The wild buffaloes are here very large; they exceed the largeſt ox in *England*, and have legs remarkably thick and ſtrong: their horns lie on their back as they walk, their head being in an horizontal poſture; but when they feed, their horns ſtand erect.

tinued

tinued till it was quite dark, when the colonel perceiving that nothing of consequence could be gained by it, ordered his men to desist, and to return to their camp. In this little affair, we had a few men killed, and among the wounded were Captain *Nicholas Weller* of the king's regiment, and Captain *Fraser* of the company's troops. 1757.

The following day, Messrs. *Walsh* and *Scrafton*, in consequence of a proposal made by the *Nabob*, that two proper persons might be sent to him to treat of a peace, were dispatched with the admiral's and colonel's demands. But these gentlemen, instead of meeting with him at the place he himself had appointed, were conducted to *Omichund*'s garden, which lies within the bound-ditch of *Calcutta*, and which he had now fixed upon for his head quarters. His army was encamped on a plain about 4 miles to the eastward of the town, and now between it and our army. They did not fail to express their surprize to the *Nabob* at not finding him at the place of his own appointment, and to which they had been directed to repair, by their principals; adding that they very much doubted whether it was in their power to treat with him in any other place. After entering however a little upon the business that brought them thither, they soon found from his conversation, that his intention was only to amuse; they therefore pressed for a permission to leave him, and presently after withdrew. He referred them, for a farther explanation of his sentiments, to one of his principal agents, who was a *Seraf* or *Banker*; but as soon as Messrs. *Walsh* and *Scrafton* could get from him, they thought it prudent (for fear of any treachery) to put out their light, and then made the best of their way to the colonel at his camp.

As soon as the colonel had been acquainted with the issue of their negotiation, he came to an immediate resolution of attacking the *Nabob* in his camp that very night. For this purpose, he dispatched away an express to the admiral, acquainting him with his design, and desiring him to strengthen his little army with a reinforcement of sailors. Orders were accordingly issued to the several captains of the squadron to send their proportion of officers and sailors for this service, all volunteers, and who made up a body of five hundred and sixty-nine men. They had orders to proceed immediately by water to the camp, under the command of Captain *Thomas Warrick* of the *Thunder* bomb-ketch, and they joined the colonel about two in the morning, whose troops were already under arms. Captain *Warrick* with his reinforcement was ordered to attend and guard the train of artillery, which consisted of six field-pieces and one cohorn. Soon afterwards they marched off the ground in the following order: The king's and company's granadiers in the front; the sailors with the train next; then followed the battalion; and the *Sepoys* brought up the rear. At three, the colonel altered his disposition, and marched the battalion before the train. In this order they went on unperceived till day-break, (having Mr. *Amyatt*, one of the council, and a black man, for their guides.) About

1757. five o'clock they got over the trenches into the *Nabob*'s camp, and then began firing away on all ſides, making their way quite through the camp, and killing great numbers of the enemy. Unfortunately, there was at that time one of thoſe remarkable thick fogs, which at certain ſeaſons of the year prevail in *Bengal*, and render objects at the diſtance of two or three yards as inviſible as in the darkeſt night; by this the guides miſtook their way, and inſtead of going on to the *Nabob*'s head quarters, as the colonel intended, they turned too much to the left, and led the troops without the *Bungelo* ditch, behind which the enemy had entrenched themſelves. This miſtake in all probability ſaved the *Nabob*'s whole army from an entire defeat; it is certain, that it made the colonel's victory much leſs complete than it otherwiſe would have been; for as the day advanced, and the fog diſperſed, he could not think of renewing the action by attacking the enemy again with his ſmall body of forces, ſecured as they were behind a ſtrong intrenchment made ſome years before by the *Engliſh* for the defence of *Calcutta* againſt the *Maharattas*. He therefore drew off his little army, and gaining a paſs over the intrenchment about a mile from the place of action, advanced amidſt a briſk cannonading on both ſides towards *Calcutta*, where the army arrived about noon.

We loſt upwards of fifty men in this action; a platoon of the company's grenadiers being blown up before day by a ſhower of the enemies arrows with fire-rockets falling upon them, which ſet fire to the powder that they carried in their pockets. Captain *Pye*, and Captain *Bridges*, (the laſt of whom was alſo Colonel *Clive*'s ſecretary) were killed early in the morning. Lieutenant *Lutwidge* * of the *Saliſbury* was mortally wounded, and about 15 other ſeamen loſt their lives. The carriages of two pieces of our cannon which were in the rear of the army, breaking, we were obliged to leave them behind.

We had various accounts of the number killed in the *Nabob*'s army in this action. A *Brahmin*, who was in his camp ſoon afterwards, aſſured us, that he had 1300 men killed and wounded. Among the former, were two of his principal generals, 22 captains, *&c.* Five hundred horſes were alſo killed, and three or four elephants. So great a ſlaughter however was made among them, as to alarm the *Nabob*, and fill his mind with continual apprehenſions of being ſoon attacked again. For the colonel, preſently after his return to *Calcutta*, by a very ſpirited and excellent manœuvre, at five the ſame afternoon took poſſeſſion of his former camp, and like a heavy cloud, ſeemed to hang over the *Nabob*'s army, ready to burſt upon it. This timorous *Barbarian* therefore, for fear of a ſecond ſurprize, kept his troops under arms the whole night.

* Mr. *Lutwidge* was one of thoſe many ſpirited young gentlemen who went in Admiral *Watſon*'s ſquadron to the *Eaſt Indies*, and who were often juſtly denominated the flower of the navy; he died at ſick-quarters the 10th of *March*, of the wound he received.

Immediately

Immediately after the ſtorming of the *Nabob*'s camp, the admiral wrote the following letter to him, dated *February* 6, 1757. 1757.

" THE letter, which you will receive with this, was written the day before yeſterday *; but before that I could get it tranſlated into the *Perſian* language in order to its being ſent to you, I was informed by Colonel *Clive*, that you had treated his deputies with diſreſpect, and that you was within the bounds of *Calcutta*, from which you had refuſed to retire.

Evidences ſo full and poſitive, of your bad intentions towards us, that however ſtrong my inclinations might be towards peace, I could no longer entertain any reaſonable hopes of ſeeing it accompliſhed. I therefore deſired Colonel *Clive* to ſhew you what an army of *Engliſhmen* was capable of doing, that before it was too late you might agree to the propoſals, which would be made to you. He yielded to my deſire, and marched through your whole camp, as if it had not been filled with armed men; after which he returned to his own, where he will remain yet a little while, in hopes of ſeeing you accede to the reaſonable propoſals, which are now offered to you for the laſt time, from the ſecret committee. If you are wiſe, you will grant them the juſtice that is their due; otherwiſe, the ſword is going to be drawn that never will be ſheathed again."

* The incloſed letter, was as follows:

" THE letter which you ſent me in anſwer to my reply to your former letter, I received the day before yeſterday. But as I was ſitting down to write an anſwer to it, intelligence was brought me, that part of your army had entered *Calcutta*, and that the remainder was advancing in great haſte towards our camp. I had no ſooner heard theſe things, than looking towards the town, the ſmoke and flames which I ſaw aſcending from it, confirmed their truth. Wherefore, from ſuch appearances, looking upon all treating as at an end, I gave over the thoughts of writing. Since this, I hear from Colonel *Clive* that you have again made offers of treating, and that in conſequence thereof he has ſent to you Meſſrs. *Walſh* and *Scraften* with propoſals of accommodation; a proof ſo demonſtrative of our pacific inclinations, that nothing can be added to it. For my own particular ſentiments, if you will look back upon my letters, you will find that they always propoſed amicable methods; and my actions have always correſponded with them, for it was not till after deſpairing of peace, by having no anſwers to my letters, that I could prevail on myſelf to commit any hoſtilities; to which I was always ſo averſe, that even in the midſt of victory, I ſtopt ſhort to liſten to the voice of peace. I am ſtill inclined to it, notwithſtanding the little proſpect of its taking place. However, to take away all blame from me, both in the eyes of God and man, and to convince the world how much rather I wiſh to ſee the happineſs of mankind than their miſery, I write this.

If you really and ſincerely mean to treat of peace, liſten to the propoſals which will be made by the gentlemen who are now with you. They aſk nothing but juſtice, nor mean any thing more than the mutual good of both nations. If you refuſe it, remember, that princes are only placed at the head of mankind to procure their happineſs; and that they muſt one day give a very ſevere account, if through ambition, revenge, or avarice, they fail in their duty. I have done mine in giving you my advice."

1757. The day following, the *Nabob* made overtures for a peace, and drew off his forces, and began his march back to his capital *Muxadabad*; and on the 9th of *February* the following letter was received by the admiral, with the treaty of peace.

The Nabob *to the* Admiral.

" THE colonel's letter I have received, with the agreement of the governor and council ſigned and ſealed. He deſires me to get the articles of the treaty now made, ratified by my great men and principal officers. I have complied with his requeſt: it will be proper likewiſe for you and the colonel on one part, and myſelf on the other, to execute an agreement, that hoſtilities between us ſhall ceaſe; that the *Engliſh* will always remain my friends and allies; and that they will aſſiſt me againſt my enemies. For this purpoſe, I ſend a perſon of diſtinction and confidence who will ſpeak at large the ſentiments of my heart, and I hope you will inform him of your diſpoſition towards me. The articles which were ſent to me, I have returned, ſigned by myſelf, the king's *Duan*, my own *Duan*, and the *Bukhſhi* of my army. I ſhould be glad if you would confirm this treaty by a paper under your hand and ſeal, as the colonel has done. I have in the moſt ſolemn manner called God and the *Prophets* to witneſs, that I have made peace with the *Engliſh*. As long as I have life I ſhall eſteem your enemies as enemies to me, and will aſſiſt you to the utmoſt of my power whenever you require it. Do you likewiſe, and the colonel, and chiefs of the *Engliſh* factory ſwear in the preſence of the Almighty God to obſerve and perform your part of the treaty, and to eſteem my enemies as your own, and always be ready to give me your aſſiſtance againſt them: and though you may not come yourſelf, I flatter myſelf you will ſend the aid I ſhall at any time aſk for. God is the witneſs between us in this treaty.

GOD AND HIS PROPHETS ARE WITNESSES, THAT I NEVER WILL DEVIATE FROM THE TERMS OF THE TREATY I HAVE NOW MADE WITH THE ENGLISH COMPANY, AND THAT I WILL ON ALL OCCASIONS SHEW THEM MY FAVOUR, RELYING ON YOUR FAITH TO OBSERVE INVIOLABLY YOUR PART OF THE TREATY.

ARTICLES *acceded to, ſigned and ſealed by the* NABOB, 9th of *February*, 1757.

I. Whatever rights and privileges the king hath granted to the *Engliſh* company in the *Phirmaunds* * and *Huſbalhookums* † ſent from *Delhi*, ſhall not be diſputed, or taken from them, and the immunities therein mentioned ſtand good and be acknowledged. Whatever villages are given by the *Phirmaunds* to the company, ſhall likewiſe be granted, notwithſtanding they

* Patents or papers ſigned by the *Mogul*.

† Papers ſigned by the *Vizir*.

have

have been denied them by former *Soubahdars*, but the *Zemindars* of theſe villages are not to be hurt or diſplaced without cauſe. 1757.

I do agree to the terms of the Phirmaund.

II. All goods paſſing and repaſſing through the country by land or water in *Bengal*, *Babar*, and *Orixa* with *Engliſh Duſtucks*, ſhall be exempt from any tax, fee or impoſition from *Choquedars*, *Gaulivahs*, *Zemindars** or any others.

I agree to this.

III. All the company's factories ſeized by the *Nabob* ſhall be returned. All the money, goods and effects belonging to the company, their ſervants and tenants, and which have been ſeized and taken by the *Nabob*, ſhall be reſtored. What has been plundered and pillaged by his people ſhall be made good by the payment of ſuch a ſum of money as his juſtice ſhall think reaſonable.

I agree to reſtore whatever has been ſeized and taken by my orders, and accounted for in my Sincany †.

IV. That we have permiſſion to fortify *Calcutta* in ſuch a manner as we think proper without interruption.

I conſent to it.

V. That we ſhall have liberty to coin *Siccas* both of gold and ſilver, of equal weight and fineneſs to thoſe of *Muxadabad*, which ſhall paſs current in the province, and that there be no demand made for a deduction of *Batta*.

I conſent to the Engliſh *company's coining their own* Bullion *into* Siccas.

VI. That the treaty ſhall be ratified by ſigning, ſealing, and ſwearing in the preſence of God and his *Prophets* to abide by the articles therein contained, not only by the *Nabob*, but his principal officers and miniſters.

I have ſealed and ſigned the articles in the preſence of God and his Prophets.

VII. That Admiral *Charles Watſon* and Colonel *Robert Clive*, on the part and behalf of the *Engliſh* nation and of the company, do agree to live in a good underſtanding with the *Nabob*, to put an end to the troubles, and be in friend-

* Officers belonging to the cuſtoms and revenues.

† Government books.

1757. ſhip with him, whilſt theſe articles are obſerved and performed by the *Nabob*.

I have ſigned and ſealed the foregoing articles upon theſe terms, that if the governor and council will ſign and ſeal them with the company's ſeal, and will ſwear to the performance on their part, I then conſent and agree to them.

Then followed the *Nabob*'s ſeal, and *Meer Jaffier* and *Rajah Dullub*, two of his general officers, alſo underſigned it.

The Governor and Council's agreement with the Nabob *of* Bengal.

" We the *Engliſh Eaſt India* company, in the preſence of his Excellency the *Nabob Munſerood Muluk Serajah Dowlah*, *Soubahdar* of the provinces of *Bengal*, *Bahar* and *Orixa*, by the hands and ſeal of the council, do agree and promiſe in the moſt ſolemn manner, that the buſineſs of the company's factories, which are in the juriſdiction of the *Nabob*, ſhall be tranſacted as formerly; that we will never do violence to any perſons without cauſe; that we will never offer protection to any perſons having accounts with the government, to any of the king's *Fuluckdars* or *Zemindars*, to any murtherers or robbers, nor will ever act contrary to the tenor of the articles granted by the *Nabob*; we will carry on our trade in the former channel, and never in any reſpect deviate from this agreement."

The admiral alſo made the following return to the *Nabob*.

" I received the letter, you have done me the honour to write me, by *Runjel Roy*, who has given me the greateſt ſatisfaction by acquainting me with your good diſpoſition towards our nation, and your ſincere deſire to live with us in the ſtricteſt terms of friendſhip and alliance.

Before this letter can come to your hands, he will have made known to you, how much I agree in the ſame ſentiments; the ſincerity of which I hope every day to manifeſt more and more, that you may be thereby convinced how much the *Engliſh* have been wronged by thoſe who have repreſented them to you, as an ambitious, troubleſome people. I truſt you will live to ſee by their conduct henceforward, that their character is the very reverſe; and that there is not in the world a more peaceable people, when not oppreſſed; although I confeſs there are none more ready to draw the ſword, when greatly injured.

The paper of agreement to the treaty on my part, I ſend you herewith, done in the manner you deſired it, ſigned with my hand and ſealed with my ſeal. And I call upon the Almighty, whom we both worſhip, to bear witneſs againſt and puniſh me, if I ever fail in obſerving to the utmoſt

utmoſt of my power, every part of the treaty, concluded between yourſelf and the *Engliſh* nation, ſo long as you ſhall faithfully obſerve your part, which I make no doubt will be as long as you have life. What can I add more? but my wiſhes, that your life may be long, and crowned with all manner of proſperity." 1757.

" I *Charles Watſon*, *&c. &c.* in the name of his *Britannic* majeſty, and in the preſence of God and *Jeſus Chriſt*, do ſolemnly declare, that I will faithfully obſerve and maintain the peace concluded on the 9th of *February*, 1757, between the *Soubahdar*, *&c.* and the *Engliſh*, in every part and article thereof. And that ſo long as the *Soubahdar*, *&c.* ſhall abide by his promiſes, and the articles ſigned by him, I will always look upon his enemies as the enemies of my nation, and when called upon, will grant him all the aſſiſtance in my power."

The *Soubahdar* or *Nabob*, on the ratification of the treaty, ſent the uſual preſent to the admiral, governor, and colonel; to each an elephant, a dreſs or veſt, and head jewel, and which were received by the governor and colonel as repreſentatives of the company; but Mr. *Watſon*, as repreſentative of the king, refuſed to accept the preſent. However, he received the *Nabob*'s officers who brought them, in a very polite manner on board the *Kent*, and diſplayed to them his lower tier of 32 pounders, of which they made a dreadful report to their maſter, who not conceiving any great liking to his new friends, continued his march with all haſte to the capital, happily for his ſubjects ſomewhat humbled by his late defeat. Mr. *Watts*, one of the council, being well verſed in the country language, and in their politics and cuſtoms, accompanied the *Nabob* to attend the fulfilling of the treaty *.

Mr. *Watts* carried with him the following letter from the admiral to the *Nabob*, dated the 16th of *February* 1757.

" *OMICHUND* has informed me of the particulars you was pleaſed to inſtruct him with. The advice you have received of a fleet of *French* men of war, and a large land army under the command of Monſr. *Buſſy*, being in their way to theſe provinces, I believe is true; I have likewiſe heard that they are coming here to commit hoſtilities againſt us. In regard to your deſire, that I would do all in my power to prevent their coming into theſe territories; you may aſſure yourſelf, I will uſe my beſt endeavours to prevent it, in order to manifeſt my friendſhip for you. A requeſt of this nature I ſhall always take pleaſure in granting, and by my readineſs to comply with your deſire, you will be ſufficiently convinced of the ſincerity of my friendſhip and eſteem, and be ſatisfied with my actions. What has been deſtroyed and ruined by your anger and reſentment, I truſt will again

* *Scraſton*'s reflections on the government of *Indoſtan*.

flouriſh

1757. flouriſh under your favour and protection. Mr. *Watts* is now ſent to wait upon you, in behalf of the governor and council, and I flatter myſelf you will conſent to the petitions he may have to make *."

Thus by the ſpirited and gallant behaviour of the two *Engliſh* commanders, the affairs of the company, which a few months before ſeemed verging on inevitable ruin, were not only quite retrieved, but put upon a firmer and better footing than ever; and the treaty would have been yet more advantageous than it was, had not the admiral and colonel, juſt at the time of drawing it, received intelligence of a war with *France*, which was ſoon afterwards fully confirmed by the arrival of Commodore *James* † in the *Revenge*; and the *French* garriſon at *Chandernagore* was well known to conſiſt of 500 *Europeans* and more than a 1000 *Sepoys*, which if they had then joined the *Nabob*, muſt have probably terminated in our company's ruin. Conſidering all circumſtances, the treaty was honourable and advantageous for us, and the *Nabob* was in ſome meaſure puniſhed for thoſe unheard of cruelties which he had ſo wantonly exerciſed againſt many innocent individuals ‡.

As ſoon as all difficulties with the *Indians* were thus happily removed, the next object that naturally preſented itſelf, was the reducing the *French* power in this province. The committee indeed, who had the direction of the company's affairs in *Bengal*, took care to repreſent to the admiral, that as a peace had been concluded with the *Nabob*, this was the only opportunity he perhaps might ever meet with for acting offenſively againſt the *French*, from whoſe councils, great evils were ſtill to be expected.

The admiral, who plainly ſaw the force of this reaſoning, moſt readily came into the propoſal; and nothing would have prevented his immediately commencing hoſtilities againſt the *French*, had not ſome gentlemen of that nation arrived at this time from *Chandernagore* with freſh propoſals for a neutrality. Theſe were thought ſo reaſonable by many gentlemen of our company's council, that for a while matters ſtood in a ſtate of ſuſpence, and

* Theſe were for his conſent to our attacking the *French*.

† Mr. *James*'s arrival in the *Ganges*, was very opportune, not only on account of the certain intelligence of the war with *France*, but by bringing with him in his own ſhip and two tranſports, a detachment of 500 men, which enabled us immediately to act offenſively againſt the *French*. His great merit in undertaking, and unremitting perſeverance in accompliſhing, the paſſage round from *Bombay* in that uncommon late ſeaſon of the year, ought alſo to be particularly noticed; as well as his taking on the paſſage *L'Indien*, a *French* Indiaman, laden with warlike ſtores and proviſions for the *French* ſquadron then at the iſland of *Mauritius*, which greatly diſtreſſed them, and retarded their operations.

‡ Upon the ratification of the treaty with the *Nabob*, the admiral ſent home Captain *Warrick* with expreſſes of intelligence to the Secretary of State and the Admiralty.

nothing was talked of but a treaty of peace and amity between the two nations in *Bengal*. At length, the following ſuggeſtion aroſe: "Whether the government of *Chandernagore*, (being ſubordinate to that at *Pondicherry*) had in themſelves ſufficient authority to make the treaty valid, ſhould the preſidency at *Pondicherry* chance to diſapprove of their proceedings." This ſingle queſtion put an end to all thoughts of a neutrality; for as the *French* deputies, upon its being put to them, did not preſume to anſwer in the affirmative, and as it was by this time known that war had actually been declared between the two nations in *Europe*, the admiral came to a reſolution of breaking off the negotiation. Accordingly he, on the part of his majeſty, and the committee, on that of the *Engliſh East India* company, entered into an agreement for attacking *Chandernagore*, the principal ſettlement of the *French* in this part of the *Indies*, and ſtrongly garriſoned. The fort was a regular ſquare, about three quarters of a mile in circumference, with 4 baſtions, each mounting 16 guns, beſides ſome on the curtain, and a battery of 4 pieces of cannon on the top of a church. There was a dry foſſe round the three ſides to the land, with a glacis of about 40 yards. At the northward port was a ravelin mounting 5 guns, and oppoſite the port towards the water ſide was a mud battery of 6 guns which flanked down the river. 1757.

The expedition would have taken place in a few days, had not the *Nabob* interpoſed: as early as the 19th of *February*, he ſent the following letter to the admiral.

"TO put an end to the hoſtilities in my country and dominions, I conſented and agreed to the treaty of peace with the *Engliſh*, that trade and commerce might be carried on as formerly; to which treaty you have agreed, and a firm accommodation between us is ſettled and eſtabliſhed: you have likewiſe ſent me an agreement, under your own hand and ſeal, not to diſturb the tranquility of my country; but it now appears that you have a deſign to beſiege the *French* factory near *Houghley*, and to commence hoſtilities againſt that nation. This is contrary to all rule and cuſtom, that you ſhould bring your animoſities and differences into my country; for it has never been known ſince the days of *Timur*, that the *Europeans* made war upon one another within the king's dominions. If you are determined to beſiege the *French* factories, I ſhall be neceſſitated in honour and duty to my king, to aſſiſt them with my troops. You ſeem inclined to break the treaty ſo lately concluded between us; formerly the *Mahrattas* infeſted theſe dominions, and for many years harraſſed the country with war, but when the diſpute was accommodated, and a treaty of peace with that people concluded, they never broke, nor will they ever deviate from, the terms of the ſaid treaty. It is a wrong and wicked practice, to break through and pay no regard to treaties made in the moſt ſolemn manner; you are certainly bound to abide by your part of the treaty ſtrictly, and never to attempt or be the occaſion of any troubles or diſturbances in future within the provinces under

1757. under my juriſdiction. I will on my part obſerve moſt punctually what I have promiſed and conſented to.

I WILL MAINTAIN AND PRESERVE ON MY PART THE TREATY OF PEACE I HAVE MADE WITH THE ENGLISH, WHICH WITH THE PERMISSION OF GOD I HOPE WILL CONTINUE FOR EVER. YOU MAY HAVE HEARD, THAT FOR SEVEN YEARS, WE HAD CONSTANT WARS WITH THE MAHARATTA'S, BUT WHEN A TREATY OF PEACE WAS CONCLUDED WITH THEM, THEY STRICTLY OBSERVED THE TERMS, AND NEVER DEVIATED FROM THEM. IT IS BUT JUST AND REASONABLE THAT YOUR NATION SHOULD PAY REGARD TO THE LATE TREATY, AND COMMIT NO HOSTILITIES IN MY COUNTRY, NOR DISTURB ITS TRANQUILITY WITH ANY DIFFERENCES, THAT MAY SUBSIST BETWEEN YOU AND OTHER EUROPEAN POWERS.

To this, the Admiral ſent the following reply, dated the 21ſt of *February*, 1757.

" YOUR letter of the 19th, I was honoured with this morning, and obſerve that you diſapprove of our committing hoſtilities againſt the *French* ſettled in theſe provinces. Had I imagined it would have given you any umbrage, I ſhould never have entertained the leaſt thoughts of diſturbing the tranquility of your country, by acting againſt that nation within the *Ganges*; and am now ready to deſiſt from attacking their factory, or committing other hoſtilities againſt them in theſe provinces, if they will conſent and agree to a ſolid treaty of neutrality; and if you as *Soubahdar* of *Bengal* will under your hand guarantee this treaty, and promiſe to protect the *Engliſh* from any attempts made by that nation againſt our ſettlements during my abſence. I am perſuaded you have heard of no people in the world who pay a ſtricter regard to their word, and to the faith of treaties, than the *Engliſh*; and I do ſincerely aſſure you, that I will inviolably preſerve the peace we have concluded with you, and I dare anſwer for the colonel and the company's repreſentatives, that they will not attempt to infringe any part of it.

I HAVE RATIFIED THE LATE TREATY BETWEEN YOU AND THE ENGLISH WITH MY HAND AND SEAL; AND I NOW REPEAT MY ASSURANCES, MADE IN THE PRESENCE OF GOD AND OF JESUS CHRIST, THAT I WILL MAINTAIN AND PRESERVE INVIOLABLY MY PART OF THE SAID TREATY, NOT DOUBTING OF YOUR SINCERITY IN PERFORMING SUCH ARTICLES AS YOU HAVE CONSENTED TO. I LIKEWISE PROMISE THAT I WILL NOT DISTURB THE TRANQUILITY OF YOUR COUNTRY, BY COMMITTING ANY HOSTILITIES AGAINST THE FRENCH, PROVIDED YOU WILL BE ANSWERABLE FOR THEIR OBSERVANCE OF A STRICT NEUTRALITY WITH US."

The

The *French*, by the prevailing power of corruption, had gained ſome of the courtiers, and they ſo influenced the *Nabob*, that without waiting for the above anſwer to his letter of the 19th, on the 20th he ſent another letter to the admiral. 1757.

" THE letter I wrote to you yeſterday, I imagine you have received; ſince which I have been informed by the *French Vackeel* that five or ſix additional ſhips of war have arrived in the river, and that more are expected. He repreſents likewiſe, that you deſign commencing hoſtilities againſt me and my ſubjects again, as ſoon as the rains are over. This is not acting agreeable to the character of a true ſoldier, and a man of honour, who never violated their words. If you are ſincere in the treaty concluded with me, ſend your ſhips of war out of the river, and abide ſtedfaſtly by your agreement; I will not fail in the obſervance of the treaty on my part. Is it becoming or honeſt to begin a war, after concluding the peace ſo lately and ſolemnly? The *Mahrattas* are bound by no *goſpel*, yet they are ſtrict obſervers of treaties. It will therefore be matter of great aſtoniſhment, and hard to be believed, if you, who are enlightened with the *goſpel*, ſhould not remain firm, and preſerve the treaty you have ratified in the preſence of God and *Jeſus Chriſt*."

To this the Admiral replied in a letter dated the 25th of *February*, 1757.

" YOUR letter of the 20th inſtant I received two days ago; but being juſt in the height of my diſpatches for *England*, I was not able to anſwer it till now. I know not how to expreſs to you my aſtoniſhment, at finding myſelf taxed with having a deſign to break the peace, on ſo ſlight a foundation as a baſe fellow's having dared to tell you ſo, without any one action of mine being produced to ſupport ſo extravagant and impudent an accuſation, which has not the leaſt ſhadow of probability to render it credible. You tell me, " It is unworthy the character of a *ſoldier*, and " man of *honour*, to violate their words!" In what ſingle inſtance, ſince my being here, have I acted ſo unworthily as to make you think me capable of violating mine? Yourſelf can anſwer for me, *in none*. My dealing with you hath always been full of that frankneſs and ſincerity, for which my countrymen are remarkable throughout the known world. From you, Sir, I expect juſtice on that baſe man, who has dared falſely to accuſe me, and to impoſe upon you. In the mean time, I have complained to the *French* of their *Vackeel*'s behaviour; who have promiſed me to write to you their knowledge of the falſity of his accuſation. You may reſt aſſured, that I will always religiouſly obſerve the peace; and I beg you to believe, that people who raiſe reports to the contrary, can only do it to create

 jealouſies,

1757. jealouſies, which they hope will break the friendſhip they are ſorry to ſee between us."

Notwithſtanding the perfidious *Nabob* had by this time ſent a body of forces to aſſiſt the *French*, he had yet the addreſs to ſend the following letter to the Admiral.

" THE letter you wrote me about the *French* affair, I have received and peruſed. You may depend upon it, that I neither have nor will aſſiſt the *French*. If they begin any troubles or commit any hoſtilities in my territories, I will oppoſe them with my whole force, and puniſh them very ſeverely. I was informed you deſigned to attack *Chandernagore*, which made me write you what I thought was reaſonable and juſt upon that head. The forces I ſent down were to guard and protect the King's ſubjects, and not to aſſiſt the *French*. If the purport of my letter has been the occaſion of your deſiſting from the attack of *Chandernagore*, it gives me great ſatisfaction. I have written the *French* likewiſe, what I thought was proper, in order to make them apply for a neutrality; I ſuppoſe they will act conformably. I will ſend a perſon of conſideration to bring me the treaty you may conclude with them, and will order it to be regiſtered in my books. Aſſure yourſelf that I have no other deſign or inclination than to live upon terms of good underſtanding and friendſhip with the *Engliſh*. By the grace of God, I never intend to do any thing that you will not eſteem juſt; this rely upon, and do not expect a failure. Do you likewiſe remain fixed to your treaty and word, and give no credit to the reports of people of no conſideration or figure. If you have any thing to write about, pleaſe to addreſs me, and no body elſe; I will always ſend a fair and unreſerved anſwer.

THE VAN OF THE KING OF DEHLI'S ARMY IS ADVANCING TOWARDS THESE PROVINCES; UPON THIS INTELLIGENCE I DESIGN MARCHING TOWARDS PATNA TO MEET THEM. IF AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE YOU WILL BE MY FRIEND, AND SEND ME ASSISTANCE, I WILL PAY YOUR FORCES A LACK OF RUPEES MONTHLY, WHILE THEY REMAIN WITH ME. SEND ME AN IMMEDIATE ANSWER."

This laſt requeſt was inſtantly complied with.

The Admiral to the *Nabob*.

" I this moment received your letter, which gives me the greateſt ſatisfaction. I own I had a ſuſpicion, from your ſo eaſy crediting *French* reports, that you entertained a partiality for that nation to the prejudice of mine: your letter has removed all my doubts, ſo that henceforward

ward I ſhall rely with confidence on your friendſhip, and every day ſtudy to give you the ſtrongeſt proofs of mine. 1757.

The ready obedience I paid to your deſire in not attacking the *French*, will, I perſuade myſelf, convince you that nothing but the ſtrongeſt neceſſity, could make me again apply to you on that ſubject. I beg you will give your moſt ſerious attention to what I am going to ſay: Immediately on the receipt of one of your paſt letters, I not only gave over all thoughts of attacking the *French*, but invited them to enter into a treaty of neutrality, and to ſend people here to ſettle the terms; but judge what muſt have been my ſurprize, when, after they were in ſome manner ſettled, the *French* deputies owned that they had no power to ſecure to us the obſervance of the treaty, in caſe any commander of theirs ſhould come with a great power after my departure! You are too reaſonable not to ſee, that it is impoſſible for me to conclude a treaty with people who have no power to do it; and which beſides, while it ties my hands, leaves thoſe of my enemies at liberty to do me what miſchief they can. They have alſo for a long time reported, that Monſieur *Buſſy* is coming here with a great army. Is it to attack you? Is it to attack us? You are going to *Patna*—You aſk our aſſiſtance.—Can we with the leaſt degree of prudence march with you, and leave our enemies behind us? You will be then too far off to ſupport us, and we ſhall be unable to defend ourſelves. Think what can be done in this ſituation. I ſee but one way. Let us take *Chandernagore*, and ſecure ourſelves againſt any apprehenſions from that quarter, and then we will aſſiſt you with every man in our power, and go with you even to *Debli*, if you will. Have we ſworn reciprocally, that the friends and the enemies of the one ſhould be regarded as ſuch by the other? And will not God the avenger of perjury puniſh us, if we do not fulfill our oaths? What can I ſay more? Let me requeſt the favour of your ſpeedy anſwer.

YOU TELL ME THE VAN OF THE KING OF DEHLI'S ARMY IS ADVANCING TOWARDS THESE PROVINCES, AND THAT YOU ARE GOING TOWARDS PATNA TO MEET THEM; IN CONSEQUENCE OF WHICH YOU ASK ME TO BE YOUR FRIEND, AND GIVE YOU ASSISTANCE. HAVE WE NOT ALREADY SWORN A FRIENDSHIP? PUT IT BUT IN MY POWER TO ASSIST YOU, BY YIELDING TO MY REQUEST, AND YOU SHALL FIND I WILL SUPPORT YOU TO THE UTMOST OF MY ABILITY. BELIEVE ME, AND MOST ASSUREDLY YOU WILL NOT BE DECEIVED. IF YOU DOUBT ME, LOOK BACK INTO ALL MY DEALINGS TOWARDS YOU, AND JUDGE FROM THEM. I ESTEEM YOU NOW TO BE SUCH A FRIEND TO MY NATION, THAT I THINK IT WOULD BE DOING INJUSTICE TO YOUR GOOD INCLINATION TOWARDS ME TO KEEP ANY OCCURRENCE FROM YOUR KNOWLEDGE; THEREFORE I TAKE THIS EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY TO TELL YOU, THE TROOPS WHICH SHOULD HAVE COME HERE WITH ME, ARE NOW ARRIVED IN THE RIVER, A CIRCUMSTANCE THAT WILL BE BENEFICIAL TO YOUR INTEREST, IF YOU WILL BUT GIVE ME THE MEANS OF MAKING IT SO."

1757. A few days after this, the admiral's favourable ſentiments of the *Nabob* were entirely changed; he was convinced that he had entered into a private negotiation with the *French*, and was determined to ſupport them even with his whole force, while every article of his treaty with us remained unfulfilled; he therefore on *March* the 4th ſent the following letter.

The Admiral to the *Nabob*.

"I anſwered your letter of the 20th of laſt month ſome days paſt; I ſuppoſe you have ere now received it, and are thereby fully convinced of the falſhood of the *French Vackeel*'s informations of my intention to break the peace. If you ſtill want farther proofs of the ſincerity with which I made it, and the deſire I have to preſerve it, you will find them in my *patience*; which has not only ſuffered your part of the treaty to be thus long unexecuted, but has even borne with your aſſiſting my enemies the *French* with men and money, contrary to your faith pledged to me in the moſt ſolemn manner, "that my enemies ſhould be yours."

"*Is it thus that ſoldiers and men of honour never violate their words?*" But it is time now to ſpeak *plain:* if you are really deſirous of preſerving your country in peace, and your ſubjects from miſery and ruin; in *ten days* from the date of this, fulfill your part of the treaty in *every article*, that I may not have the leaſt cauſe of complaint: otherwiſe, remember, you muſt anſwer for the conſequences; and as I have always acted the open, unreſerved part in all my dealings with you; I now acquaint you, that the remainder of the troops, which ſhould have been here long ſince (and which I hear the colonel told you he expected) will be at *Calcutta* in a few days; that in a few days more I ſhall diſpatch a veſſel for more ſhips and more troops; and, that I will kindle ſuch a flame in your country, as all the water in the *Ganges* ſhall not be able to extinguiſh. Farewel: remember that he promiſes you this, who never yet broke his word with you, or with any man whatſoever."

The admiral on the 9th of *March* received from the *Nabob* the following anſwer.

"I have already anſwered the letter you wrote me ſome days ago. Be ſo good as to conſider the purport of what I wrote *, and ſend me a ſpeedy reply. I am fixed and determined to abide by the terms of the treaty we have concluded, but have been obliged to defer the execution of the articles on account of the *Hooly*, during which holidays my *Banians* and miniſters do not attend the *Durbar*. As ſoon as that is over, I will ſtrictly comply with every thing I have ſigned. You are ſenſible that there is no avoiding this delay, and I flatter myſelf it will not be thought much of. It is not my

* Concerning the king of *Dehli*.

cuſtom to break any treaty I make, therefore be ſatisfied that I will not endeavour to evade that which I have made with the *Engliſh*. I rely on your friendſhip and bravery in giving me the aſſiſtance I aſked againſt the van of the *Pytan* army who are advancing this way, and that you will oblige me with a compliance to the requeſt I made in my laſt letter. What ſhall I ſay more? 1757.

I BEG YOU WILL BE SENSIBLE OF MY SINCERITY. I PROMISE YOU IN THE MOST FAITHFUL MANNER, THAT I WILL NEVER BREAK OR INFRINGE MY PART OF THE TREATY I HAVE MADE WITH YOUR NATION."

Incloſed in this letter came a ſmall paper with theſe lines:

" This you may be ſure of, that if any perſon or perſons attempt to " quarrel with you, or become your enemies, I have ſworn before God " that I will aſſiſt you. I have never given the *French* a ſingle *Cowry*, and " what forces of mine are at *Houghley*, were ſent to *Nundcomar* the *Fougedar* * " of that place: the *French* will never dare to quarrel with you; and I per- " ſuade myſelf that you will not, contrary to ancient cuſtom, commit any " hoſtilities within the *Ganges*, or in the provinces of which I am *Sou-* " *bahdar*."

The admiral received alſo from the *Nabob* another letter, dated the 10th of *March* 1757.

" YOUR obliging anſwer to my letter I have received, wherein you write, that your ſuſpicions are at an end, and that on the receipt of my letter you forbore attacking *Chandernagore*, and ſent for their people to make peace, and wrote out the terms of agreement; but when they were about ſigning them, they declared that if they ſigned the articles, and any other commander ſhould arrive, they could not be anſwerable for his adhering to them; and that on this account there was no peace. You alſo write many other particulars, of which I am well acquainted. It is true, if it is the cuſtom of the *French*, that if one man makes an agreement, another will not comply with it, what ſecurity is there? My forbidding war on my borders, was, becauſe the *French* were my tenants, and upon this affair deſired my protection: on this I wrote you to make peace, and no intentions had I of aſſiſting or favouring them. *You have underſtanding, and generoſity; if your enemy with an upright heart claims your protection, you will give him his life, but then you muſt be* well *ſatisfied of the innocence of his intentions; if not, whatever you think right, that do* †.

* *Fougedar*, or *Phowſdar*, governor and chief magiſtrate of the diſtrict.

† It was this paragraph that encouraged the admiral and colonel to proceed in their attack of *Chandernagore*.

I am

1757. I am firm to my agreement, and look upon your enemies as my own, which I ſhall never ſwerve from.
Daily our friendſhip will increaſe *."

Colonel *Clive*, the latter end of *February*, left his camp near *Calcutta*, and croſſed the *Ganges*, which was equally convenient either to commence hoſtilities againſt the *French*, or to join the *Nabob* againſt the *Pytan* forces; but the intentions both of the *Nabob* and of the *French* being very manifeſt, on the 8th of *March* he turned his face towards *Chandernagore*, and on the 13th he inveſted it. On the 14th the enemy ſallied out, in which affair Captain *Coote* greatly ſignalized himſelf, and ſoon made them retreat; on this they quitted their outer works, and we became maſters of the town, and the batteries in and about it, with very little loſs; and the enemy by this means were ſhut up within their fort.

As ſoon as every thing was in readineſs on board the fleet, and the ſhips cleared of their ſuperfluous ſtores, they alſo moved up the river with the flood tides †. To the great mortification as well as aſtoniſhment of the *French*, (who had flattered themſelves that it would be impracticable for us to bring up our largeſt ſhips) on the 18th the *Kent*, *Tyger*, and *Saliſbury* appeared in ſight of the fort, and then turning the point of *Chandernagore* reach, anchored the 19th off the *Pruſſian Octagon*; from whence we had a full view of the town and fortifications. As ſoon as we came to an anchor, the *French* threw a ſhell, and fired a ſhot or two, to try if they could reach our ſhips; but they fell ſhort.

* From Mr. *Watts*'s tranſlation.

† Mr. *James* ſent the admiral the following letter on the occaſion.

" SIR,
I have, in obedience to your directions, ſent all my ſick people to the hoſpital, and now incloſe to you the preſent ſtate of the ſhip.—Though it will appear that a great number of the crew are ill, yet as their complaints are chiefly ſcorbutical, occaſioned by the late tedious paſſage, I hope a very few days will perfect their recovery; and as I ſhall ever eſteem it an honour to ſerve under you, and ſtudy to merit the continuance of your approbation of my conduct, I hope, Sir, nothing will prevent your taking me with you on the intended expedition againſt *Chandernagore*. I flatter myſelf, you will find the *Revenge* of ſome good uſe, from her drawing but little water; at the ſame time ſhe can fight moſt commodiouſly 24 twelve pounders upon one deck. I ſhall remain on board to-day to get every thing as forward as poſſible, and ſhall do myſelf the favour of waiting on you in the morning to receive what farther commands you may have to honour me with; being, Sir, with true reſpect,
Your moſt obliged,
and obedient humble ſervant,
WILLIAM JAMES."
Revenge, at Calcutta,
10th of March, 1756.

With this requeſt, the admiral could not comply, as the public ſervice obliged him to diſpatch the *Revenge* to *Fort St. George* on buſineſs of great importance.

Our

Our preparations for the attack of this place had unavoidably been carried on ſo openly, that it was impoſſible they ſhould be a ſecret to the *French*, who had therefore made uſe of every poſſible method to fruſtrate our deſign. Juſt below the fort of *Chandernagore*, there was a large bank of ſand, which made the paſſage very narrow; to block up this channel, they had ſunk three ſhips loaded with ballaſt; the maſts of which however appeared above water. Three other large ſhips lay at anchor above the fort: Theſe, it was ſaid, were prepared as fire-ſhips, to be ſent down with the tide to burn our ſquadron in the middle of the night. The admiral therefore reſolved to be beforehand with them, and gave orders that all the boats of the ſhips ſhould go up as ſoon as the night came on, and endeavour to cut their cables. This was accordingly done, and they all drove upon the ſands. It afterwards appeared, that the crews belonging to thoſe ſhips had been taken out to reinforce the garriſon. 1757.

The attack of the fort would probably have taken place the next morning, had the tides in the river been at all favourable for that purpoſe; but unfortunately for us, they ſerved either too early in the morning, or too late in the afternoon. This circumſtance obliged the admiral to poſtpone the attack for two or three days. In the mean time he ſent Lieutenant *Hey* with a flag of truce to the governor, demanding a ſurrender of the place, which he politely, but reſolutely refuſed to give up. Mr. *Hey*, having obſerved, as he paſſed between the veſſels maſts, which were ſunk in the channel of the river, that their hulls were not deep under water; Mr. *John Delamotte*, a brave and active officer, and who was maſter on board the admiral's ſhip, was the next day ſent to ſound around them; and notwithſtanding all the efforts of the enemy to interrupt him by an inceſſant firing of their cannon, he brought back the agreeable news, that there was room for our ſhips to paſs with ſafety between them. But beſides the obſtruction which we expected to meet with from theſe ſunken veſſels; the *French* had taken care to erect two batteries of heavy cannon to render this narrow paſs ſtill more difficult and dangerous. One of theſe was conſtructed in the form of a half moon, and lay on the very brink of the river, within muſket ſhot of the ſunken veſſels; the other was a faſcine-battery on the glacis of the fort, and was intended to rake our ſhips fore and aft.—The cannon on their ſouth baſtion could alſo be brought to fire down the river.

The diſpoſition made for attacking the fort was as follows. The *Tyger* was to be placed againſt the N. E. baſtion; the *Kent* againſt the curtain between the baſtions oppoſite the gate; and the *Saliſbury* againſt the S. E. baſtion. Before we began the attack, it was judged abſolutely neceſſary that Colonel *Clive* ſhould erect a battery on the ſide of the river, to fire on the ſouth face of the enemy's S. E. baſtion, and in caſe of an obſtinate reſiſtance, that we might breach that baſtion by a croſs fire from the ſhips, and

1757. and from this intended battery. Preparations were accordingly made for this purpoſe; but before they could be carried into execution, the army were obliged to make themſelves maſters of the half-moon battery, which they did with great gallantry, driving the enemy's troops before them into the fort.

All things being ready; on the 22d the admiral appeared extremely anxious to begin the attack; but the flood-tide in the afternoon was ſo very late, the ſhips could not poſſibly be placed in their proper ſtations while there was ſufficient day-light to direct our fire; the enemy therefore would have had a great advantage over us; for though the nights were too dark for us to diſtinguiſh the embraſures of their fortifications, yet they could plainly ſee the hulls of our ſhips, which would have lain ſo near the fort, that a ſhocking carnage muſt have been made amongſt their crews. That another day however might not be loſt, the admiral the ſame evening ordered lights to be placed on the maſts of the veſſels that had been ſunk, with blinds towards the fort, that we might ſee how to paſs between them a little before day-light, and without being diſcovered by the enemy.

At length, the *glorious* morning of the 23d of *March* arrived, and upon the ſhips getting under ſail, the Colonel's battery, which had been finiſhed behind a dead wall, began firing away on the S. E. baſtion. The *Tyger*, with Admiral *Pocock*'s flag flying *, took the lead, and about ſix o'clock in the morning got very well into her ſtation againſt the N. E. baſtion. The *Kent*, with Admiral *Watſon*'s flag, quickly followed her; but before ſhe could reach her proper ſtation, the tide of ebb unfortunately made down the river, which occaſioned her anchor to drag; ſo that before ſhe brought up, ſhe had fallen abreaſt of the S. E. baſtion, the place where the *Saliſbury* ſhould have been, and from her mainmaſt aft, ſhe was expoſed to the flank guns of the S. W. baſtion alſo. This accident of the *Kent*'s anchor not holding faſt, and her driving down into the *Saliſbury*'s ſtation, threw this laſt ſhip out of action, to the great mortification of her captain, officers, and crew, for ſhe never had it in her power to fire a gun, unleſs it was now and then, when ſhe could ſheer on the tide. The *French*, during the whole time of the *Kent* and *Tyger*'s approach towards the fort, kept up a terrible cannonade upon them, without any reſiſtance on their parts; but as ſoon as the ſhips came properly to an anchor, they returned it with ſuch a fury as aſtoniſhed their adverſaries. Colonel *Clive*'s troops at

* Mr. *Pocock* a few days before this, had arrived at *Ballaſore* in the *Cumberland*, and though he could not get his own ſhip up the river, yet he would by no means be inactive, and therefore in his barge joined the ſquadron the 21ſt, and the next evening, (which preceded this attack) he hoiſted his flag on board the *Tyger*; his arrival was very mortifying to the gallant Captain *Latham*, who was obliged to yield to his ſuperior officer a great part of thoſe honours which otherwiſe would have been ſolely due to him as commander of the *Tyger*.

the

the ſame time got into thoſe houſes which were neareſt the fort, and from thence greatly annoyed the enemy with their muſketry *. 1757.

The fire now became general on both ſides, and was kept up with extraordinary ſpirit. The flank guns of the S. W. baſtion galled the *Kent* very much, and the admiral's aid-de-camps being all wounded, Mr. *Watſon* went down himſelf to Lieutenant *William Brereton*, who commanded the lower deck battery, and ordered him particularly to direct his fire againſt thoſe guns, and they were accordingly ſoon afterwards ſilenced. At eight in the morning, ſeveral of the enemy's ſhot ſtruck the *Kent* at the ſame time; one entered near the foremaſt, and ſet fire to two or three 32 pound cartridges of gunpowder, as the boys held them in their hands ready to charge the guns. By the exploſion, the wad-nets, and other looſe things, took fire between decks, and the whole ſhip was ſo filled with ſmoke, that the men in their confuſion cried out, ſhe was on fire in the gunner's ſtore-room; imagining from the ſhock they had felt from the balls, that a ſhell had actually fallen into her. This notion ſtruck a panic into the greateſt part of the crew, and 70 or 80 jumped out of the port-holes into the boats that were a long ſide the ſhip. The *French* preſently ſaw this confuſion on board the *Kent*, and reſolving to take the advantage, kept up as hot a fire as poſſible upon her during the whole time. Lieutenant *Brereton* however, with the aſſiſtance of ſome other brave men, ſoon extinguiſhed the fire, and then running to the ports, he begged the ſeamen to come in again, upbraiding them for deſerting their quarters: but finding this had no effect upon them, he thought the more certain method of ſucceeding would be to ſtrike them with a ſenſe of ſhame, and therefore loudly exclaimed, "*Are you Britons? You Engliſhmen, and fly from danger? For ſhame, for ſhame!*" This reproach had the deſired effect; to a man they immediately returned into the ſhip, repaired to their quarters, and renewed a ſpirited fire on the enemy.

In about three hours from the commencement of the attack, the parapets of the north and ſouth baſtions were almoſt beaten down; the guns were moſtly diſmounted; and we could plainly ſee from the main top of the *Kent*, that the ruins from the parapet and merlons had entirely blocked up thoſe few guns which otherwiſe might have been fit for ſervice. We could eaſily diſcern too that there had been a great ſlaughter among the enemy; who finding that our fire againſt them rather increaſed, hung out the white flag: Whereupon a ceſſation of hoſtilities took place, and the admiral ſent Lieutenant *Brereton* (the only commiſſion officer on board the *Kent* that was not killed or wounded) and Captain *Coote* of the King's

* Our ſhips lay ſo near to the fort, that the muſket-balls fired from their tops, by ſtriking againſt the Chunam walls of the Governor's palace, which was in the very center of the fort, were beaten as flat as a half-crown.

1757. regiment, with a flag of truce to the fort, who ſoon returned; accompanied by the *French* Governor's ſon, with articles of capitulation, which being ſettled by the admirals and colonel, we ſoon afterwards took poſſeſſion of the place.

Articles of Capitulation propoſed by the Director and Council for the French East India *Company's Affairs at* Chandernagore, *to Vice-admiral* Watſon; *with his anſwers*, March 23d, 1757.

ART. I. The lives of the deſerters ſhall be ſaved.

ANS. *The deſerters ſhall be abſolutely given up.*

II. All the officers of this garriſon ſhall be priſoners on their parole of honor; and ſhall have liberty to carry with them all their effects, and go where they pleaſe, on promiſing they will not ſerve againſt his *Britannic* Majeſty during the preſent war.

A. *The admiral agrees to this.*

III. The ſoldiers of the garriſon, ſhall be priſoners of war, ſo long as the preſent war continues: and when peace is made between the King of *France*, and the King of *England*, they ſhall be ſent to *Pondicherry*, and till then be entertained at the expence of the *Engliſh* company.

A. *The admiral likewiſe agrees, with this difference only, that inſtead of ſending the ſoldiers to* Pondicherry, *they ſhall be ſent to* Madraſs, *or to* England, *as the admiral ſhall hereafter think proper; and that ſuch foreigners, who are not of the* French *nation, and chuſe voluntarily to enter into the* Engliſh *ſervice, ſhall have liberty.*

IV. The Sepoys of the garriſon ſhall not be priſoners of war; they ſhall have leave, on the contrary, to return to their own country on the coaſt.

A. *The admiral agrees to this.*

V. The officers and men of the company's *European* ſhip *St. Conteſt*, ſhall be ſent to *Pondicherry* in the firſt *Engliſh* ſhip, which goes to the coaſt.

A. *The officers and men of the* European *ſhip ſhall be upon the ſame footing as the ſoldiers, and be ſent to* Madraſs *or to* England *as ſoon as poſſible.*

VI. The *French Jeſuit* fathers ſhall have liberty to exerciſe the functions of their religion in the houſe which has been aſſigned them ſince the demoliſhing

moliſhing of their church: the ſilver ornaments and every thing that be- 1757.
longs to the church, ſhall be given them, and alſo their effects.

A. *The admiral cannot agree to any* Europeans *reſiding here; but the* French Jeſuits *may go to* Pondicherry, *with all the ornaments of their church, or wherever they pleaſe.*

VII. All the inhabitants, of what nation or quality ſoever, as *Europeans, Muſtees, Chriſtians, Blacks, Gentils, Moors*, and others, ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of their houſes, and of all in general as ſhall be found belonging to them, either in the fort, or on their eſtates.

A. *This article to be left to the admiral, who will do juſtice.*

VIII. The factories of *Caſſimbuzar, Dacca, Patna, Jeuda*, and of *Ballaſore*, ſhall remain at the command of the chiefs who direct them.

A. *To be ſettled between the* Nabob *and the admiral.*

IX. The directors, counſellors, and thoſe employed under them, ſhall have leave to go where they pleaſe, with their cloaths and linen.

A. *The admiral agrees to this.*

The admiral expects an anſwer by three o'clock this afternoon, and that the Britiſh *forces may take poſſeſſion of the fort by four.*

The above-mentioned propoſitions have been accepted of by the council; in conſequence of which, we have delivered up the fortreſs of *Chandernagore* to Admiral *Watſon.*

Chandernagore, the 23d of *March*, 1757.

P. Renault, La-portiere, M. Fournier,
F. Nicolas, A. Caillott, Sugues.

It muſt be acknowledged that the *French* made a gallant defence; for they ſtood to their guns as long as they had any to fire. We never could learn how many of their men were killed and wounded in the whole; tho' they confeſſed that they had forty carried off dead from the S. E. baſtion. The north-eaſt baſtion was alſo cleared of its defendants twice, and among many others that were wounded there, was one *Lee*, a corporal and deſerter from the *Tyger*, who pledged himſelf to the enemy that he would throw two ſhells out of three into the *Tyger*; but while he was bringing the mortars to bear for that purpoſe, he was diſabled by a muſket-bullet from the *Kent*'s top.—He was afterwards ſent home a priſoner to *England.*

1757. On our ſide, three of the *Kent*'s lower deck guns were diſmounted, and the ſame number on the upper deck. The ſhip received 138 cannon ſhot through her ſide next the fort, beſides being greatly damaged in her maſts and rigging. Thirty-ſeven men were killed upon the ſpot in her, and 74 wounded in a greater or leſs degree. Among the dead was Mr. *Perreau*, the admiral's firſt lieutenant, who fell in the bloom of youth, unſpeakably lamented by us all. Mr. *Rawlins Hey*, our third lieutenant, and much of the ſame age as *Perreau*, loſt his thigh, and died on the 31ſt of *March* at the hoſpital, not leſs regretted than *Perreau*. Captain *Speke* was dangerouſly wounded in the leg, and the ſame ſhot carried off the thigh of his ſon Mr. *William Speke*, who afterwards died of the wound. Mr. *Stanton*, our ſecond lieutenant, received many contuſions, but he ſoon got the better of them. Mr. *Marriot*, a midſhipman, was wounded in the thigh, but not mortally. Mr. *Wood*, another midſhipman, was ſlightly wounded. Mr. *James Liſter*, under-ſecretary to the admiral, as he was ſtanding by him taking minutes, was wounded in the leg; and Mr. *Barnes* the purſer, received a violent contuſion in both his thighs from the wind of a ball, which paſſed very near, but did not ſtrike him.

The number of the ſlain on board the *Tyger* almoſt equalled thoſe of the *Kent*. Admiral *Pocock* himſelf was ſlightly wounded, but Mr. *Phillips* the maſter, mortally; and his mate Mr. *Pater* loſt an arm. Mr. *Wilkinſon*, Mr. *Thompſon*, and Mr. *Gribble*, midſhipmen, were alſo wounded. The whole number ſent to the hoſpital from this ſhip was forty-one. In which were included a few volunteers, from his majeſty's frigate and ſloop, who had been permitted to act this day on board the *Tyger* under the command of the *Bridgewater*'s Lieutenant Mr. *Charles Saxton*, a young gentleman then lately promoted to the rank of a commiſſion officer by Admiral *Watſon*, and diſtinguiſhed for his alacrity in offering himſelf as a volunteer on every emergent occaſion.

Every humane boſom muſt needs commiſerate the death of ſo many gallant *Britiſh* youth, as fell in this day's action. The killed and wounded indeed on ſhore were trifling; the enemy were ſo much employed againſt the ſhips, that the army had but one killed, and 10 wounded; but on board the two ſhips they were ſo numerous, that I would willingly forbear any farther mention of ſuch a mournful ſcene; but the behaviour of Captain *Speke* and his ſon, a youth of 16 years of age, was ſo truly great and exemplary on this glorious but melancholy occaſion, that I muſt beg leave to deſcribe it, with ſome of it's moſt intereſting circumſtances.

When Admiral *Watſon* had the unhappineſs to ſee both the father and ſon fall in the ſame inſtant; he immediately went up to them, and by the moſt tender and pathetic expreſſions tried to alleviate their diſtreſs. The captain, who had obſerved his ſon's leg to be hanging only by the ſkin, ſaid to the admiral, "Indeed, Sir, this was a cruel ſhot, to knock down both the father and the ſon!" Mr. *Watſon*'s heart was too full to make the

the leaſt reply; he only ordered them both to be immediately carried to the ſurgeon. The captain was firſt brought down to me in the after-hold, where a platform had been made, and then told me how dangerouſly his poor *Billy* was wounded. Preſently after, the brave youth himſelf appeared, but had another narrow eſcape, the quarter-maſter, who was bringing him down in his arms after his father, being killed by a cannon ball: his eyes o'erflowing with tears, not for his own, but for his father's fate, I laboured to aſſure him, that his father's wound was not dangerous, and this aſſertion was confirmed by the captain himſelf. He ſeemed not to believe either of us, until he aſked me *upon my honour*, and I had repeated to him my firſt aſſurance in the moſt poſitive manner. He then immediately became calm; but on my attempting to enquire into the condition of his wound, he ſolicitouſly aſked me, if I had dreſſed his father, for he could not think of my touching him, before his father's wound had been taken care of. I aſſured him, that the captain had been already properly attended to: "*Then*, (replied the generous youth, pointing to a fellow ſufferer) *Pray, Sir, look* "*to and dreſs this poor man, who is groaning ſo ſadly beſide me!*" I told him, that he already had been taken care of, and begged of him with ſome importunity that I now might have liberty to examine his wound: he ſubmitted to it, and calmly obſerved, "*Sir, I fear you muſt amputate above the joint!*" I replied, my dear, I muſt!—Upon which, he claſped both his hands together, and lifting his eyes in the moſt devout and fervent manner towards heaven, he offered up the following ſhort, but earneſt petition; "*Good God, do thou enable me to behave in my preſent circumſtances,* "*worthy my Father's ſon!*"——When he had ended this ejaculatory prayer, he told me that he was all ſubmiſſion. I then performed the operation above the joint of the knee; but during the whole time the intrepid youth never ſpake a word, or uttered a groan that could be heard at a yard diſtance. 1757.

The reader may eaſily imagine, what, in this dreadful interval, the brave, but unhappy captain ſuffered, who lay juſt by his unfortunate and darling ſon. But whatever were his feelings, we diſcovered no other expreſſions of them, than what the ſilent, trickling tears declared; though the bare recollection of the ſcene, even at this diſtant time, is too painful for me.—Both the father and the ſon, the day after the action, were ſent with the reſt of the wounded back to *Calcutta*. The father was lodged at the houſe of *William Mackett*, Eſq; his brother-in-law; and the ſon was with me at the hoſpital. For the firſt eight or nine days, I gave the father great comfort, by carrying him joyful tidings of his boy; and in the ſame manner I gratified the ſon in regard to the father. But alas! from that time, all the good ſymptoms which had hitherto attended this unparalleled youth, began to diſappear! The captain eaſily gueſſed, by my ſilence and countenance, the true ſtate his boy was in; nor did he ever after aſk me more than two queſtions concerning him; ſo tender was the ſubject to us both, and ſo unwilling was his generous mind to add to my diſtreſs. The firſt, was on the tenth day, in theſe words, "*How long, my friend, do you think my*

1757. "*Billy may remain in a ſtate of uncertainty?*" I replied, that "If he lived to the 15th day from the operation, there would be the ſtrongeſt hopes of his recovery." On the 13th however he died; and on the 16th the brave man looking me ſtedfaſtly in the face, ſaid, "*Well, Ives, how fares* "*it with my boy?*" I could make him no reply;——and he immediately attributed my ſilence to the real cauſe. He cried bitterly, ſqueezed me by the hand, and begged me to leave him for one half hour, when he wiſhed to ſee me again; and aſſured me, that I ſhould find him with a different countenance, from that he troubled me with at preſent.—Theſe were his obliging expreſſions.—I punctually complied with his deſire; and when I returned to him, he appeared, as he ever after did, perfectly calm and ſerene.

The dear youth had been delirious the evening preceding the day on which he died; and at two o'clock in the morning, in the utmoſt diſtreſs of mind, he ſent me an incorrect note, written by himſelf with a pencil, of which the following is an exact copy. "*If Mr.* Ives *will conſider the diſorder* "*a ſon muſt be in, when he is told he is dying, and is yet in doubt whether his* "*father is not in as good a ſtate of health. If Mr.* Ives *is not too buſie to honour* "*this chitt* *, *which nothing but the greateſt uneaſineſs could draw from me.* "*The boy waits an anſwer.*" Immediately on the receipt of this note, I viſited him, and he had ſtill ſenſe enough left to know who I was. He then began with me.—"*And is he dead?*—Who my dear? *My father, Sir.*" No, my love; nor is he in any danger, I aſſure you; he is almoſt well. "*Thank* "*God!—then why did they tell me ſo? I am now ſatisfied, and ready to die.*" At that time he had a locked jaw, and was in great diſtreſs, but I underſtood every word he ſo inarticulately uttered: he begged my pardon, for having (as he obligingly and tenderly expreſſed himſelf) diſturbed me at ſo early an hour, and before the day was ended, ſurrendered up a valuable life.

The following exquiſite ſimile ſo finely illuſtrates the beauty and untimely death of this incomparable young man, that I am perſuaded every good-natured reader will excuſe my inſerting it.

"As a gay flower, with blooming beauties crown'd,
"Cut by the ſhare, lies languid on the ground:
"Or ſome tall poppy, that o'ercharg'd with rain
"Bends the faint head, and ſinks upon the plain;
"So fair, ſo languiſhingly ſweet he lies,
"His head declin'd, and drooping as he dies †."

* A Note in *India* is called a *Chitt*.

† Purpureus veluti cum flos ſucciſus aratro
Langueſcit moriens; laſſove papavera collo
Demiſêre caput, pluviâ cum fortè gravantur.

VIRG. *Æn.* 9.

1757.

Captain *Speke* was confined to his bed and chamber, for ſome weeks after the action, nor did he perfectly recover from his wound; at times he was much indiſpoſed, and in a great deal of danger. While incapable of duty, the admiral ordered his firſt lieutenant Mr. *John Clerke* to take upon him the command. At length, the *Kent* being condemned as unſerviceable, the captain took his paſſage to *England* in one of our *Eaſt India* company's ſhips; leaving behind him the character of, a ſenſible and complete gentleman, as well as the gallant and ſkilful ſea officer. He afterwards commanded the *Reſolution* of 70 guns in the memorable engagement off *Belliſle*, when Sir *Edward Hawke* defeated the *French* fleet, and particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by obliging the *Formidable* to ſtrike to him, though a ſhip ſuperior in force to his own. The *Reſolution* in the night ſucceeding the action, was wrecked on a ſhoal called *Le'Four*, but the captain with the crew were providentially ſaved. Captain *Speke* afterwards returned to *England*, and for a while enjoyed in quiet thoſe applauſes which the public juſtly beſtowed on his ſuperior merit. He was afterwards appointed captain of the *Modeſte*, and once more went to ſea; but before he could render any farther ſervices to his country, he died at *Liſbon* in the 43d year of his age, to the great grief of all his acquaintance, but eſpecially of thoſe whom he had honoured and made happy with a more intimate ſhare of his friendſhip.

I have already cited ſome lines from Mr. *Pitt*'s tranſlation of *Virgil*, becauſe I thought them applicable to the death of this great man's ſon: the reader will now excuſe my quoting a few others from Mr. *William Whitehead*, and placing them here to the memory of both theſe heroes.

† "O happy both! if ought my muſe cou'd ſhed
" Of tears eternal which embalm the dead;
" While round *Britannia*'s coaſt old ocean raves,
" And to her ſtandard roll th' embattled waves,
" Fair empreſs of the deep; ſo long your names
" Should live lamented!"——

To alleviate our concern, it is to be obſerved, that by the reduction of *Chandernagore*, the *French* power and commerce in *Bengal* were totally ruined. The captors alſo met with no inconſiderable booty in the place; the guns, ſtores, and valuable effects found there, ſelling for above 130,000 *l.* ſterling. It happened unfortunately however, that Monſ. *Nicolas*, a man of a moſt amiable character, and the father of a large family,

† Fortunati ambo! ſi quid mea carmina poſſunt,
Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo;
Dum domus Æneæ capitoli immobile ſaxum
Accolet, imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.

VIRG. *Æn.* 9.

had

1757. had not been ſo provident as the reſt of his countrymen, in ſecuring his effects within the fort, but had left them in the town; conſequently upon Colonel *Clive*'s firſt taking poſſeſſion of the place, they had all been plundered by our common ſoldiers; and the poor gentleman and his family hereby were to all appearance ruined. The generous and humane Captain *Speke* having heard of the hard fate of Monſ. *Nicolas*, took care to repreſent it to the two admirals in all its affecting circumſtances; who immediately advanced the ſum of 1500 rupees each. Their example was followed by the five captains of the ſquadron, who ſubſcribed 5000 between them. Mr. *Doidge* added 800 more; and the ſame ſum was thrown in by another perſon, who was a ſincere well-wiſher to this unfortunate gentleman: ſo that a preſent of 9600 rupees, or 1200 *l.* ſterling, was in a few minutes collected towards the relief of this valuable *Frenchman* and his diſtreſſed family.

One of the company was preſently diſpatched with this money, who had orders to acquaint Monſ. *Nicolas*, "that a few of his *Engliſh* friends deſired his acceptance of it, as a ſmall teſtimony of the very high eſteem they had for his moral character, and of their unfeigned ſympathy with him in his misfortunes." The poor gentleman, quite tranſported at ſuch an inſtance of generoſity in an enemy, cried out in a ſort of extacy, "*Good God! they are friends indeed!*" — He accepted of the preſent with great thankfulneſs, and deſired that "his moſt grateful acknowledgments might be made to his unknown benefactors; for whoſe happineſs, and the happineſs of their families, not only his, but the prayers of his childrens children, he hoped, would frequently be preſented to heaven. — He could add no more: — The tears which ran plentifully down his cheeks, beſpoke the feelings of his heart; and indeed implied much more, than even *Cicero* with all the powers of oratory could poſſibly have expreſſed.

Soon after the capture of *Chandernagore* the admiral ſent an expreſs with an account of it to *England*, by Captain *Richard Toby* of his majeſty's ſloop the *King's-fiſher*.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Correſpondence between the Admiral and the Nabob.—*Admiral* Watſon *and the Colonel reſolve to recommence hoſtilities againſt him.—The grandees of his court confederate to dethrone him.—The chiefs of the council at* Calcutta *enter into a treaty with them: Articles of that treaty.—Colonel* Clive *takes the field with his forces.—Account of the battle of* Plaſſey. — Jaffier Ali-Khan *is handed to the* Soubahdar's *ſeat by Colonel* Clive.—Serajah Dowlah, *the late* Nabob, *is taken priſoner, and put to death.*

THREE days after the reduction of the important fortreſs of *Chandernagore*, the admiral renewed his correſpondence with the *Nabob*; willing, if poſſible, to cultivate friendſhip with him, and deſirous alſo to put an end to the *French* power in *Bengal.* 1757.

The Admiral to the Nabob, *dated the 26th of March* 1757.

" I HAVE the honour of ſeveral of your letters, which I would have paid due attention to, and anſwered immediately, had not the ſervice I came here upon engaged all my time: I hope you will accept this as a reaſonable excuſe for my long ſilence. I have now the pleaſure to acquaint you, that on the 23d of this month, after two hours fighting, we, by the bleſſing of God, and the happy influence of your fortune and friendſhip, ſubdued and took poſſeſſion of the *French* fort, making our enemies priſoners, except a ſmall number who fled up the river with their effects. I have ſent a few armed men to ſeize them; and I perſuade myſelf you will not be diſpleaſed at this ſtep, ſince I have given the ſtricteſt orders not to moleſt or diſturb any of your ſubjects.

I have often declared to you my unalterable reſolution of ſtrictly adhering to the treaty made between us; and as we have ſworn reciprocally that the enemies of either ſhould be eſteemed the enemies of both, I hope, by your favour, the enemies I have now remaining will be delivered into my hands, together with their effects.

1757. The moment I received your letter complaining of Mr. *Drake*'s having addreſſed himſelf to *Monichchund* in a manner diſpleaſing to you, I wrote to Mr. *Drake*, and deſired he would make an apology to you for the expreſſions he had made uſe of to *Monichchund*; which he has done, and I hope you are ſatisfied therewith: you may reſt aſſured, you will have no cauſe of ſuch complaint for the future.

I obſerve by your letter of the 22d of this month, that you were under a neceſſity of ſending your brother *Raja Rey Dullubram Bahader* into the *Burdwan* country, to collect the revenues which *Monichchund* excuſed himſelf from paying: as you have given me your word, that this is the purpoſe of his march, it is not in the power of any artful deſigning villain to make me believe the contrary; and as it will be evermore my firſt principle to promote and eſtabliſh the friendſhip made between us, I ſhall be very cautious how I give credit to any idle ſtories, tending to break the unity, which I hope will endure for ever between you and the *Engliſh*. I am ſenſible our nation has many enemies at your court; but as you are a wiſe and prudent prince, I hope you will in time diſcover all the wickedneſs of thoſe, who by aſſerting for poſitive truths what have appeared to be notorious falſhoods, have attempted to injure us in your opinion. As I know your ears have been filled with evil reports of us, and you will ſtill be ſubject to hear the ſtories of ſuch deceivers, the Major will be ſent to you: receive what he may ſay, as my ſentiments, and be aſſured you ſhall not be deceived. What can I ſay more?"

This letter not producing the deſired effect, and being too well convinced that the *Nabob* had hoſtile intentions in his breaſt; for, inſtead of delivering up, he correſponded with and protected our *French* enemies, the admiral addreſſed another letter to him, dated the 31ſt of *March*, 1757.

"I HAVE already informed you of our conqueſt of *Chandernagore*, and making all the *French* our priſoners, except ſome fugitives who fled up the river, after whom, I told you I had ſent ſome armed men in boats. I am ſorry I ſhould be under a neceſſity of ſending you another letter; but having received information that you have not as yet performed your agreement, I muſt take leave to acquaint you, that from the repeated promiſes you have made of keeping your word in every reſpect, I now expect you will act conformable to the oath you have taken before God and your *Prophet*, and comply *immediately* with all the articles of the treaty. Deliver alſo the cannon to Mr. *Watts* which you now have belonging to the company; and ſtrictly keep to the oath we have both ſworn, of living in friendſhip, and eſteeming each other's enemies our own; and deliver up into my hands all the *French* in your dominions, with their effects. This will be keeping your oath, and behaving like a prince, whoſe purſuit is juſtice, and whoſe utmoſt glory as a ſoldier, is preſerving his word inviolable. Depend upon it, if there are any about you bold enough to adviſe you to act contrary to theſe juſt demands, they

they are your enemies, and want to ſee your country involved in a ruinous war, which nothing but your breach of promiſe, of faith, and of honour, ſhall ever prevail on me to engage in. Nothing will give me more ſatisfaction, than the being aſſured that continual peace and friendſhip will for ever laſt between you and the *Engliſh*. 1757.

Since I began this letter, I am informed the fugitive *French* have offered to enter into your ſervice. If you accept this offer, I ſhall conclude that you intend to favour the *French*, and deſire to live no longer in friendſhip with me; eſpecially as you have declined the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* troops, after ſtrongly ſoliciting them."

The admiral, not able to obtain any anſwer, either in words or deeds, ſent another letter.

The Admiral to the Nabob.

Kent, off *Chandernagore*, 2d of *April* 1757.

" I HAVE been informed, that you expreſs ſome uneaſineſs at our ſhips remaining at this ſettlement, and at our army being encamped near *Houghley*. I find that our enemies have taken the advantage of your uneaſineſs, and endeavoured to perſuade you our troops propoſe marching up in a hoſtile manner againſt you to *Muxadabad*. It is amazing to me, that any one ſhould dare to impoſe ſo groſsly on your underſtanding, without trembling at the conſequence, ſhould his villainous arts be diſcovered. And it alſo ſurprizes me, that you ſhould hearken to ſuch idle ſtories. You, as a ſoldier, muſt know, that while I have enemies yet in your dominions, it would be very impolitic in me not to purſue them. Yet, if you will deliver up my enemies and their effects to me, my ſhips and troops ſhall immediately return to *Calcutta*; and then, and not before, ſhall I be convinced of your ſincerity and reſolution in abiding by the oath you have taken, of regarding my enemies as your own."

The day after the forwarding of the above, the admiral received the following letter from the *Nabob*, though dated the 1ſt of *Rajub*, or 22d of *March* 1757.

" WHAT I have promiſed, and ſet my hand to, I will firmly maintain, nor in any reſpect deviate therefrom. All Mr. *Watts*'s demands, and whatſoever he has repreſented to me, I have complied with, and what remains, ſhall be given up by the 15th of this moon. This, Mr. *Watts* muſt have written to you, with all the particulars; but notwithſtanding all this, it appears to me from many inſtances, that you ſeek to obliterate your agreement with me. The country within the territories of *Houghly*, *Ingely*, *Burdwan* and *Nuddea*, have been ravaged by your troops. For what

1757. cauſe is this? Add to this, that *Govendram Metre* wrote to *Nundcomar* by the ſon of *Ramden Goſe*, requiring him to deliver *Colligant*, as belonging to the diſtricts of *Calcutta*, into his the ſaid *Metre*'s poſſeſſion. What is the meaning of this? I am ſure this has been done without your knowledge. In confidence of your engagement, I made peace; with the view of procuring the welfare of the country, and to prevent the ruinous conſequences which would befal the royal territories from both armies, and not that the people ſhould be trampled upon, and the revenues obſtructed.

Your endeavours ſhould be daily to ſtrengthen more and more the friendſhip which has taken root betwixt us, and to that end put a ſtop to the influence of this miſchief-maker, and diſcountenance the aforeſaid *Metre* in ſuch manner, that he may not dare to ſay theſe things, nor be guilty of ſuch falſe proceedings for the future. By the will of God, the agreement ſhall never be infringed upon my part. I have ſpoken to Mr. *Watts* fully on this ſubject; the particulars of which you will have in his letter.

P. S. I have juſt learned that the *French* are bringing a large force from the *Deccan*, to make war againſt you; for this reaſon I write to you, that if you ſtand in need of any forces of the government for your ſupport, you will immediately acquaint me, and they ſhall be ready to join you whenever you ſhall have occaſion for them."

This produced the following reply.

The Admiral to the Nabob.

Dated *Calcutta*, 3d of *April*, 1757.

" THE letter you did me the honour to write the 22d of laſt month, did not come to my hands till this day. As the ſubject of it required an anſwer as ſoon as poſſible, I make no doubt but you have been ſurprized at not having found any thing in my three laſt letters relating thereto. But this informs you of the true reaſon, and I hope will ſatisfy you of my readineſs always to acknowledge the receipt of your favours. The aſſurances you continue to give me, of firmly maintaining the agreement between us; makes me hope you will liſten to all the juſt demands I have made in my laſt letters, as the delivering up my enemies into my hands with all their effects, and complying with all the articles of the treaty: the latter part, you promiſe me ſhall be done the 15th of this *Moon*, which will be to-morrow, when I hope Mr. *Watts* will be able to write, and aſſure me you have fulfilled your promiſe. You tell me, that notwithſtanding the order you have given for every thing being complied with, and fixing the day for its being done, yet it appears to you from many inſtances that I intend to break my agreement. You muſt ſuffer me to tell you, that your apprehenſions of my not ſtrictly abiding by the treaty I have made, are founded on falſe repre-

repreſentations, made to you by *Monichchund*, to excuſe himſelf from paying the revenues of the ſeveral countries you ſay have been pillaged by the *Engliſh*. How can this poſſibly be? When the *Engliſh* troops, ſince the happy peace made with you, have penetrated no farther into the *Burdwan* country, than marching from *Bankebuſar* to *Chandernagore* along ſhore; and ſince the conqueſt of the *French*, a few armed men were ſent after ſome fugitives a little way, but they have been ordered back ſome time ſince, and are returned. Of this, upon very little reflection, you muſt be ſenſible; why then will you hearken to thoſe who ſeek every opportunity to deceive you, and make you believe ſuch things as are in their nature impoſſible? For how could the territories of *Houghly*, *Ingely*, *Burdwan* and *Nuddea*, be ravaged by our troops, when the troops have been no farther than I have aſſured you? I am afraid the perſon who dares attempt the impoſing on you ſo groſs a falſhood as this, has reaſon to think you may be eaſily perſuaded into the belief of any thing, that would ſerve as a pretence for your diſpleaſure againſt the *Engliſh*; otherwiſe, I think no one would preſume to fill your ears with ſuch falſe and idle ſtories. What you tell me relating to *Govendram Metre*, you do me great juſtice in believing he has acted in the manner he did, without my knowledge. You may be aſſured, I will take pains to enquire into every circumſtance of that matter, and will ſee that ſtrict juſtice is done to you, and give *Metre* a ſevere rebuke for his late behaviour. 1757.

Need I give you any farther aſſurances of my immoveable reſolution ſtrictly to regard our treaty, and every moment to improve the friendſhip growing up between us? I hope not. I would willingly believe, you now know me ſufficiently to place a confidence in what I ſay, without having any doubts of being deceived; which you may depend upon you never ſhall by me: deceit is deteſtable in the heart of an honeſt man, and much too low a practice for the true ſoldier to ſtoop to.

Give me leave to render you my thanks for your intelligence concerning the *French* from the *Deccan*, and your readineſs in offering me aſſiſtance, if I ſhould have occaſion. Should the *French* leave the *Deccan*, and come into this country with ſuch a number as to make the junction of our troops neceſſary, I then will do myſelf the honour to write to you on that buſineſs. In the mean time, if you would wiſh to preſerve peace in your country, deliver up my enemies into my hands, and by that means they will be leſs able to oppoſe me, if ſuch a force ſhould arrive. This will convince me of the ſincerity of your offer. It is now in your power to ſettle *everlaſting peace* in your country, and if you ſuffer the opportunity to ſlip, it may never offer again. You ſee that God, by whoſe power all human events are determined, has given me the victory over my enemies. He ſeeth the juſtneſs of my cauſe, and therefore fighteth for me. Heſitate then no longer about the things I have written to you, but openly fulfill the oath you made before God and your *Prophet*, of making my enemies your own; and let us evermore become as one people. Then, we ſhall ſee peace and tranquility

1757. tranquility will flouriſh; for our enemies beholding us cemented in unity, will not venture to bring war into the country.

Reflect on what I have written, and be aſſured nothing is ſo much my deſire, as to ſee peace and concord perfectly ſettled throughout the whole kingdom; and to give you the ſtrongeſt proof of my ſincerity, I have ordered the King's ſhips down to *Calcutta*, as I heard ſuch a meaſure would be acceptable to you. WHAT CAN I SAY MORE?"

After a great many inward ſtruggles, and ſtill diſſembling his reſentment, the *Nabob* ſent the following anſwer.

The Nabob *to the Admiral, dated* 14*th of* April, 1757.

" YOUR letters at ſeveral times, I have received, with the news of your health, which has given me great pleaſure. The purport of them I have duly underſtood; and for your ſatisfaction, and in obſervance of the agreement between us, to look upon each others enemies as our own, I have expelled Mr. *Law* with all his adherents from my country, and have given ſtrict orders to all my *Naibs* and *Fougedars* not to permit them to remain in any part of my dominions. I am ready upon all occaſions to grant you my aſſiſtance. If the *French* ever enter the province with a great or ſmall force, with a deſign of making war upon you; *God* and his *Prophets* are between us, that whenever you write to me, I will be your ally, and join you with all my force. Reſt ſatisfied in this point, and be aſſured of my reſolution to remain inviolably by the promiſes which I have made in my letters, and in the treaty concluded betwixt us. With regard to the *French* factories and merchandize, I muſt acquaint your excellency, that I have been informed, the *French* company are indebted to the natives, and have ſeveral *Lacks* belonging to my ſubjects in their hands; ſhould I comply with your demands in delivering up the effects, how can I anſwer it to the creditors of the *French?* Your excellency is my well-wiſher and my friend; weigh all this affair, and return me your anſwer, that I may act accordingly.

I have written before, and now repeat, that if the *Engliſh* company want to eſtabliſh their trade, do not write me what is not conformable to our agreement, by the inſtigation of ſelf-intereſted and deſigning men, who want to break the peace between us. If you are not diſpoſed to come to a rupture with me, you have my agreement under my hand and ſeal; when you write, look upon that, and write accordingly.

Mr. *Watts* will inform you fully of all particulars: What ſhall I write more?

IF YOU DESIRE TO MAINTAIN THE PEACE, WRITE NOTHING CONTRARY TO THE TREATY."

This

This letter, and daily inſtances of the *Nabob*'s perfidious and hoſtile intentions, engaged the Admiral to addreſs the *Nabob* more plainly in a letter dated *April* 19th, 1757. 1757.

" I AM honoured with your letter of the 14th of this month, acquainting me with your having received at ſeveral times the letters I lately wrote you. Your forbearance, and not writing to me, hath not the appearance of that friendſhip, you would perſuade me you have for my countrymen; and with regard to myſelf, I muſt take the liberty to ſay, I was more particularly entitled to a ſpeedy anſwer to my letters, from my high rank and ſtation; and I cannot help looking upon your neglect in this reſpect, but as a ſlight offered to the King my maſter, who ſent me into *India* to protect his ſubjects, and demand juſtice whereſoever they were oppreſſed.

I obſerve in your letter the following particulars, viz. " That for my ſatisfaction and according to our mutual agreement to look upon each others enemies as our own, you have expelled Monſieur *Law* and his adherents from your dominions, and given ſtrict orders, &c. &c." My brother Mr. *Watts*, who is entruſted with all the company's concerns, always writes me the particulars of your intended favours towards us; but I have never found that what he writes is put in execution, neither do I find that what you wrote me in your letter dated the 1ſt of *Rajub* (22d of *March*) is yet complied with. You therein aſſured me, that you would fulfill all the articles you had agreed to, by the 15th of that *Moon*. Have you ever yet complied with them all? No. How then can I place any confidence in what you write, when your actions are not correſpondent with your promiſes? Or how can I reconcile your telling me in ſo ſacred a manner, you will be my ally, and aſſiſt me with your forces againſt the *French?* when you have given a *Perwannah* to Mr. *Law* and his people to go towards *Patna*, in order to eſcape me, and tell me it is for my ſatisfaction, and in obſervance of the mutual agreement, you have taken this meaſure. Is this an act of friendſhip? Or is it in this manner I am to underſtand you will aſſiſt me? Or am I to draw a concluſion from what you write, or from what you do? You are too wiſe not to know when a man tells you one thing, and does the direct contrary, which you ought to believe. Why then do you endeavor to perſuade me you will be my friend, when at the ſame time you give my enemies your protection, furniſh them with ammunition, and ſuffer them to go out of your dominions with three pieces of cannon? Their effects I eſteem a trifling circumſtance, and as far as they will contribute to do juſtice to your people, who are creditors to the *French* company, I have no objection to your ſeizing them for their uſe, for money is what I deſpiſe, and accumulating riches to myſelf is what I did not come here for.

But I have already told you, and now repeat it again, that while a *Frenchman* remains in this kingdom, I will never ceaſe purſuing him; but if they will deliver themſelves up, they ſhall find me merciful: and I am

1757. confident thoſe who have already fallen into my hands, will do me the juſtice to ſay, they have been treated with a much greater generoſity, than is uſual by the general cuſtom of war.

If you will reflect upon the oath you have taken, you cannot but join with me in what follows: As ſoon as *Caſſimbuzar* is properly garriſoned, to which place our troops will ſpeedily begin their march, I deſire you will grant a *Duſtuck* for the paſſage of two thouſand of our ſoldiers by land to *Patna*. You may be aſſured they will do no violence, nor commit the leaſt injury to the natives: the only deſign of ſending them is to ſeize the *French*, and reſtore tranquility and perfect peace in your kingdom, which can never be truly eſtabliſhed in theſe dominions, while a war continues between us and them. If you are apprehenſive of any injury ariſing to your ſubjects from the march of our troops to *Patna*, ſend ſome of your truſty *Hircars* to go with them, with orders to acquaint you from time to time of their tranſactions, and I dare anſwer you will find their reports agreeable to what I now write you.

Inſtead of ſending Mr. *Watts* only *ten* guns, why did you not deliver up all that belonged to the company? I will not write you what is not conformable to our agreement, and which you ſuppoſe was by the inſtigation of ſelf-intereſted and deſigning men: I muſt take the liberty to ſay, I never yet have written a ſyllable contrary to our agreement, and the oath and promiſe I have made; and be aſſured it is not in the power of any artful or deſigning men to make me write any thing inconſiſtent with my honour. I aſk nothing more than your fulfilling the articles of your agreement, and abiding by the oath you have taken: This I have ſtrongly urged you to do, becauſe you have been very ſlow in the execution, and this ſurely I have a right to demand, ſo long as you neglect to perform it. If it is diſagreeable to you to hear theſe things, put it out of my power ever to aſk again, by your immediate compliance; and as you have deſired me when I write, to look upon our agreement, and take that for my guide, let me requeſt you to compare my letters with my agreements, and with what you have promiſed, and when you find me differ from that, or aſk any thing contrary to it, then tax me therewith; point out to me expreſly, wherein I have deviated from this rule, and you ſhall find me ready to confeſs it as an error: but till then, you muſt excuſe me for inſiſting on your having charged me wrongfully, and which upon an examination of my letters, I make no doubt will appear to you too plain to be contradicted.

Let me again repeat to you, I have no other views than that of peace. The gathering together of riches is what I deſpiſe; and I call on God, who ſees and knows the ſpring of all our actions, and to whom you and I muſt one day anſwer, to witneſs to the truth of what I now write; therefore if you would have me believe that you wiſh peace as much as I do, no longer let it be the ſubject of our correſpondence, for me to aſk for the fulfilment of the treaty, and you to promiſe and not perform it; but im-

mediately fulfill all your engagements: thus let peace flouriſh and ſpread throughout all your country, and make your people happy in the re-eſtabliſhment of their trade, which has ſuffered by a ruinous and deſtructive war. What can I ſay more?" 1757.

After this letter, the correſpondence ceaſed on the part of the admiral; and from the date thereof, to the month of *June*, the *Nabob* continued to give full proofs of his enmity towards us, and his deſign to embrace the firſt convenient opportunity of extirpating us. Hoſtile preparations were now made on each ſide; and on the 13th of *June* things drew near to a criſis, when the *Nabob* ſent the following, and his laſt letter to the admiral.

25th of *Ramazan* (13th of *June*) 1757.

"ACCORDING to my promiſes, and the agreement made between us, I have duly rendered every thing to Mr. *Watts*, except a very ſmall remainder, and had almoſt ſettled *Monichchund*'s affair: Notwithſtanding all this, Mr. *Watts* and the reſt of the council of the factory at *Caſſimbuzar*, under pretence of going to take the air in their gardens, fled away in the night. This is an evident mark of deceit, and of an intention to break the treaty. I am convinced it could not have happened without your knowledge, nor without your advice. I all along expected ſomething of this kind, and for that reaſon I would not recall my forces from *Plaſſey*, expecting ſome treachery.

I praiſe God, that the breach of the treaty has not been on my part: God and his *Prophet* have been witneſſes to the contract made between us, and whoever firſt deviates from it will bring upon themſelves the puniſhment due to their actions."

By the letters, as well as by a multiplicity of facts, it is evident that *Serajah Dowlah*, from the time of ſigning the treaty with us, had ſhewn himſelf but little inclined to abide by any of it's articles; it was indeed intended by him to lull us into a fatal ſecurity. He was very liberal in his promiſes, but always took care to put off the performance of them, and that upon ſuch trifling pretences, as demonſtrated his ill intentions towards us. His poſitive orders at firſt, that we ſhould not beſiege *Chandernagore*, ſtrongly indicated his attachment to our enemies; though, after we had taken that place, he put the beſt face he could upon it, and pretended that he was not diſpleaſed at our ſucceſs. We were not ignorant however, that he had ordered a body of near 2000 men to the aſſiſtance of that garriſon, who might have greatly obſtructed if not defeated our enterprize, had we not found means to prevent their acting. It is certain, that a *French* corps under the command of Monſieur *Law*, was protected by him, and even in his pay; and that he had invited *Buſſy* with the *French* army to enter

1757. *Bengal* againſt us. Beſides theſe inſtances of his ill diſpoſition towards us, it is to be remarked, that although four months were elapſed, the material points of the treaty were not fulfilled; and even his ſolemn engagement to reſtore to the company the villages which of right belonged to them, was evaded, without framing an excuſe for ſuch an atrocious breach of faith.

The *Engliſh* in this ſituation ſaw no other remedy for their preſent grievances, nor any other means of preventing the fatal blow of extirpation, which was to be expected on the arrival of the *French* army, than by oppoſing openly the man who was thus planning the ruin of the company's affairs, and only waited for the return of the ſquadron to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, to effect it. This point was much agitated in the council, and canvaſſed with all that caution and circumſpection, which a matter of ſuch conſequence required. It certainly was a very difficult and dangerous meaſure, and perhaps would never have been carried into execution, had not a moſt fortunate incident happened, which almoſt inſured ſucceſs.

Serajah Dowlah, after his taking *Calcutta*, had behaved with ſuch inſolence and cruelty towards his own ſubjects, that ſeveral of the *Grandees* or conſiderable perſons of his court entered into a confederacy to depoſe him. He had diſplayed the ſeverity of his nature in ſo many inſtances, as to ſtrike an univerſal terror; and from the fickleneſs of his diſpoſition, no man who was near him, and in his power, could think himſelf ſafe. *Meer Jaffier Ali Khan*, a man of great power and influence, (and who had married the ſiſter of *Serajah*'s predeceſſor and grandfather, *Aliverdy Khan*) conducted the deſign of depriving the *Nabob* of that power, he had ſo egregiouſly abuſed; he was ſeconded in it by *Roydullub*, general of horſe, and by *Jugget-Seet*, who was banker to the *Nabob*, and eſteemed the richeſt merchant in all *India*. Theſe three leading men ſoon communicated their deſigns to Mr. *Watts* the *Engliſh* reſident at the *Durbar* or *Nabob*'s court, and he to Colonel *Clive* and the ſecret committee at *Calcutta*. The chiefs there did not heſitate long about coming into the ſcheme. Great dexterity, as well as ſecreſy, being neceſſary in executing the plan for a revolution, the whole management thereof, was left to Colonel *Clive*, and to Mr. *Watts*. To avoid ſuſpicion, it was neceſſary that Mr. *Watts* ſhould not be obſerved to have frequent intercourſe with *Jaffier:* he therefore entruſted one *Omichund* a *Gentoo* merchant with the ſecret, and through him carried on his correſpondence with *Meer Jaffier*. *Omichund* was a man of the deepeſt cunning and moſt inſatiable avarice, and ſtrongly ſuſpected to have been the principal perſon that fomented the late troubles againſt the *Engliſh*, in hopes of pecuniary advantages to himſelf: Mr. *Watts* did not ſufficiently know the man till too late. *Omichund*, after the plot was ſo far advanced, that a treaty was juſt on ſigning with *Meer Jaffier*, unreaſonably demanded a quarter part of all the *Nabob*'s treaſure, which was ſuppoſed to amount to 64 *Crore*, or 80 millions ſterling. His

final terms were 30 *Lack* of *Rupees* for himſelf, by a ſpecial article in the treaty; and he made no ſcruple to aſſure Mr. *Watts*, that if his demand was not complied with, he would inſtantly inform the *Nabob* of our ſchemes, when every *Engliſhman* within his reach would certainly be put to the ſevereſt death. In this dilemma, Mr. *Watts* applied to *Meer Jaffier*, who was determined not to accede to ſuch terms, if any means of obviating them could be deviſed. Mr. *Watts* then wrote to the ſelect committee, who ſeeing that the fate of all depended upon temporizing with *Omichund*, and being at the ſame time very averſe to ſubmit to the extortions of ſuch a conſummate rogue, contrived that two treaties ſhould be executed and ſent up to *Meer Jaffier*, who was to be let into the ſecret. One treaty was the real one to be abided by; the other was fictitious, but with no other difference than that it contained the article of 30 *Lack* for *Omichund*. The real treaty was executed privately by *Meer Jaffier*; the fictitious treaty was executed alſo by him, and in the preſence of *Omichund*, who was thereupon perfectly ſatisfied. It may be neceſſary here alſo to obſerve, that this fictitious treaty was ſigned by Colonel *Clive* and all the ſelect committee: Admiral *Watſon* did not chuſe to ſign it, becauſe he had ſigned the real treaty. A ſtrict principle of delicacy, which in him was ſuperior to any point of policy, operated too ſtrongly on his mind to permit him to join even in a neceſſary deception of this nature: however, while he manifeſted no diſpleaſure againſt the actors, all claſſes of people, from their knowledge of *Omichund*'s avarice and treachery, applauded the artifice by which he was ſo deſervedly outwitted. 1757

TREATY *executed by* Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahadar, *with Admiral* Watſon, *Colonel* Clive, *and the Counſellors* Drake *and* Watts.

I SWEAR BY GOD, AND THE PROPHET OF GOD, TO ABIDE BY THE TERMS OF THIS TREATY WHILE I HAVE LIFE *.

ART. I. Whatever articles were agreed upon in the time of peace with the *Nabob Serajah Dowlah*, I agree to comply with.

II. The enemies of the *Engliſh* are my enemies, whether they be *Indians* or *Europeans*.

III. All the effects and factories belonging to the *French* in the province of *Bengal*, (the paradiſe of nations) and *Bahar*, and *Orixa*, ſhall remain in the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, nor will I ever allow them any more to ſettle in the three provinces.

IV. In conſideration of the loſſes which the *Engliſh* company have ſuſtained by the capture and plunder of *Calcutta* by the *Nabob*, and the charges

* This was written by his own hand.

 occaſioned

1757. occaſioned by the maintenance of the forces, I will give them one *Crore* of *Rupees*, [1,250000*l.*]

V. For the effects plundered from the *Engliſh* inhabitants at *Calcutta*, I agree to give fifty *Lack* of *Rupees*, [625,000*l.*]

VI. For the effects plundered from the *Gentoos*, *Moors* and other inhabitants of *Calcutta*, twenty *lack* of *rupees* ſhall be given, [250,000*l.*] *&c.*

VII. For the effects plundered from the *Armenian* inhabitants of *Calcutta*, I will give the ſum of ſeven *lack* of *rupees*, [87,500.] The diſtribution of the ſums allotted to the *Engliſh*, *Gentoo*, *Moor* and other inhabitants of *Calcutta*, ſhall be left to Admiral *Watſon*, Colonel *Clive*, *Roger Drake*, *William Watts*, *James Kilpatrick* and *Richard Becher*, Eſquires, to be diſpoſed of by them, to whom they think proper.

VIII. Within the ditch which ſurrounds the borders of *Calcutta*, are tracts of land belonging to ſeveral *Zemindars*; beſides theſe, I will grant to the *Engliſh* company ſix hundred yards without the ditch.

IX. All the land lying ſouth of *Calcutta*, as far as *Culpee*, ſhall be under the *Zemindary* of the *Engliſh* company; and all the officers of thoſe parts ſhall be under their juriſdiction. The revenues to be paid by the company in the ſame manner as other *Zemindars*.

X. Whenever I demand the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of their troops.

XI. I will not erect any new fortifications near the river *Ganges*, below *Houghley*.

XII. As ſoon as I am eſtabliſhed in the three provinces, the aforeſaid ſums ſhall be faithfully paid.

Dated the 15*th of the month* Ramazan, (June 1757) *in the fourth year of the preſent reign.*

On the 12th of *June*, advice was received from *Meer Jaffier* and the other confederates, that all things were in readineſs with them. The dye was caſt; and on the 13th of *June*, the whole army marched forwards, and the colonel wrote to the *Soubahdar* the very day of his march, to the following purport: "That from his great reputation for juſtice, and faithful obſervance of his word, he had been induced to make peace with him, and to paſs over the loſs of many *crores* of *rupees* ſuſtained by the *Engliſh* in the capture of *Calcutta*; and to reſt content with whatever he in his juſtice and generoſity ſhould reſtore to them: that his excellency had not thought fit to ſet any value on the friendſhip of the *Engliſh*, but had in every thing diſcouraged

as much as poſſible the company's buſineſs, by turning their *Vaqueel* diſ- 1757.
gracefully from his preſence, refuſing free paſſage to the *Engliſh* through his country, intercepting their trade, and ſearching their factory at *Caſſimbuzar* for ammunition and warlike ſtores, on pretence of their intending an attempt on his life, in the time of profound peace; threatening them with an inſtant rupture, if they did not ſubmit to the ſearch. That theſe were but trifles however, compared to his open and avowed protection of the king's enemies, of which his letters to Monſ. *Buſſy*, wrote but a few days after his entering into a ſolemn treaty with us, inviting him to his country, was a flagrant proof: that his protection and allowance of ten thouſand rupees per month to Monſ. *Law*, and many other circumſtances, were not only ſo many deviations from the treaty, but evidently ſhewed his excellency's intention to fall upon the *Engliſh*, as ſoon as the abſence of their troops and fleet might expoſe them to it; that the main article of the treaty was infringed, in his proffering only a fifth part of the ſum paid into the treaſury, for the plunder of *Calcutta*, and yet demanding a diſcharge for the whole." The colonel complained bitterly of ſo many inſults put upon him, and reminded the *Soubahdar* how different his own conduct was, when called upon to aſſiſt him againſt the *Pytans*. He ſolemnly declared, that his intentions were to have fought for him to the laſt drop of his blood; but ſeeing his excellency had choſen his friends from among his enemies, and had in every reſpect deviated from his engagements, he had determined, with the approbation of all who were charged with the company's affairs, to proceed immediately to *Caſſimbuzar*, and ſubmit their diſputes to the arbitration of *Meer Jaffier*, *Roydullub*, *Jugget-ſeet*, and others of his great men; that if it ſhould be found, that he, the colonel, had deviated from the treaty, he then ſwore to give up all farther claims; but that, if it appeared his excellency had broken it, he ſhould then demand ſatisfaction for all the loſſes ſuſtained by the *Engliſh*, and all the charges of their army and navy; and concluded with telling him, " that the rains being ſo near, and it requiring many days to receive an anſwer, he had found it neceſſary to wait upon him immediately *."

Our army conſiſted of 750 military (including 100 *Topaſſes*) about 150 of the train (including 50 ſailors with 7 midſhipmen under the command of Lieutenant *Hayter*), 2100 *Sepoys*, 8 pieces of cannon ſix pounders, and 1 haubitzer. The *Europeans* and artillery were embarked in boats, and the *Sepoys* marched on to the northward through *Houghley*. The *Bridgewater* alſo ſailed up the river as far as *Houghley*, to keep that place in awe, and to preſerve a communication between the colonel and the ſquadron. The admiral's firſt lieutenant, Mr. *John Clerke*, with a detachment of 150 ſeamen, garriſoned *Chandernugore*, and the ſhips effectually ſecured *Calcutta* from

* *Scraſton*'s reflections on the government of *Indoſtan*.

any

1757. any kind of inſult, while a few *Topaſſes* were appointed to guard the *French* priſoners.

Theſe previous and judicious meaſures being taken, the army advanced towards *Muxadabad*. On the 14th of *June*, Mr. *Watts* and other gentlemen, with 30 ſoldiers, who had made their eſcape from *Caſſimbuzar*, arrived at the army; and on the 18th, Major *Coote* (lately promoted from the rank of captain) was ſent forward with a detachment of 200 *Europeans*, 500 *Sepoys*, one field-piece, and a haubitzer, to reduce *Cutwah*, a fort belonging to the *Nabob*, ſituated on the bank of *Caſſimbuzar* river, about half a mile in circumference. As he was reconnoitring the place, one of the ſoldiers of the party ſuddenly grew delirious, and while in the agonies of death made ſo great a noiſe, as to diſcover to the enemy where they were; on which they began a briſk firing, and obliged the major for the preſent to alter his poſition; but he preſently afterwards made a lodgement on a large baſtion, and the next day, after ſome oppoſition, the enemy abandoned the fort, and left to the conqueror 14 pieces of cannon of different calibers, and a large quantity of grain and ammunition.

When the army was within two days march of *Muxadabad*, Colonel *Clive* received ſome diſagreeable advices from *Meer Jaffier*, which he immediately laid before a council of war ſummoned upon the occaſion, the majority of whoſe members were of the colonel's opinion, that he ought not to advance any farther. He therefore halted where he was, and ſent an expreſs to *Calcutta*, deſiring freſh orders. However, the ſame evening Colonel *Clive* received a ſecond meſſage from *Meer Jaffier*, aſſuring him of his due performance of the articles mentioned in the treaty, but informing him that he was ſo ſurrounded with ſpies, as to be obliged to act with the greateſt caution. This intelligence ſoon determined the colonel to puſh on; and that very night, without waiting for any inſtructions from *Calcutta*, he gave orders for the army to hold themſelves in readineſs to march the next morning, when, leaving a ſubaltern officer with all the ſick at *Cutwah*, he broke up his camp, and marched towards the enemy, through water almoſt to the ſoldiers middles; the rainy ſeaſon being now ſet in. At 6 o'clock in the morning the army croſſed the river, and marched about two miles farther, to a large tope (or grove) where they halted till the evening: about 4 the next morning, the whole army reached *Plaſſey* grove, after a very fatiguing march, and through a whole night's rain. Advice having been brought to the colonel, on his arrival at the grove, that the *Nabob*'s vanguard, conſiſting of 6000 men, was within three miles of our army, he ordered an advance guard of 200 *Europeans*, and 300 *Sepoys*, with 2 pieces of cannon, to poſt themſelves at *Plaſſey* houſe; and ſeveral guards of *Sepoys*, at proper diſtances from each other, round the grove.

At day-break of the 23d, the *Nabob*'s army was perceived marching out of their lines towards the grove which we were in poſſeſſion of. Their intention

tion ſeemed to be to ſurround us. The colonel hereupon formed his army; the *Europeans* he told off in four diviſions; the 1ſt he put under the command of Major *Kilpatrick*, the 2d under Major *Grant*, the 3d under Major *Coote*, and the 4th under Captain *Gaupp*. The *Sepoys* were formed on the right and left. *Plaſſey*-grove is ſurrounded by a bank; our army's left flank was covered by *Plaſſey*-houſe and river, and the right flank by the grove. 1757.

The enemy's army kept marching towards ours in deep columns, ſupported by a large train of artillery conſiſting of 53 pieces of cannon, chiefly of 18, 24 and 32 pounders. Their manœuvres, upon this occaſion, differed materially from thoſe they had been accuſtomed to; for inſtead of poſting their artillery all together, as was their uſual practice, they diſperſed them between the diviſions of their troops, and had not above two or three pieces of cannon on a ſpot: ſo that an attack upon any one part of their artillery, could not have been deciſive. In this order they continued marching as far as the river would permit; but as ſoon as their rear was gotten out of the camp, failing in their plan to ſurround us, they halted; and a body of about 50 *French*, advancing in front of a large detachment of their army commanded by *Meer Modun* one of their principal generals, with 4 pieces of cannon, lodged themſelves within the banks of a *tank* (or pond of water) diſtant from us about 600 yards, and began a briſk cannonade.

Our little army was at firſt drawn up without the bank which ſurrounded the grove, but ſoon found ſuch a ſhower of balls pouring upon them from the enemy's cannon, that the colonel thought proper they ſhould retire under cover of the bank, leaving two field pieces without, while the other four were kept playing through the breaches in the bank. Our left wing was ſtill covered by *Plaſſey* houſe, which was about 50 yards diſtant, and cloſe to the river ſide.

In this ſituation, both armies remained till about 12 o'clock; when a heavy ſhower of rain falling, the enemy's horſe advanced, as if to take advantage of it: but when they found that our field-pieces continued firing, notwithſtanding the rain, their ardor was checked. The rain ceaſing, the cannonading continued till about 3 in the afternoon, when they retired without confuſion to their old camp, their artillery marching firſt. And now, a large corps, on the left of our troops, was ſeen moving in ſuch a manner, as to make it doubtful whether their aim was to poſſeſs themſelves of the village to the left, againſt us, or whether they were friends, and wanted to join our army; but they proved afterwards to be friends under *Meer Jaffier*'s command; however, as no ſignal had been agreed on (owing to the miſcarriage of a meſſenger which he had diſpatched to the colonel in the morning) they were kept at a diſtance by our field-pieces. After this retreat of the enemy, Colonel *Clive*, leaving orders with Major *Kilpatrick* to ſend him notice if the *Nabob* ſhould make any new motions, went into *Plaſſey*-houſe to put on dry cloaths, and conſider whether, notwithſtanding

1757. ſtanding the fatigue which his troops had already undergone, he ſhould purſue the blow, by an immediate attack upon the *Nabob*'s camp, or defer it till night, when he judged from paſt experience the ſucceſs would be certain.

During this interval, information was brought to the colonel, that a detachment of our army, with ſome field-pieces, was marching towards the before-mentioned *tank* and eminence, at about the diſtance of 600 yards, which had been poſſeſſed by the *French*, but who abandoned it when the army of *Serajah Dowlah* retired to their camp. Colonel *Clive* expreſſed his ſurprize, that ſuch a ſtep ſhould have been taken without his orders, and immediately haſtened after the detachment, which he reached nearly at the ſame time it arrived at the *tank*. He now found that this detachment was commanded by Major *Kilpatrick*, whom he at firſt ordered under arreſt for ſuch unmilitary conduct, but was pacified by the major's making him an apology.

The colonel then ordered Major *Kilpatrick* back to the grove, and took the command of the detachment himſelf, reſolving, ſince ſuch a ſtep had been taken, not to make any retreat, but rather to bring on a ſecond action and make it deciſive. He therefore ordered a reinforcement from the main body in the grove; upon which Major *Coote* with his detachment joined the colonel. The colonel then ſent the king's grenadiers, and a grenadier company of *Sepoys* to lodge themſelves behind a bank that was cloſe upon the enemy's lines; from whence they kept a continual fire with their ſmall arms, as did the detachment at the *tank*, with four pieces of cannon.

In the mean time the enemy's infantry and cavalry puſhed out towards our ſeveral little bodies of troops, and endeavoured to bring their heavy artillery to bear, but they met with ſo warm a reception, and loſt ſo many draught-oxen and drivers, that they failed in their attempt. When the infantry and cavalry had faced our troops for ſome time, and ſtood a very ſmart cannonading, in which they loſt a great number of men and horſes, it was obſerved they were in ſome confuſion, and that their elephants grew very unruly. The colonel took immediate advantage of this critical moment, and ſent orders to Major *Coote* to attack a large body of horſe and foot upon a riſing ground at about the diſtance of 150 yards, and ordered another officer at the ſame time to ſtorm the angle of the camp. Both theſe attacks ſucceeded, the enemy making but a faint reſiſtance; Major *Coote* marched into their lines, and a general rout enſued *. The aſſailants purſued till it was dark, and then halted at *Doudpore*, a place about 6 miles diſtance from the field of battle, where they were joined by the reſt of the army from *Plaſſey* grove under Major *Kilpatrick*, who at the commencement

* Mr. *Shoreditch*, a midſhipman of the *Kent*, was wounded by a muſket bullet which went through his thigh, as he was eagerly advancing to ſhoot one of the *French* officers in the *Nabob*'s army.

of

of the rout received orders from the colonel to march.—The *Nabob*'s army was computed to conſiſt of 20,000 horſe, and 40,000 foot: our loſs was very inconſiderable; but he had about 500 men killed, among whom was *Meer Modun* (whoſe death was the occaſion of the confuſion juſt mentioned) beſides 3 elephants, and a great many horſes. Their 53 pieces of cannon, of 18, 24, and 32 pounders, fell into our hands, with their camp, baggage, elephants, &c. &c. 1757.

I have been more minute in the deſcription of this battle of *Plaſſey*, than was Mr. *Scrafton*, becauſe ſome perſons have taken great pains to miſpreſent it, with a view to tarniſh the glory of Colonel *Clive* on that important victory; pretending that their accounts were taken *verbatim* from Sir *Eyre Coote*'s journal, as read by him to the ſelect committee of the houſe of commons, which ſat the preceding ſeſſions on *Eaſt India* affairs. Having therefore been lately favoured with the peruſal of Sir *Eyre Coote*'s journal, I can aver, that the ſeveral publications alluded to, are totally devoid of truth; and the public may be aſſured that the deſcription here given of the battle, correſponds in every *material* particular with that journal. Sir *Eyre Coote* himſelf alſo, in a late converſation with me, declared, "that the publications before-mentioned were abſolutely falſe; that any perſon might be convinced thereof, by appealing to the minutes of the committee of the houſe of commons, where what was delivered by him on this examination, was committed to paper." He alſo authoriſed me publicly to declare, "that he has on all occaſions been ever ready to do juſtice to Lord *Clive*'s merit."

While our army was purſuing, a large body of horſe was obſerved on our right; after firing a few ſhot at them, a meſſenger arrived with a letter from *Meer Jaffier* to the colonel, acquainting him, that the corps was under his command, and requeſting an interview that night or the next morning. Accordingly, the next day he had an interview with the colonel, when after congratulating him on his victory, he declared himſelf ready to perform the articles of the treaty between them. The colonel ſaluted him as *Soubahdar* or *Nabob* of *Bengal*, *Bahar*, and *Orixa*, and adviſed him to advance immediately to *Muxadabad* after *Serajah Dowlah*, promiſing that he would follow to ſupport him with his whole force. The late *Nabob* reached his capital, which was 20 miles diſtant from the field of battle, a few hours after his defeat: and the next evening, not knowing whom to truſt, or what to do, abandoning himſelf to his fears, on *Meer Jaffier*'s arrival, he diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a *Faquier*, and with one or two attendants attempted to make his eſcape. *Meer Jaffier* immediately entered the palace, where all was anarchy and confuſion; but preſently, Meſſieurs *Watts* and *Walſh* arrived from the colonel to pacify the inhabitants, and aſſure them of protection: and on the 27th of *June* Colonel *Clive* himſelf made his public entry into *Muxadabad*. *Meer Jaffier* viſited the colonel the next day, and the 29th Colonel *Clive* went to the palace, and in the preſence of the *Rajahs* and *Grandees* of the court, he ſolemnly

1757. handed him to the *Muſnud* or carpet and throne of ſtate, where he was unanimouſly ſaluted *Soubahdar* or *Nabob*, and received the ſubmiſſion of all preſent. He afterwards, and as ſoon as he was able, punctually fulfilled the ſeveral articles ſtipulated in the treaty; and conferred upon the company, the navy, and army, ſuch liberal rewards, as fully compenſated for the courage and intrepidity they had exerted in his behalf. The remaining part of the month was ſpent in ſettling many important matters, conſequent to ſuch an amazing revolution.

On the 3d of *July*, *Serajah Dowlah* the late *Nabob*, after wandering about, forſaken and almoſt naked, was taken in his way to *Patna*, near *Rajamaul*; betrayed, it is ſaid, by one whom he had in his proſperity cruelly treated, by cauſing his ears to be cut off: The next day, he was brought back to *Muxadabad*, and in a few hours afterwards, privately put to death by *Meer Jaffier*'s eldeſt ſon, to whoſe cuſtody he was committed. The father outwardly ſeemed deſirous of having him confined for life; but the ſon and other chief men did not think it prudent to hazard ſuch a ſtep in the preſent critical ſituation of affairs, and therefore, agreeable to the cruel maxims of *Eaſtern* policy, had him murdered in priſon, and his remains were expoſed on an elephant round the city. He had not quite compleated his 25th year, and but one of his reign, when he thus fell: an exit, too ſuitable to his ſanguinary diſpoſition, and tyrannical acts!

On the 26th of *July* the new *Nabob* ſent preſents, after the cuſtom of the country, and of the eaſt in general, to the admiral, conſiſting of an elephant, two fine horſes, a rich *Mooriſh* dreſs of gold gingham, with turbans and ſaſhes; and a roſe and plume compoſed of diamonds, rubies, ſapphires, and emeralds, which though not of great value, made a pompous appearance. Admiral *Pocock* was alſo complimented with a preſent of the ſame kind. Admiral *Watſon* received the ambaſſadors on this occaſion with marks of great reſpect; he made a preſent of fine cloth and velvet to each in return; dreſſed his ſhips, diſplaying as many flags of different nations as could be diſpoſed of on the yards, maſts, and rigging of the ſhips; ſaluted them with his cannon; and wrote the following congratulatory letter to the *Nabob*.

Admiral CHARLES WATSON, *the great commander of the fleet belonging to the moſt puiſſant King of* Great Britain, *irreſtible in battle*;—*To the* Nabob SHUJAH AL MULUK HASSAM Ô DOWLAH MEER MAHOMED-JAFFIER KHAN BAHADAR MAHABUT JUNG.

" *MIRZA JAFFIER BEG*, whom you have done me the honour to depute to me, has delivered me your letter and the other marks of friendſhip, with which you have been pleaſed to favour me. He has alſo ſatisfied my deſire, in giving me an ample account of your health and proſperity. But

But what pleaſes me beyond expreſſion, is, to hear that all men rejoice in them; and while they acknowledge you are worthy of them, pray for their continuance. This is a ſatisfaction which your predeceſſor never knew, and which while it gives the moſt ſublime pleaſure to a mind generous like yours, promiſes happineſs to yourſelf, and a quiet ſucceſſion to your ſon. 1757.

How much I and all my countrymen wiſh it, can only be known by the benefits you have conferred on us, the extent of which can alone be meaſured by your generoſity, and our gratitude. May day by day make known the latter to your content, and our honour!"

1757.

CHAP. XI.

Major Eyre Coote's *expedition up the* Ganges, *in purſuit of Monſieur* Law, *and his party.*

1757. BY the articles of the capitulation of *Chandernagore*, the whole of that garriſon were to continue priſoners of war; but about the time of ſigning the treaty, Mr. *Law*, with a ſmall body of troops, made his eſcape out of *Caſſimbuzar*, and with them marched northward, towards *Patna*. At that place, he was protected by the late *Nabob* *; and on our recommencing hoſtilities, Mr. *Law* collected together about 200 of his nation, the only remains of the *French* in *Bengal*, to aſſiſt him; and which were within two days march of the *Nabob*'s camp, when the battle of *Plaſſey* was fought. On receiving the news of the defeat, Mr. *Law* ſtopped; but hearing alſo of the *Nabob*'s eſcape, he advanced again, and was within a few hours march of joining him, when he was taken.

To clear *Bengal* entirely of ſo reſtleſs an enemy to the *Engliſh*, and the new *Nabob*; on the 4th of *July* a detachment of troops, under the command of Major *Archibald Grant*, of Colonel *Adlercron*'s regiment, was ordered by Colonel *Clive* to hold themſelves in readineſs to go in purſuit of Mr. *Law* and his party. *Mootenbeg*, a *Sepoy* officer in the company's ſervice, was ſent on before, with two grenadier companies of *Sepoys*, as an advanced guard. Theſe orders, a few hours afterwards were countermanded, and Major *Eyre Coote* was then appointed to the chief command of the expedition, who accordingly on the 5th marched to *Muxadabad*, and there took on him the command of the detachment.

On the 6th the Major left *Muxadabad* with 223 *Europeans*, officers and artillery included, 2 pieces of cannon 6 pounders, 3 companies of *Sepoys*, 50 *Laſcars* or *Indian* ſailors, and 10 *Marmutty* men, or pioneers to clear the road; and the ſame night arrived at *Rumna*, where he was greatly diſtreſſed by the drunkenneſs and diſorder that prevailed among his people.

* See Admiral *Watſon*'s letters to the *Nabob* complaining of the protection given to Mr. *Law* and his party, p. 143. *&c.*

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On the 7th, he continued his rout by water; only the *Sepoys* marching by land on the banks of the river: At night he reached *Chepoua*. The next day he went on to *Belgutta*, where meeting with the *Dacca* fleet of king's boats, he thought it neceſſary, for forwarding the expedition, to get two *Bolias* *, a *Goordore* †, and 87 *Dandies* or boatmen, from the *Nazir*, or officer who commanded the boats, to whom he gave a receipt for them. After this, the major left the boats and *European* ſoldiers under the command of Captain *Alexander Grant* (an officer in the company's military ſervice) and puſhed on by land, with Mr. *Johnſtone*, a gentleman in the civil employment of the *Eaſt India* company, and who now acted as his ſecretary, endeavouring to get up with the advanced body of *Sepoys*. That night he arrived at *Sooty*, a place ſituate at the conflux of the *Ganges* and *Caſſimbuzar*-river. On the 9th the major quitted *Sooty*, and in the evening of the ſame day got into a creek near to *Dogatchy*. Captain *Grant*, with the *Europeans*, lay by at *Cogatchy*. The next morning the major joined *Mootenbeg* with the advanced party of two grenadier companies of *Sepoys*, who had been before reinforced with about 120 horſe and 7 gunmen, under the command of two of the *Nabob*'s *Jamedars* or military officers. 1757.

The major had an interview at *Dogatchy* with *Doad Khan*, brother of *Nabob Jaffier Ali Khan*, who informed him, that Mr. *Law* and his detachment had left *Teriagurry* but a few days before. He then puſhed on with the *Sepoys* to *Rajemaul*; where *Duan Siburtray* ſhewed him a letter from Mr. *Law*, dated the 6th, from *Baghelpoor*, acquainting him with his arrival at that place, and that he intended to proceed by ſlow marches to *Patna*, at which place he expected to receive a *Perwannah* from *Meer Jaffier*, and to that end had incloſed an *Arzy* or petition to that *Nabob*. The major took poſſeſſion of this, and incloſed it in a letter to Colonel *Clive* the ſame night; which letter informed him likewiſe, "that the two *Jamedars* having received no orders to advance with him, had refuſed to go any farther; and that the *Phouſdar*, or chief magiſtrate of the diſtrict, who had promiſed to have 500 gunmen and 100 horſemen ready in the morning to reinforce the parties already poſted at the paſſes of *Sicarigully*, and *Teriagurry*, had been worſe than his word, pretending that thoſe two places were already ſufficiently ſecured, 200 gunmen and 40 horſe being ſtationed at the former, and 50 gunmen and 15 horſe at the latter:" The major concluded, with requeſting the colonel's orders concerning one *Alexander Sauſure*, a *Swiſs*, whom the *Sepoys* had apprehended diſguiſed in a *Moor*'s dreſs. This expreſs packet was ſent to Captain *Grant*, to be forwarded by him to Colonel *Clive*, and the captain at the ſame time was expreſly ordered by the major to come up and join him with all expedition.

* *Indian* boats, very long, but ſo narrow, that only one man can ſit in them abreaſt. They carry however a multitude of rowers, and are remarkable for their ſwiftneſs.

† A veſſel puſhed on by paddles.

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1757. On the 11th the major received a letter from Captain *Grant*, on this ſide *Degatchy*, acquainting him with the loſs of the boat which carried the arrack deſigned for the uſe of the troops, and that the whole fleet was in great diſtreſs for want of proper tackle and *dandies*; but he hoped to be able to join the major ſome time in the night with the light boats only. On the receipt of this, the major was again obliged to apply to the *Phouſdar*, who promiſ'd to procure him ſome country arrack, 10 light boats, 500 additional *dandies*, and ropes for tackling: But on his being reminded of his late promiſe of aſſiſting the major with a body of men, he deſired to be excuſed, telling him his troops were ſo diſperſed in different quarters, it was impoſſible to collect them together; but, if that had not been the caſe, he ſhould never have prevailed on them to march, unleſs the two months arrears which were then due to them from the *Nabob* were firſt paid. The major adviſed the colonel of all theſe difficulties by letter, earneſtly deſiring him to procure proper orders from the *Nabob* to the *Jamedars* and other officers of the places he was to paſs through, to ſupply him with all the neceſſaries he might ſtand in need of.—Captain *Grant*, agreeable to the hopes he had given him, joined the major this night with all the boats, except that which carried the ammunition, and a tumbril-boat, of which no tidings could be learned.

The next day, Major *Coote* ſent out ſome parties in ſearch of the boats that were miſſing, and employed all the caulkers and carpenters that could poſſibly be procured, in refitting the other boats. The *Phouſdar* again aſſured him, that he had diſpatched people every where to collect the boats and *dandies* he had promiſed, and ſaid he made not the leaſt doubt but they would be all ready the next day. At night the major had the ſatisfaction to be joined by the ammunition and tumbril-boats, both of which were ſuppoſed to have been loſt.—At the ſame time, he received a letter from Colonel *Clive*, ordering him to follow Mr. *Law* as far as *Patna*, if he could not come up with him ſooner.

The 13th, Serjeant *Devergue* having reported, that the priſoner *Alexander Sauſure*, (who at firſt came from *Europe* to *Bombay* as a volunteer, in a *Swiſs* company of ſoldiers, but ſoon after left our *Eaſt India* company's ſervice) had been endeavouring to perſuade him to deſert, and carry over with him as many men as he could to the *French*, and that he had alſo diſcloſed to him a ſcheme he had formed for his eſcape, by the connivance of the *Sepoy*, who was centinel over him; and farther, that he had communicated to him the contents of a letter which he had written to Mr. *Law*, giving an account of the proceedings of this *Engliſh* detachment, and of its force; the major, on the ſerjeant's information, ſent Lieutenant *Flaction* to the priſoner, who took from him a letter addreſſed to Mr. *Law*, and another to ſome other perſon. From the laſt letter it appeared, that *Sauſure* had been formerly in the *Dutch* ſervice at *Batavia*, where he had killed one officer, and wounded two others in different duels; that he had the good fortune to eſcape

to

to *Pondicherry*; but lately, upon account of a rencounter of the ſame kind, he had been obliged to leave that place alſo, in a *Daniſh* ſhip bound to *Bengal*, and that juſt before the battle of *Plaſſey* he had joined the few *French* who were then at *Caſſimbuzar*. In his letter to Mr. *Law*, he gave an account of that battle; the defeat of *Serajah Dowlah*, with his confuſion and perturbation of mind after the death of *Meer Modun* his chief general, and finally, his flight from his capital. He added, that had himſelf, previous to the action, been ſupported with 4000 men as an advanced guard, and which the *Nabob* had actually promiſed him, he would have prevented the little *Engliſh* army from taking poſſeſſion of *Plaſſey* grove; to which, and to his not being properly ſupported in the *tank*, where he had placed the few *Frenchmen* who were with him, he attributed the loſs of the battle. — He went on with ſaying, that he had propoſed to Monſ. *St. Frais*, the commander of the *French* troops, to march with his handful of forces up the country, with a view of joining Mr. *Law*, but *St. Frais* anſwered, it was impracticable, and therefore deſired his people to diſperſe, and take the beſt care they could of themſelves. He added, that he had deſignedly ſecreted himſelf until Major *Coote* had began his march; and adviſed Mr. *Law* to get a paſſport from *Meer Jaffier* to ſecure him a ſafe and uninterrupted paſſage through his country, though he acknowledged, that the *Nabob*, influenced by Colonel *Clive*, had actually diſpatched orders to the *Nabob* of *Patna* for detaining him and his party on their march. However, ſaid he "You, Sir, have it in your power, with "the troops under your command, to get the better of the *Engliſh* detach- "ment, who are now in purſuit of you. In the twinkling of an eye, you "may entirely change the face of affairs here. Your name is in high "repute among the *Moors*, and the military reputation of Mr. *Buſſy* is ſo "great and dreaded, that this party muſt inſtantly fly at his very name." He proceeded with adviſing Mr. *Law*, by a counter-march, to attack our troops in the night-time, in a certain place which he particularly deſcribed; aſſuring him, that by ſuch a *coup* he might eaſily kill or make priſoners all the officers, eſpecially thoſe of the *Sepoys*, who were more addicted to drunkenneſs than even the *Europeans* themſelves.—He concluded his letter with theſe words: "I wiſhed to have delivered to you in perſon this intelli- "gence, but on the third day of my journey, I had the misfortune to be "arreſted, diſguiſed like a *Moor*: I ſhall do every thing in my power "however to make my eſcape; for which purpoſe I beg you to ſend with "the bearer, a good *Alcara**, who underſtands the *Portugueſe* language.— "The *Engliſh* arrived at *Rajamaul* the 11th inſtant." 1757.

The priſoner being brought before Major *Coote* and the other officers, acknowledged the above letters to have been written with his own hand; and having nothing to plead in his defence, was judged unanimouſly to be deſerving of death, as a ſpy; and the major thinking it proper to carry the

* A guide and ſpy.

ſentence

1757. ſentence into immediate execution, he was accordingly hanged in the front of the battalion. The *Sepoy* whom he had ſeduced, was tried the next day by a court-martial compoſed of *Subadars* * and *Jamedars*, who finding him guilty of conſenting to connive at, and aſſiſt *Alexander Sauſure* in making his eſcape, ordered him 500 laſhes with a ratan, and to be turned out of the ſervice.

The *Phouſdar*, repreſenting to the major, that he could not aſſure him of the boats and *dandies* before the enſuing night, and expreſsly promiſing that every thing ſhould be then ready, the major thought it moſt adviſable to poſtpone his march till the 15th in the morning. When this day arrived, he found himſelf under the diſagreeable neceſſity of putting off from *Rajamaul* in the ſame embarraſſed condition he arrived there; the *Phouſdar* and *Duan* an officer next in command, having neglected to procure him the boats and *dandies* which they had ſo faithfully promiſed, and in the former of which he intended to have embarked the *Sepoys*. This body of troops therefore were ſtill obliged to march on by land, and at night arrived at *Sicarigully*, where they joined the major; who had a little before arrived there with the other part of the detachment, excepting 11 boats that were under the command of the officer of the rear-guard, and who could not get up that night through want of a ſufficient number of *dandies* to track againſt the current. At *Sicarigully*, the major viſited the paſs of that name, which is a road from about 9 to 12 feet wide, cut through a rock, and covered on each ſide by an impenetrable *Jungle* or coppice, while a rivulet or water-courſe, very hollow and impaſſable, runs near to the *Futtacks* or gate: if a ball was diſcharged here, it could not go above 100 yards in a line, the road every where abounding with ſo many intricate windings. In this paſs too, ſuch deep breaſt-works and trenches are thrown up, that it would be very difficult to force a paſſage, if well defended. The *King's Road* is ſaid to be eaſier of acceſs than this, and lies about a mile nearer the foot of the mountain. The major went alſo to ſee the tomb of *Seid Ahmud Mahdoom*, which ſtands upon the top of the rock, and was built at the expence of *Shareſhe Khan*, uncle to the famous *Aurengzebe*: here he received a viſit from the *Jamedar*, who promiſed to procure him a freſh ſupply of *dandies*, aſſuring him however at the ſame time, that the *French* party he was in purſuit of, were already gotten beyond *Patna*.

On the 16th, the major left *Sicarigully*, and on his arrival at *Goujapoor*, was complimented with a viſit from the *Duan* and *Jamedar* of *Teriagurry* paſs; who informed him, that the *French* had halted there two days, at the time *Serajah Dowlah* was priſoner at *Rajamaul*; and that upon the *Jamedar*'s aſſuring them, that no kind of aſſiſtance would be given them, ſhould they perſiſt to advance farther down the river, they had returned

* Black commanders of a company.

back; and he added, that the preſent *Nabob*, *Meer Jaffier*, had done him the honour to thank him, for having rendered to him and his people ſo acceptable a ſervice. The major ſoon afterwards proceeded on to *Teriagurry* paſs. This is only a wall carried on from the brink of the river (which at this place is prodigiouſly rapid) to the foot of the mountain, and is almoſt impaſſable, being covered, like that at *Sicarigully*, with thick woods and *Jungle*; and hath this farther impediment, that very near to the wall, runs a rivulet, on the ſide of the hill, ſeemingly impracticable to paſs over. The baſtions are without parapets, having eight ſides that are not eight feet wide, and they have contrived to build the walls ſo artfully, that the rivulet ſerves for a ditch in front. The baſtion-wall, which is about 14 feet high, and 50 yards long, entirely commands the river, which though it be ¾ of a mile broad here, yet the current is ſuch as to carry all boats cloſe under the platform. 1757.

The major arrived this night at *Shahabad*; where being informed by *Mootenbeg*, who commanded the *Sepoys*, that the *French* were a little beyond *Baghelpoor*, he diſpatched two *Hircars* or ſpies for more certain intelligence, detaching at the ſame time 100 *Sepoys* with orders to endeavour to overtake them, to fire into their boats, and ſo harraſs them, as to give him an opportunity of coming up with them.

On the 17th the major left *Shahabad* at day-break, and at 10 o'clock arrived at *Pyntaby*, which is a pretty ſtrong poſt on the top of a hill, in which are quarries of lime. He here viſited the tomb of *Shah Cummul*, and was told by the *Nabob*'s *Peons* who were quartered in the place, that the *French* had left it about ten days before. On this intelligence, the major continued to puſh on, and leaving *Bolgutta* on his left, rowed up to *Calgow-Nulla*, and arrived in the evening with ſome of the light boats at *Calgow*, where the reſt of his troops did not get up till midnight, and the next morning. The ſituation of *Bolgutta* is moſt delightful, but what greatly adds to the beauty and pleaſure of the place and proſpect, is, in the river near to it, are ſeveral large rocks, which in the dry ſeaſon cauſe a great fall of water and ſome very fine caſcades. The *Sepoys* made heavy complaints here of the fatigues they had undergone, by ſuch long and continued marches through bad roads; and the *Dandies* declared, that they could work no longer at the rate they had hitherto puſhed forwards: the major therefore, to ſilence all complaints, and to induce them to go on without delay, was obliged to make each of them a preſent in money. This day, a *Coaſt-Sepoy* joined *Mootenbeg* on the march, who told the major that he had deſerted from the *French*, and left them about ten days before, encamped at *Mongheer*, to the number of about 140 *Europeans*, and 90 *Sepoys*, with three pieces of cannon; that all the men were well armed, but in great want of money; that he and ſeveral others who were at *Chandernagore* when it was taken, though allowed to go where they pleaſed, choſe to join Mr. *Law*; but that having had ſome words with

1757. his *Jamedar*, and not having received his pay with any kind of punctuality, had come to a reſolution of quitting the *French*, and offering his ſervice to the *Engliſh*. While the major continued at *Calgow*, he received alſo a viſit from the *Phouſdar* of that place, who told him, the *French* party were arrived at the fort of *Mongheer*, where they were collecting all kinds of proviſions and ſtores, for which however they paid a double price: He added, they were enabled to do this, having received a little while before, 10,000 rupees by *Serajah Dowlah*'s orders, from the town of *Mongheer*; and that even at this time, they were in no want of money.

On the 18th, the boats being almoſt all come up, the major proceeded on to *Baghelpoor*. Here, he received a letter from Colonel *Clive*, dated the 13th at noon, in which were incloſed others from the *Nabab* to the different *Rajahs*, *Jamedars*, and *Phouſdars*, ordering them to ſupply the major with every thing he ſtood in need of. The colonel had likewiſe taken care to incloſe the *Nabob's Perwannah*, directing the ſeveral *Jamedars* in particular, to obey the major's commands; in conſequence of which, Mr. *Coote* ſent for *Mirza Kelbealy*, the ſon of *Ala Kuly Khan*, the *Phouſdar* of *Baghelpoor*, and after having delivered to him the *Nabob*'s letter, he ſhewed him the *Perwannah* he had received to command all the *Nabob*'s forces. He then demanded 60 horſe of him, which he readily promiſed to furniſh, and alſo that they ſhould be in readineſs to march the next morning. The major afterwards put into his hands, (to be forwarded by him) the *Nabob*'s *Perwannah*, and a letter of his own, addreſſed to the *Rajah* of *Caruckpoor*, demanding of him 200 horſe, which he ſaid he expected ſhould join him in two days at *Mongheer*. The major likewiſe delivered to him another *Perwannah*, incloſed in a letter from himſelf to the *Jamedar* of *Bhar*, requiring him, on the ſuppoſition of the *French* being at that place, to diſtreſs them by burning their boats, and throwing every other impediment in their way, that might detain them till he himſelf could get up. But at midnight, the major received a letter from Mr. *Pearkes*, our company's chief at *Patna*, dated the 16th, in which he informed him, that the *French* had paſſed by that city, and were going on to the extreme boundaries of the province. Their force, he ſaid, conſiſted of about 100 *Europeans*, 125 *Coaſt* and 400 *Bengal Sepoys*, 8 field-pieces, and 9 patteraroes.

On the 19th the major put off with his boats from *Baghelpoor*, having ſent on the *Sepoys* by land. The ſame day he viſited *Mirza Kelbealy*, and deſired of him 40 *Dandies* to enable his troops to go on with the greater diſpatch in purſuit of the *French*.—Here he ſaw a *Moſque* built by *Shah Zada*, moſt beautifully ſituated on an high rock, by the river's ſide: alſo a pretty, romantic houſe on the top of a ſtill higher rock in the middle of the river, with a number of figures cut in the rock. This very agreeable manſion was inhabited by *Faquiers*, who ſeemed to think that they did the major great honour by accepting of ſome money from him. Soon afterwards he paſſed by *Sattangunge* a neighbouring town, and lay that night at *Jehanguira*. From hence, he wrote to *Rajah Ramnarain*, *Nabob*

of

of *Patna*, desiring him to oppose the *French*, and to prevent their going farther up the river; and also a letter to Mr. *Pearkes*, inclosing a number of papers calculated to induce the *French* troops to desert, which he desired, if possible, he would get dropt in the *French* camp. On the 20th the major left *Jehanguira*, and on his arrival at *Gourgat-Nulla*, was joined by *Mirza Kelbealy* with 60 horse, and a party of *Buxerries* or matchlock soldiers. He also this day met *Agah Meer*, a *Faquier*, who told him, that he left *Patna* but three days before, and the *French* were then at a garden-house, three *Cos* or six *English* miles from that city. Late this night, the major arrived at *Mongheer* fort, and on the *Duan*'s visiting him, he demanded of him 40 *Dandies* and 100 trackers *, having been disappointed in receiving those he expected from *Mirza Kelbealy*.—A grenadier-boat, and a tumbril boat, and the rear-guard did not get up with him this night. The 21st, the officer of the rear-guard having joined the major, and reported that the two boats which did not get up the preceding night, were a ground upon a shoal, an officer and 30 *Dandies*, furnished by the *Duan*, were ordered to go and assist in getting them off. 1757.

In this interval, the major, accompanied by some of his officers, went to take a view of the fort, but unexpectedly found the gate shut against them, and that no admittance was to be gained, though the *Duan* made one of the company, who seemed greatly disconcerted at this seeming incivility. On the major and his attendants approaching very near to the gate, he perceived the garrison to be so much alarmed, or so hostile in their intentions, as to be actually lighting their matches; on which he resolved only to walk round the fort, which was three miles in circumference, but badly flanked; the wall, though pretty high and faced with stone, was to the land-side ruinous in many places, and might easily be scaled. The wall is also overlooked in some parts by an high bank at the distance of but sixty yards. The current of the river opposite to the fort, is so very rapid, that boats are carried down at least two miles in crossing only to the opposite side. The major however was not deterred from making the attempt; and though he had the good luck to get over safe, yet one of his boats with some *Sepoys* was overset, by which accident one man was drowned, and five stands of arms entirely lost. Many of the other boats not joining the major in the night, he came to a resolution of crossing the river again, and afterwards lay to, in order to give his people an opportunity of getting up with him. Finding however that the *Sepoys* were advanced three *Cos* beyond *Nabobgunge*, he pushed on, and in very little time arrived at *Hybutgunge*.

On the 22d, the major put off from *Hybutgunge*; having first written a letter to Colonel *Clive*, acquainting him that he should follow Mr. *Law* until he received his orders to the contrary. He also forwarded to the

* Men to draw the boats up by the help of ropes.

1757. colonel a letter he had juſt before received from Mr. *Pearkes*, the contents of which informed him, that the *French* had advanced 3 *Coſs* beyond *Chuprah*, from whence they could eaſily make their eſcape out of the province; as they were not above 5 *Coſs* diſtant from the territories of *Sujah Dowlah*, *Nabob* of *Oude*. The major lay this night at *Nabobgunge*, and was joined at midnight by the rear-guard. In the mean time, part of the boats paſſed by, without touching at *Nabobgunge*, and got as far as *Lutchinpoor*. On the 23d, at day-break, the major left *Nabobgunge*, and ſoon after, his *Budgerow* * by the force of the wind and current, was driven aſhore at *Rhua Nulla*; there he left her to be refitted, and proceeded on foot to *Lutchinpoor*, where he joined the reſt of the fleet, and the *Sepoys*.—Then putting off from *Lutchinpoor*, he reached *Bharrai* by five in the afternoon. The major now conſidering the great riſk his boats had already run, and ſtill would, from the dangerous navigation of the river, and that a few more ſuch accidents, would inevitably bring on the ruin of the whole expedition; he judged it neceſſary to order the troops, with the ammunition and artillery, to diſembark, and then putting himſelf at their head, he marched three *Coſs* over land, which brought him to *Dirriapoor*; the artillery was drawn, and ammunition carried, by his ſoldiers. On the 24th he marched with his whole little army from *Dirriapoor* to *Purraruck*, which places are diſtant about 20 *Engliſh* miles from each other. The *European* ſoldiers during this march, expreſſed the greateſt diſcontent, complained of the fatigues they had gone through, and the many hardſhips they had ſuffered, by the want of ſhoes and arrack, and at laſt poſitively refuſed to go any farther. The major finding the men in a diſpoſition to mutiny, and perceiving at the ſame time that the wind and river were more favourable than they had lately experienced, thought it adviſable to re-embark the *European* troops, but putting himſelf at the head of the *Sepoys*, he marched with them to *Bhar*, which was three *Coſs* farther.

On the *European* troops arrival at *Bhar*, the major ſent ſome of the ſerjeants with a meſſage to them, reminding them of the favours he had conferred, and how ready he had been to oblige them upon all occaſions; and how ſenſible he was of their preſent bad behaviour; and concluded, with aſſuring them, that if they did not preſently amend, he certainly would repreſent their conduct to Colonel *Clive*, and the reſt of the army, and leave them behind him at *Patna*. They returned for anſwer, that "they "ſhould look upon the latter part of the diſgrace as the moſt deſirable "event that could happen to them, ſince they were perſuaded, that their "officers intention was to kill them in order to put their prize-money into "their own pockets."— The ſerjeants told the major, there was nothing new in their preſent behaviour, for that they had been grumbling during the whole expedition.—The major, ſorry to find his remonſtrances had no effect on theſe fellows, wrote a letter to Colonel *Clive*, informing him,

* One of the moſt convenient boats to be found in this country.

that if on his arrival at *Patna* he ſhould find Mr. *Law* and his party were ſtill within the bounds of the *Nabob*'s country, he then propoſed to go on in the purſuit of them with only the *Sepoys*, leaving the *Europeans* (who in their preſent temper he thought could not be depended upon) to follow by eaſy marches under the command of Captain *Grant*; and requeſted his poſitive orders, whether if the *Nabob*'s forces refuſed to accompany him, he ſhould with the *Sepoys* only, purſue the *French* into the next province. 1757.

On the 25th the major reached *Bykulpoor*, diſtant from *Bhar* 10 *Coſs*, and there received a letter from *Ramnarain*, *Nabob* of *Patna*, expreſſing his uneaſineſs at not having had any letters from him, or more early advice of his arrival in his province; adding, that he had ſent out ſome of his principal men to meet him, and conduct him into the city. Soon after this, a relation of the *Rajah*'s waited upon the major, who aſſured him, that *Ramnarain* had ſent 2000 men after the *French*, but they unluckily were gotten out of the province. This news was afterwards attempted to be confirmed by a ſecond letter the major received from *Ramnarain* himſelf, in which he declared, had he been adviſed in time, he could eaſily have ſtopped the *French*, but as that was now impracticable, he would on the major's arrival in the city, conſult with him about the beſt methods which were in future to be purſued. Major *Coote* anſwered, that he ſhould be at *Patna* the next day, and would then wait upon him, and with his advice ſettle his plan of operations. The *Dutch* chief was pleaſed to ſend his ſecond, in the *State Budgerow*, to attend the major and conduct him into the city. Mr. *Pearkes* alſo took this opportunity of waiting upon him.

On the 26th, Mr. *Coote*, having ſent on the *Sepoys* and artillery by land, put off with the fleet, and at ten, arrived at the *Engliſh* factory, where he quartered all the *Europeans* and *Sepoys*. In paſſing by the *Dutch* factory, he was ſaluted with 21 guns, and had a viſit from Mr. *Delatour* the *Dutch* chief. Here a letter under the maſk of complaiſance was brought him from *Ramnarain*; the purport of which was to deſire him, as the hour was late, and as the major could not but be greatly fatigued, that his viſit might be deferred till the next morning.

But in the evening of the ſame day, as if intended to prevent all amicable intercourſe, three of the major's *Sepoys* and the *European* butcher with three of his attendants, bringing in ſome bullocks from the * *Bazar*, were without any provocation, knocked down, beaten, and wounded. The major, on his being informed of this outrage, ſent *Mirza Kilbealy*, to the *Rajah* to complain of it; declaring, that until he ſhould be informed what was the reaſon for that treatment, he thought himſelf obliged to provide for his own ſafety: *Ramnarain* plauſibly anſwered, he was ſorry for what had hap-

* Market.

pened,

1757. pened, and ſhould he be ſo fortunate as to find out the guilty perſons, he would certainly ſend them to the major to be puniſhed. On the 27th Major *Coote* wrote to Colonel *Clive*, informing him of the ſeveral occurrences, and of the *Nabob*'s declining to ſee him. After he had finiſhed his letter, he viſited *Mahmud Ami Khan* (who, with many other men of diſtinguiſhed rank, though not in the command of a province, was commonly honoured with the title of *Nabob*) and *Meer Caſſim*; the one the brother-in-law, and the other the brother of *Jaffier Ali Khan*: At night, both theſe gentlemen, attended by ſome of the chief *Jamedars*, returned the major's viſit, and had a conference with him in private. The ſubſtance of what *Mahmud Ami Khan* ſaid, touching the dependance the major ought to place on the friendſhip of *Ramnarain*, was to the following purport; "that *Ramnarain*'s views were to make himſelf independant of the *Soubahdar Meer Jaffier*, and that he had the night before been adviſed in council to fall upon the major unawares, and cut off him and his whole party." On the 28th the major wrote to Colonel *Clive*, acquainting him with what he had learned from *Nabob Mahmud Ami Khan*; and again requeſted his directions, whether he ſhould follow Mr. *Law* into *Sujah Dowlah*'s country. He took this opportunity alſo of writing a complimentary letter to *Nabob Jaffier Ali Khan*, on account of the aſſiſtance which, by his *Perwannahs*, he intended to render him, though in reality they proved but of little ſervice towards facilitating his expedition. Major *Coote* alſo now wrote a letter to the *Nabob* of *Oude*, *Sujah Dowlah*, requeſting him not to allow the *French* to enter his dominions, but if they were already there, to ſeize and deliver them up into his hands, or at leaſt to permit him to advance into his territories after them; and concluded with telling him, that he ſhould expect an anſwer at his arrival on the borders.

The major finding, that his remonſtrances to the ſoldiers on the 24th had very little weight, and that a tendency to mutiny ſtill remained, now thought it neceſſary to order a court martial, for the trial of the ring-leaders; 30 of whom were ſentenced to puniſhment, which they received that afternoon; by this timely ſeverity a total ſtop was put to any ſuch diſorders for the future among the *European* troops. But on the 29th ſeveral of the major's *Dandies*, *Bazar*, and black ſervants deſerted; and the *Sepoys* when they were paraded to march off, grounded their arms to a man, and refuſed to go any farther. They complained bitterly of the great fatigues they had already gone through, the immenſe diſtance they were now removed from their families, the promiſes that had been made them at *Madraſs*, that they ſhould go no farther than *Calcutta*, which afterwards were changed to *Chandernagore*, then to *Muxadabad*, and that now they ſaw no period to their marching: They complained alſo that they had not received their juſt pay. The major, having ineffectually endeavoured by fair words and promiſes to prevail on them again to take up their arms, pointed out to them the ill conſequences which muſt neceſſarily ariſe to themſelves from their preſent procedure: As, that they were then ſurrounded by the *Rajah*'s

troops,

troops, whom they had no reaſon to look upon as well affected towards them; that by thus quitting their arms they were of courſe rendered incapable of defending themſelves; and if no greater misfortune happened to them, they might be ſure of being plundered of what little they had, beſides forfeiting all the prize-money which was ſtill due to them: but if theſe repreſentations had no weight with them, they were at liberty to go whereever they thought proper, as he had already provided men to take up thoſe arms which they ſo ſhamefully abandoned. This operated ſo effectually upon them, that they immediately reſumed their arms, and conſented to march. He then ordered the artillery and *Sepoys* to march by land to the *Engliſh* gardens at *Baukypoor*, 3 *Coſs* N. W. of *Patna*, and the *European* ſoldiers to embark, and proceed thither by water. Before he himſelf ſet off from *Patna*, he was again cautioned by *Mahmud Ami Khan* to be diffident of *Ramnarain* and thoſe troops of his which were to accompany him, who, he aſſured the major, would be of no ſervice to him; and then put him in mind of the incivility and inſult with which the major and his people had been treated by this *Nabob*. 1757.

On the 30th Major *Coote* halted at the gardens; and ſpent the whole day in adjuſting his boats, ordering the *Bazar*, paying his men, and preparing every thing for his march. He ſummoned alſo the four captains who were under him, to a council of war, and having laid before them two letters he had received from Colonel *Clive* of the 14th and 17th of *July*, directing him to purſue Mr. *Law* as far as he poſſibly could; he obſerved to them, that they had now proceeded beyond *Patna*, and that he had received poſitive intelligence, Mr. *Law* was now a day's march out of the province, and encamped in that of *Sujah Dowlah*; he therefore put the queſtion, whether they thought it poſſible that the detachment under his command, could go on with the ſame expedition as they had hitherto done. It was unanimouſly thought impoſſible, for the following reaſons. 1ſt. Becauſe the *Sepoys* had already laid down their arms on account of the great fatigue they had undergone in their long march to *Patna*, and had been prevailed on with much difficulty to take them up again. 2dly, Becauſe of the diſcontent that reigned among the *Europeans*, the deſertion of the *Dandies* and black ſervants, and the very great difficulty which was daily experienced of getting others in their room. The council however were unanimouſly of opinion, that they ſhould ſtill proceed in the beſt manner they could, though by eaſier marches, in purſuit of Mr. *Law*.

On the 31ſt of *July*, the detachment left *Baukypoor*-gardens, and came to *Dunapoor*, diſtant 3 *Coſs*. From hence the major diſpatched three *Hircars*, ordering them to go on 'till they reached the *French* camp, and then bring him all the intelligence they could learn. One of the three, was ordered to make the beſt of his way back to the major, as ſoon as they could procure any information on the road that might be depended upon. On the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, the troops reached *Munere*, a place belonging to *Ramnarain*, and ſituated

1757. ſituated at the conflux of the *Soan* and *Ganges*; where *Mootenbeg* informed Major *Coote*, that on his arrival at the town, *Hyat Khan*, who commanded *Ramnarain*'s troops there, had ſent him word, that neither he nor his people ſhould enter it, or go into the *Bazar*, for if they did, he would put them all to death. Lieutenant *Kinch* alſo, who marched with the artillery, remarked, that the inhabitants of the villages through which they had paſſed that day, (and which belonged to *Ramnarain*) were all armed; the major on this ordered the *Sepoys* to encamp in the plain by the river's ſide; he likewiſe took care to reinforce the picquet, and pointed the artillery towards the town.

On the 2d, all the ſoldiers and *Sepoys* were ordered to embark, with the guns, tumbrils, &c. and with the aſſiſtance of as many *Laſcars* as could be gotten on board, to croſs the *Soan* and *Ganges* in order to their being conveyed to *Chuprah*. The bullocks, the remaining part of the *Laſcars*, *Marmutty*-men, and a *Jamedar* with 16 *Sepoys*, together with the *Bazar*-people, were directed to march by land, till they got oppoſite to *Chuprah*; and *Pherooſing* (an officer of *Ramnarain*'s) undertook to get them all ferried over the river in three days time. The reſt of the party arrived at *Chuprah* the ſame night, and were lodged in the large ſalt-petre *Godowns* or ſtore-houſes, and the factory-houſe. Here the major learnt, that Mr. *Law* had left that place 17 days before, and was now at *Banaras*. Late at night, *Pherooſing* came to him, and told him, that he muſt be very cautious how he proceeded, for that his maſter *Ramnarain* had ſent a *great man* to him yeſterday, to deſire the major not to think of going any farther than *Munere*, and with the moſt poſitive injunctions to his own troops not to proceed a ſtep beyond that place: On which account, *Pherooſing* taking it for granted that the major would immediately return to *Patna*, had ſtopped the bullocks, &c. on the road; the major however inſiſted on their joining him, and *Pherooſing* promiſed that they ſhould be with him the next day.

On the 3d, Major *Coote* was joined by the *Laſcars*, bullocks, &c. agreeable to the promiſe given him by *Pherooſing*; he then examined that officer concerning what number of troops *Ramnarain* had on the ſame ſide of the river he now was, who aſſured him, that there were none of any kind whatever; by which circumſtance, the reader will eaſily judge concerning the aſſiſtance which the major had to expect from this *Nabob*.

The next day, the major ſummoned his officers to another council of war, when he laid before them the intelligence received from the three *Hircars*, whom he had diſpatched from *Boukypoor*-gardens, "That they had gone quite up to *Banaras*, where the *French* arrived 13 days before; that five of their gentlemen had waited upon the *Rajah Bulwanſing* to implore his protection, who had granted them an old ruinous fort, about 2 *Coſs* on this ſide the town,

town, by the rivers ſide; that ſome of their men ſtaid in the fort, and ſome on board the boats; that the *Rajah* had diſpatched letters to *Sujah Dowlah*, acquainting him, that the *French* who had fled from the *Patna* confines were now with him, and deſired his permiſſion to continue there; that *Suja Dowlah* now reſided at *Lucknow*, 100 *Coſs* from *Banaras*, and that the *French* propoſed entering into his ſervice; that *Rajah Bulwanſing*, had 4000 men encamped in huts cloſe to *Banaras*; that *Phaſel Ali Khan*, *Nabob* of *Gangypour*, with whom the *French* had ſtaid two days, was marching with 3000 men, and had advanced 6 *Coſs* towards the borders of his diſtrict; and that troops were aſſembling on all ſides on the news of the approach of the *Engliſh*.—Finally, that the roads, they the *Hircars* came over, were very bad, with water in them as high as their middle; that there were three rivers to paſs over; that the current near *Banaras* was very ſtrong; and that the *French* artillery was not yet landed." The major deſired them to give their opinions, whether it was adviſable to proceed any farther in purſuit of Mr. *Law* and his party? And they unanimouſly reſolved, that it was not, for the following reaſons. " Becauſe, we apprehend the *French* would not have preſumed to remain ſo long as they have at *Banaras*, but have continued their route up the country, unleſs they had been very ſure of being protected by *Sujah Dowlah*, and the other neighbouring powers; and with this protection, we have not the leaſt reaſon to expect to ſucceed at this ſeaſon of the year againſt them, ſince we are in want of boats to carry the *Sepoys* up the river; and the depth of water on the roads, and the three rivers we have to paſs, is ſuch as to render it impoſſible for us to march them by land; not to mention the diſtreſs we are ſure of ſuffering in an enemy's country, through want of proviſions for the ſoldiers, and of *Dandies*; or the many bad conſequences that may enſue from engaging ourſelves, and the *Nabob Meer Jaffier*, at this juncture, in diſputes with the neighbouring princes." 1757.

The next queſtion, was, whether they had better remain where they were, or return to *Patna*, and there expect the colonel's farther orders? The council, without one diſſenting voice, agreed, that it was moſt expedient, and indeed, abſolutely neceſſary, to return to *Patna*; eſpecially as the ſurgeon had repreſented, that the men fell ſick apace, owing in a great meaſure, as he apprehended, to the ground of the quarters they were now in, being prodigiouſly impregnated with *Salt-petre*. Beſides it appeared that the arrack which had been ſent for the uſe of the ſoldiers, was entirely expended, and no freſh ſupply could be gotten in their preſent ſituation.

This night, two deſerters came in from *Petera* (a town 14 miles north from *Chuprah*) who informed the major, that the *Rajah* of that place, *Dunſeram*, was collecting forces, and every day people were joining him from the north, and that he had already with him about 3000 horſe, 1500 foot, and four pieces of cannon; upon which Major *Coote* again queſtioned *Pherooſing* on politics, who, after many equivocations, confeſſed, that the

1757. ſeveral *Rajah*'s of the country, after the death of *Serajah Dowlah*, thought themſelves no longer obliged to pay the balance of the revenues to *Nabob Jaffier Ali Khan*, but inſiſted on a *Furkutey* or full diſcharge being granted them, for which purpoſe they were aſſembling troops, and taking every other meaſure to prevent any demand being made upon them. On the 5th Major *Coote* ſent one of his * *Chubdars* to *Rajah Dunſeram*, deſiring to know his reaſons for collecting troops, with orders to diſmiſs them immediately, aſſuring him that if he refuſed to do it, he would inſtantly march, and attack him with his forces.—The next day the *Chubdar* returned from *Dunſeram* with the following anſwer; That the troops, he had been aſſembling, were intended for his own ſecurity; but that on his receiving the major's orders he had diſmiſſed them all. He apologized at the ſame time for not waiting upon the major, by ſaying he was not well, but that he had ſent his *Vacqueel* to make his compliments. Major *Coote* however excuſed himſelf from ſeeing this meſſenger.

On the 11th one *Denautkhan*, who was *Gomaſtah* or agent for an *Armenian* black merchant named *Coja Wazeed*, an agent to the governor and council at *Calcutta*, complained to the major, that the *Dutch* ſecond was about to take the ſalt-petre out of his *Godowns* by force, which he had prepared for the *Engliſh*; upon this intelligence Major *Coote* immediately ſent, and prevented it.

Soon after, he received a letter from Colonel *Clive*, with an order that he ſhould ſupport the black agents employed by the governor and council, for collecting the company's ſalt-petre, againſt any perſon whatever who ſhould offer to obſtruct them; which obliged the major to give out the following order.

Major *Eyre Coote*, commander of the united troops of *England*, and thoſe of Nabob *Jaffier Ali Khan*, in the expedition to *Patna*: To all whom it may concern.

WHEREAS the ſalt-petre belonging to *Coja Aſhruff* is collected and provided for the *Engliſh* company; let no perſon touch it, or interrupt him in expediting the ſaid ſalt-petre.—Moreover, if any perſons have ſeized or carried off any of it without his conſent, let it be immediately returned to him by thoſe who have it in their poſſeſſion, as they will anſwer the contrary.

EYRE COOTE.

Given at *Patna* the 15th of *Auguſt*, 1757.

JOHN JOHNSTONE, Secretary.

* An attendant, whoſe office is to carry meſſages and proclaim the approach of viſitors, &c. literally a *Staff-bearer*; ſo called from the ſtaff of wood, (or ſilver, according to the rank of his maſter) which he carries in his hand.

Here,

Here, the major and Mr. *Johnſtone*, knowing of what conſequence the article of ſalt-petre had ever been, and always muſt be, as well to the *Engliſh* nation in general, as the *Eaſt India* company in particular, had ever ſince their entering this province, (which is well known to be by way of eminence *the country* in which ſalt-petre is manufactured) made it their buſineſs in their leiſure hours, to acquire a competent knowledge of this important branch of commerce. And as it appeared to them, that by altering the preſent mode of collecting it, much greater profits would ariſe to the company than what they had hitherto experienced, the major thought proper to convey the particulars to the governor and council at *Calcutta*, through the military channel. And ſome time afterwards, the major and Mr. *Johnſtone* ſtill ſtrongly impreſſed with the idea of its being highly neceſſary, that this buſineſs ſhould be ſeriouſly attended to below, they agreed, that Mr. *Johnſtone* ſhould in his own name write to the governor and council, in a yet more circumſtantial manner, pointing out the ways and means by which, if ſtrictly carried into execution, the company could not avoid making very conſiderable advantages, and at the ſame time be enabled to ſupply government with ſalt-petre at a much lower price than ever before. Doubtleſs, due attention was ſoon paid to theſe ſalutary repreſentations; and the good effects of the major's and Mr. *Johnſtone*'s enquiries and reports, have for many years paſt been happily experienced in this kingdom. 1757.

On the 13th, the major embarked the *European* troops, artillery, and *Sepoys*. *Pheroofing*, finding by this manœuvre the major was determined to march that day to *Patna*, ſeemed very uneaſy, and framed many excuſes to prevent his going; but when he perceived that he could not prevail, he begged of him not to credit the ſeveral reports which had been propagated againſt his maſter *Ramnarain*; and concluded with aſking the major, whether he would have *Hyatt Khan* ordered with his troops into the city; but this Mr. *Coote* would by no means admit of. The major arrived the ſame night at *Patna*, and no ſooner ſet foot in the city, but he ſent for *Nabob Ami Khan*, and after reading him a letter, as he was directed to do, which he had received from Colonel *Clive*, at *Muxadabad*, he deſired him to give his opinion of the preſent ſituation of affairs in general; and demanded of him in particular how many troops there were in and about the city, *&c. &c.* The major was now ſurrounded with a variety of political objects; indeed he had ſo nice and difficult a part to act, as called for the utmoſt exertion of all his abilities. We have ſeen, that *Meer Jaffier*'s authority as *Soubahdar*, had hardly reached even the ſouthern confines of this province, when the major entered it with his little detachment, otherwiſe ſo many complaints of the want of boats, *Dandies*, *&c.* would not have been made. Cool, nay even unfavourable, was the reception given to the major by *Ramnarain* at his entering *Patna*; outrages were offered by this *Nabob*'s people to the *Sepoys* and butchers belonging to the army; the council held

1757. by the *Nabob* on the ſubject of the major and his party, was hoſtile; the intelligence given by *Meer Jaffier*'s two brothers, (whom the major had received orders to conſult and act in concert with) concerning the aim of *Ramnarain*, to make himſelf independant of the *Subahdar*, was corroborated by almoſt every other poſſible circumſtance, in the behaviour of *Ramnarain* himſelf; beſides the preparation for war in the garriſon of *Mongheer*, and the levying troops in almoſt every different part of the country: add to theſe particulars, that *Meer Jaffier*'s two brothers had from time to time acquainted the *Soubahdar* of the uncertain tenure by which he held even his nominal dignity in the *Patna* country. *Meer Jaffier*, actuated by reſentment towards *Ramnarain*, and being in dread of his power and machinations, (encouraged alſo by the aſſurances ſent him from his two brothers, that it would be an eaſy matter for them, aided by the major, to depoſe *Ramnarain*,) ſometimes ſeemed reſolved that an attack ſhould be made on the palace, and that *Ramnarain* ſhould be treated as a diſaffected perſon to his government. At other times, moved by political caution and timidity, he would contradict the orders, which but juſt before he had reſolved ſhould be vigorouſly carried into execution. — Theſe inconſtant reſolutions, could not but make the ſituation of the *Engliſh* commander extremely unpleaſant. At length, after having maturely conſidered the inſtructions he had at different times received from Colonel *Clive*, and the ſtate of the *Nabob*'s affairs in this province, the major concluded, that if by the ſtrength of his reaſons, and the influence of his arms, he could convince *Ramnarain* that it was as conſiſtent with his intereſt, as it was with his duty, for him to lay aſide all ambitious views, and peaceably ſubmit himſelf to him who was now become *Soubahdar* of *Bengal*, *Bahar* and *Orixa*, the gaining ſo material a point could not but terminate in the peace and happineſs of the provinces in general, as well as the intereſt of the contending powers in particular. He reflected, that could he but accompliſh this deſirable end, he had the ſtrongeſt reaſon to believe, it would afford great pleaſure to Colonel *Clive* the commander in chief, and redound to the honour and advantage of his own country, beſides the enjoyment of unſpeakable ſatisfaction, which ſuch happy fruits muſt undoubtedly afford to his own mind.

Thus actuated, he generouſly laid aſide, and nobly ſubdued in his breaſt every emotion of reſentment for the indignities and outrage that had been offered to his own perſon, and the troops under his immediate command; and then conveyed his friendly ſentiments and diſpoſition to *Ramnarain*, through the channel of *Pheroofing*: and he had the addreſs to convince that *Aſiatic* politician of the ſincerity of his profeſſions, who, in conſequence, at laſt appeared truly deſirous of having an interview with the major. Accordingly on the 15th, accompanied by moſt of his officers, and Mr. *Pearkes*, Mr. *Coote* waited upon him in a full *Durbar*, where he was treated politely,

politely, and received the uſual compliment of a dreſs or veſt, and a horſe. 1757.

The next day, the major had a conference with *Pherooſing*, to whom he urged the abſolute neceſſity there was for his maſter's ſwearing allegiance in a public manner to *Meer Jaffier*; and they parted after agreeing that *Pherooſing* ſhould communicate the major's propoſal to the *Nabob*. On the 20th, *Pherooſing* came to the major, and ſaid that his maſter having ſomething of importance to communicate to him, would be glad to ſee him at any time that was moſt convenient to himſelf, but intreated that no mention of this viſit might be made to *Meer Caſſim* untill it was paſt; to which requeſt Mr. *Coote* readily conſented, and promiſed to wait on the *Rajah* the next morning. Accordingly on the 21ſt the major went to *Ramnarain*, and ſeriouſly talked to him on the ſubject of his duty and public ſubmiſſion. After a great deal of confidential diſcourſe had paſſed, the *Nabob* declared, that, provided his life, honour, and ſtation were ſecured to him on the faith of the *Engliſh*, as well as the ſolemn promiſes of the *Soubahdar*, he was ready to take the oath propoſed; and if the major would ſay that he would be accountable for the ſame, he would *immediately* do it in a full *Durbar*. The major replied, that he would engage, as far as in him lay, ſo long as he ſhould prove faithful and juſt to the *Soubahdar* in every branch of his duty; to this *Ramnarain* rejoined, that this he moſt certainly ever would; and then propoſed as a proof of his ſincerity, that he might be allowed immediately to ſummon a *Durbar*, and requeſted the major to ſend for *Mahmud Ami Khan*, *Meer Caſſim*, and ſuch *Engliſh* officers as he thought proper, to be witneſſes of the ceremony.—Mr. *Coote*, with great delicacy declined the *Rajah*'s offer, and begged that he would not think of doing it juſt at that time, becauſe he was deſirous it ſhould appear to be entirely his own voluntary act, adviſing him to weigh the ſubject maturely with his friends, and if they approved of his doing it, and he continued in the ſame reſolution the next day, he then would wait upon him again. On the 22d, the major received a meſſage from the *Rajah*, deſiring that he would come to him, accompanied by *Mahmud Ami Khan*, *Meer Caſſim*, and as many others as he thought proper. Accordingly Mr. *Coote* waited upon him in the evening in full *Durbar*, where *Ramnarain* performed his promiſe to him, by ſwearing allegiance to *Meer Jaffier Ali Khan*; and a few days after, the major wrote a letter to the *Soubahdar*, acquainting him with the ſteps he had taken towards ſettling his affairs in this part of the country.

On the 23d Mr. *Coote* received a very polite anſwer to the letter he had written to *Sujah Dowlah*, *Nabob* of *Oude*; which aſſured him of his attachment to the *Engliſh*; and that if the *French* had not marched out of his dominions before the receipt of the major's letter, he certainly ſhould have made it his buſineſs to have ſecured them, and afterwards to have given them

1757. them up into his hands. But on the 26th, notwithſtanding theſe profeſſions of friendſhip on the part of *Sujah Dowlah*, the major received certain intelligence, that the *French* ſtill continued in his province; and on the 29th, he received a letter from Mr. *Pearkes*, repreſenting the ill uſage he and his people had met with from *Cojah Aſhruff's Peons*, and requeſting him to ſend a party to his aſſiſtance, as he was really in danger of loſing his life. Mr. *Coote* on the receipt of this letter, immediately wrote to *Cojah Aſhruff*, ordering him to wait upon Mr. *Pearkes*, and deliver up to him thoſe people who had uſed him ill, otherwiſe that he would go himſelf, and find them out. The major wrote alſo to Mr. *Pearkes*, and communicated the contents of this letter, and added, that if there was a neceſſity, he would march immediately to his aſſiſtance.

On the 1ſt of *September*, Mr. *Coote* received an order from Major *Kilpatrick*, who then commanded the army at *Muxadabad*, to return thither with his whole detachment; and the next morning he began to put thoſe orders in execution, by ſending off the train of artillery, bullocks, and *Laſcars*, under the eſcort of a *Jamedar*, and 19 *Sepoys*, who were to march over land.—On the 4th, he ſent to the *Rajah*, requeſting him to haſten the boats, and the other things which were neceſſary for his departure. — On the 7th the troops were embarked; but from their not being provided with a ſufficient number of boats, there was a neceſſity for crouding a large party of *Sepoys* into one, by which the *Chuppar*, or upper ſlight deck, broke down, killed one man, and wounded 10 more. — That night the detachment arrived at *Futwah*. — On the 8th they left *Futwah*, but the major finding himſelf greatly indiſpoſed, was obliged to give up the command to Captain *Grant*. — On the 13th they arrived ſafe at *Muxadabad*, where Mr. *Coote* received orders from Colonel *Clive* to go down to *Chandernagore*, with the kings troop's, a company of *Swiſs*, and 200 *Sepoys*; but as he ſtill continued very ill, he was under a neceſſity of remaining at *Caſſimbuzar* for a few days, and Captain *Gaupp* went down with the detachment.

Such was the end of Mr. *Coote*'s, then, uncommon expedition; which, though it did not ſucceed as to its principal object, " the capture of Mr. *Law* and his party," yet was attended with great advantages to his country in general, and to the *Eaſt India* company in particular. For beſides his obliging *Ramnarain*, the moſt powerful *Rajah* of the country, to the very humiliating circumſtance of ſwearing allegiance to *Meer Jaffier*, he likewiſe laid open the interior ſtate of the northern provinces; and in conjunction with Mr. *Johnſtone*, gave the company a conſiderable inſight into the ſalt-petre buſineſs, from which branch of trade ſuch advantages have ſince accrued to the public. I muſt take the liberty to add alſo, that through the whole expedition, it fully appears, he did all the ſervice that was in his

power to do, and ſhewed himſelf in every reſpect a brave and active officer. In a word, the uncommon ſpirit, reſolution, and perſeverance he manifeſted upon this occaſion, may be juſtly looked upon as ſome of the firſt fruits of thoſe military talents, which afterwards ſhone with ſuch luſtre in the defeat of Mr. *Lally* at the battle of *Wandewaſh*, and in the reduction of *Pondicherry*, by which the *French* power in *India*, was totally annihilated *. 1757.

* The capture of Monſ. *Law* was reſerved to be accompliſhed by Major, ſince Brigadier General, *Carnac*, who, on the ſame day (15th *January* 1761) that *Pondicherry* capitulated, obtained a complete and deciſive victory over *Shah-zadah*, the preſent Mogul, or king of *Indoſtan*. Monſ. *Law* and a party of *French*, who had joined the *Royal Standard*, were taken priſoners on the field of battle, and the prince a very few weeks after the action, ſurrendered himſelf to the major.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Admiral Watſon's *ſickneſs and death: His character.— Admiral* Pocock *ſucceeds Mr.* Watſon *in the command of the ſquadron.—Deſcription of the* Argill,—*and of the* Arica, Chulta, Mango, Tatoon, *and* Ruſſa *trees.— Account of coins at* Bengal.

1757. BENGAL had but juſt beheld the ſunſhine of peace and proſperity, when an event took place which overcaſt the whole province: an event to me, intereſting beyond expreſſion, and which was conſidered by all, as a public calamity.——Mr. *Watſon* during the whole time of his ſtay in *India*, had been more or leſs ſubject to overflowings of the bile, which brought on either ſlight fevers, or griping in the bowels; but both theſe complaints had been always carried off by ſweats or ſtools. Bleeding was more than once tried as a relief, but by experience we found that his conſtitution could not well bear it, eſpecially in hot weather; as lowneſs of ſpirits and want of ſtrength were always ſure to attend the operation.

Friday, the 12th of *Auguſt*, Captain *Martin* paid the admiral an occaſional viſit at his country-houſe, and found him a little indiſpoſed: upon the captain's coming away, the admiral deſired him to tell me, that if I took an airing that evening, he ſhould be glad to ſee me. I went ſoon after I received the meſſage, and was concerned to find him much more indiſpoſed than ever before, with laſſitude, univerſal uneaſineſs, and a ſtrong diſpoſition to vomit; the pulſe was low and feeble, his ſkin hot and dry. I adviſed him immediately to take an emetic; he did; the medicine operated well, and preſently produced a moiſture on the ſkin, which ſeemed greatly to relieve him. I recommended his drinking plentifully of ſherbet, which promoted a fine perſpiration all the night, and the next morning we all thought him better; his ſkin however ſtill continued hot, and his pulſe was too quick: He was reſtleſs alſo, and as the heat of the day increaſed, ſo did his reſtleſſneſs. I therefore gave him ſome ſaline draughts, and ordered a clyſter to be adminiſtered. In the evening he became cool and much eaſier, and was in good ſpirits. All this night his perſpiration continued, and he ſlept with great compoſure.

In the morning of the 14th, he was almoſt free of complaint; his ſkin was temperate, and his pulſe more regular and ſtrong. He deſired me to read ſome letters, which were juſt then brought to him in a packet from governor *Pigot*. They related chiefly to the conduct of Admiral *Byng*, and the changes which had happened in the miniſtry: he reflected, and reaſoned much on the uncertain baſis on which an officer's character ſtands, and concluded with obſerving how much more hazardous it was for him to err on the cautious, than the deſperate ſide. He afterwards ordered me to go to the hoſpital *, and ſend out Mr. *Bevis* to be with him in my abſence. This gentleman had been ſurgeon of the *Blaze*, but was now one of my aſſiſtants, and enjoyed a great ſhare of the admiral's favour.—With the heat of the day Mr. *Watſon* grew again very hot, but in the evening I had the pleaſure to find him cool and temperate, and much better in every reſpect. I repeated again the clyſter, and obſerving a great deal of bile to come away in his ſtools, and that his eyes were a little yellow; to the ſaline draughts (of which he took one every two hours) I added ſix grains of rhubarb, with a view of increaſing the number of his ſtools, and by that way carrying off the bile. Acidulated gruels, chicken-water, and whey, were his food. 1757.

I viſited him early the next morning; Mr. *Bevis* informed me of the admiral's having had a good night; and Mr. *Watſon* himſelf added, that he was almoſt well. I thought ſo too, and in great ſpirits left him to return to the hoſpital, leaving directions with Mr. *Bevis* to purſue the ſame courſe of medicines, not doubting but that a few more evacuations by ſtool, and the gentle perſpiration he was then in, would by the evening quite free him from all complaints. But this was the moſt ſultry day I ever experienced in *India*; not a breath of air was there for many hours; both man and beaſt, and the very fowls of the air, ſo ſenſibly felt it, that ſome of each ſpecies fell down dead.

My *deareſt friend* Admiral *Watſon*, I may truly ſay, loſt his life by it. At 11 o'clock he complained much of exceſſive heat, and the want of cool air; and though every door and window in the houſe were thrown wide open, he had no relief. His heat now increaſed, his pulſe became feeble, and his head confuſed. Mr. *Bevis* about noon ſent me an account of this alarming change. I hurried away to his houſe, carrying with me three bliſters, one for the back, and two for the arms, which I put on immediately. I repeated the clyſter, and with the approbation of Mr. *Thomas*, and one of the moſt experienced practitioners in the country, I gave him a proper quantity of Dr. *James*'s powders. It operated well by gentle vomiting and purging, and brought away a great quantity of bile. His head however ſtill grew worſe, and a ſleepineſs followed; a bliſter was then applied to the

* In the latter part of *July* and the beginning of *Auguſt*, ſickneſs increaſed ſo much among us, that upwards of 600 men were ſent to the hoſpital. Their diſorders were chiefly putrid fevers, fluxes, *&c.*

1757. head, and ſtimulating poultices to the feet. The room was alſo fumigated with lemons and vinegar, but alas! all was to no purpoſe, for on *Tueſday* the 16th, between 8 and 9 in the morning, to our unſpeakable grief, he died; and a putrefaction came on to ſuch a degree, that in a few hours, the body was in an entire ſtate of corruption.

The next day, his corpſe was buried at *Calcutta*, attended to the grave, by Admiral *Pocock*, by all the captains, and by almoſt every officer and ſeaman of the ſquadron. Colonel *Clive* too, and as many gentlemen from the army as could poſſibly be ſpared, attended on this melancholy occaſion. Many *French* gentlemen alſo (who through the fortune of war were his priſoners) and ſeveral thouſands of *Armenians* and *Indians* followed him to his grave; nor was there, I believe, an individual among them all, that did not ſhed a tear, or give ſome other mark of unfeigned ſorrow. In a word, no man ever lived more eſteemed, or died more regretted than Admiral *Watſon*. A voluntary univerſal mourning, diſplayed in ſome degree the deep ſenſe which the fleet, army, and ſettlement, had of his merit.

The ADMIRAL, was the ſon of Doctor *John Watſon*, prebendary of *Weſtminſter* and rector of *Caſtle-Camps* in the county of *Cambridge*; his mother was half-ſiſter to Sir *Charles Wager*, admiral of the white, and firſt lord commiſſioner of the admiralty. Mr. *Watſon* was born in the year 1714; and loſt his father when he was but nine years old; his uncle Sir *Charles Wager* continued him at the academy where his father had placed him, and *anno* 1727 he entered him at the age of 15, in the navy. In the year 1734 he was made a lieutenant, and *February* 14, 1737, he became a poſt captain, being appointed commander of the *Garland* of 20 guns.

In the ſeveral line of battle ſhips he afterwards commanded, Captain *Watſon* highly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, particularly in the action of the 3d of *May* 1747, when even the *French* admiral made the moſt honourable mention of his ſhip (the *Princeſs Louiſa*) and a few others, in the account he ſent to his court of that memorable engagement. In the action which followed that ſame year, when Sir *Edward Hawke* commanded in chief; Captain *Watſon* manifeſted the ſame gallantry as in the preceding one, and the 12th of *May* 1748, "as a reward for his merit," (to uſe the very words of Lord *Anſon*) he was raiſed to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and ſent with ſome ſhips to *Cape Breton*.

On the concluſion of the war, he retired into the country, till he was fixed upon as commander of the king's ſhips at *Plymouth*, where he continued a ſhort time, and was then, as before related, appointed to the command of the ſquadron deſtined for the *Eaſt Indies*.

The admiral was handſome in his perſon, and had a manly commanding countenance. His temper, though naturally warm, was exceedingly good,

and his diſpoſition extremely humane. His manners were eaſy and polite; 1757.
he was a lover of temperance and ſobriety, though he made no ſcruple at his own table occaſionally to promote a free circulation of the glaſs; and his ſentiments were generous and noble. Few men, who, like Mr. *Watſon*, had been taken from ſchool at ſo early a period of life, excelled him in epiſtolary writing; he ſtudied men and things more than books, and was confeſſedly quick and happy in finding out real characters. He liked, and loved the honeſt man, but deteſted the hypocrite.—Though firm in his reſolutions, he was ever open to conviction, and whenever he thought the public ſervice would be benefited by any advice he had privately received, he would be ſure to carry it into execution, and after ſucceſs had attended it, to declare publicly to whoſe counſel that ſucceſs was owing.

He carried about him the ſureſt mark of bravery, as well as delicacy; for notwithſtanding he was well known to have frequently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in battle, yet theſe engagements were never the choſen topics of his converſation; and if by others they were at any time introduced, he was ſure not to dwell on thoſe circumſtances which in the eye of the world reflected honour on himſelf.—In his public, as well as private character, he ever ſhewed a proper regard for the religion of his country; was never abſent from divine worſhip on board his own ſhip, and was remarkable for ſhewing due reſpect to the clergy in general, and to the chaplain of his own ſhip in particular: if at any time indeed their conduct was inconſiſtent with the duty of their office, he then became cold and indifferent towards them.

In fine; it may be truly ſaid of Admiral *Watſon*, that he was a kind and faithful huſband, an affectionate father, a ſincere friend, and a *good citizen*. His *integrity*, *humanity*, *generoſity*, and *diſintereſtedneſs* * of heart were ſuch,

* This part of the admiral's character was very apparent even in an early part of his life, and which was made known to the public by a ſea-officer in 1744, in a book entitled, "A narrative of the proceedings of his majeſty's fleet in the *Mediterranean*;" the following is an extract from it. "The ſame day the *Dragon*, Captain *Charles Watſon*, unexpectedly came to *Hieres*, which ſhip had been lately employed in ſeveral cruizes, between *Toulon* and *Gibraltar*; and in conſequence of her orders was to have cruiſed ſometime off *Cadiz*, and then to have proceeded to *Liſbon*, where the captain was ſure of the benefit of 800 *Moidores* freight money; but the moment he heard of the preparations of the enemy, and the likelihood of their coming out to ſea, he made no heſitation. The alluring advantages of a trip to *Liſbon*, (the darling wiſhes of the captains in his majeſty's fleet) with a proſpect of catching an immenſe fortune, on a ſtation extremely envied and ſought after, did not weigh with him, when thoſe purſuits were incompatible with the ſervice of his king and country. But from the moſt *diſintereſted* motive, without orders, he, with the utmoſt expedition joined the fleet at *Hieres*, whereby this gentleman poſſibly loſt that conſiderable prize which was taken by the *Solebay*, to the value of 300,000 l.; for at that time he would have been on the very ſtation, and the *Solebay* probably, either at *Gibraltar* bay, or protecting our trade in the *Gut* from the *Spaniſh* privateers. A demonſtration of his chooſing perſonal poverty in preference of riches, when the true intereſt of his country called upon him. Such an ardent zeal, ſuch juſt and unbiaſſed ſentiments, ſo uncommon, nay, without an example in the navy, cannot but raiſe our admiration to the higheſt pitch, and inſpire us with the moſt fervent wiſhes for the happineſs of ſo much real merit, which cannot be rewarded with too much diſtinction, or public acknowledgment."

1757. as to become almoſt proverbial among the natives, as well as the *Europeans* reſiding in the *Eaſt Indies*, and for every one of his ſucceſsful enterprizes, he rendered from the heart praiſes to him who alone giveth the victory.

The admiral married in 1748, the eldeſt daughter of *John Francis Buller*, Eſq; of *Morval* in the county of *Cornwall*, and left behind him one ſon, the preſent Sir *Charles Watſon*, and two daughters. On the ſon, the late king conferred the title of baronet, in honour of his father; and the *Eaſt India* company, in gratitude for the great and effectual ſervices the admiral rendered to them, have erected to his memory a monument in *Weſtminſter Abbey*.

Admiral *Pocock* ſucceeded to the command of the ſquadron: he, and the *brave*, *honeſt*, deceaſed admiral, had lived for many years in the moſt perfect amity; and notwithſtanding Mr. *Pocock*'s importance in this part of the world was greatly heightened by the death of his friend, yet I am perſuaded he was as thoroughly concerned for him, and as much lamented his loſs, as any one gentleman in the ſquadron *.

Soon after the interment of Mr. *Watſon*, Admiral *Pocock* aſſembled all the officers who had been particularly dependant on his predeceſſor, and aſſured them, that he was their fellow-ſufferer in the death of the admiral, whoſe memory he muſt always have in the higheſt eſteem, and that he ſhould think himſelf peculiarly happy in ſerving thoſe whom Mr. *Watſon* had diſtinguiſhed by his more immediate patronage. He repeatedly deſired us all to reſt ſatisfied with the ſincerity of this aſſurance; and told Mr. *Watſon*'s lieutenants in particular, that if they choſe to continue abroad with him, he would take them all, as vacancies ſhould happen, on board his own ſhip, and promote each of them in turn, in preference to any other recommendation. Almoſt all theſe gentlemen did continue under his command, and were afterwards accordingly raiſed by the admiral to the rank of poſt-captains. Mr. *Pocock* had no ſooner taken the ſupreme command of the ſquadron, than a buſy ſcene opened to his view; it was introduced by the following letter from Commodore *James*.

To *George Pocock*, Eſq; &c. &c.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to adviſe you of my arrival off *Ingelee* at 5 o'clock this evening; having been diſpatched to join you with all poſſible expedition by Captain *Townley* of his majeſty's ſhip *Triton*. We were cruizing off *Fort St.*

* In the month of *October* 1757, the ſervice ſuſtained another conſiderable loſs, by the death of Major *Kilpatrick*, who beſides being a brave and experienced officer, was a conſtant mediator whenever differences ſubſiſted in the ſettlement. Of the 250 ſoldiers who came with him in *Auguſt* 1756 from *Madraſs*, only 5 ſurvived their commander, and theſe were now by repeated ſickneſs emaciated to the greateſt degree.

David, but on the 8th inſtant were both forced from that ſtation by the ſudden and unexpected arrival of a *French* fleet, which by ſailing better than either of us, put us in the moſt imminent danger of being taken. They all anchor'd at *Pondicherry* that day at noon, but as they approached us faſt, (and with ſuch an apparent proſpect of coming up with us) I imagine they would not have left off chace, but for the apprehenſion of being carried to leeward of their port. I had an opportunity of making the following remarks upon the fleet.—The commanding ſhip was the neareſt but one, with a St. *George*'s flag at the fore-top-maſt head; I counted, and with great certainty, fifteen lower deck ports of a ſide. Seven more of the fleet appeared large, and are at leaſt two-decked ſhips; the other two were long and low, and appeared to be frigates of thirty-four or thirty-ſix guns each. The *L'Gloire* a *French* frigate, lay at the ſame time at *Pondicherry*, ſo that in all they have now eleven ſail. Captain *Townley*, after we ſeparated, ſtood on to *Madraſs*, from whence he propoſed ſailing in a few hours to join you. I was but five days to *Ballaſore* road, ſo that I imagine he may be hourly expected. 1757.

On the 5th of this month, the *Boſcawen*, *Braund*, *Norfolk*, *Bonham*, *Princeſs Auguſta*, *Badeſon*, and *Taviſtock*, *Jenkins*, bound to *China*, arrived at *Madraſs*; they left *England* in *March* with Admiral *Coats* bound to *Jamaica*, and kept company with Commodore *Stevens* in the *Elizabeth*, with the *Yarmouth*, *Weymouth*, *Colcheſter* and *Queenborough* men of war and *Warwick India* man, all bound to *India*, as far as *Madeira*, where they ſtopped on the 12th of *April*, while theſe ſhips proceeded on by themſelves. As we only juſt ſpoke with them at ſea, I did not learn any extraordinary news, nor ſhall I take up any more of your time, as I hope for the honour of waiting upon you in perſon to-morrow.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

W. JAMES.

Revenge, at *Ingelee*, 14th *September*, 1757.

This early intelligence (for the *Revenge* had only 4 days and 18 hours paſſage from *St. David*'s to *Ballaſore* road) was of great importance, and indeed of the utmoſt conſequence, as it put *Calcutta* and our ſquadron on their guard, for until now we were totally ignorant of any *French* ſhips of war being in *India*. We had only three line of battle ſhips left, the *Kent* having been condemned; and the *Cumberland* was a ſingle ſhip at *Culpee*, thirty miles down the river from *Calcutta*, preparing to heave down, and not expecting an enemy, was in no condition to receive one. The *French* fleet*, which had touched at *Porto-Novo*, a *Dutch* ſettlement, to the ſouthward of *Pondicherry*, for intelligence, had from thence ſteered along ſhore in the

* This was a part of that fleet, of which the *Eaſt India* directors had given ſo early intelligence as *May* 1756. *Vide* p. 89.

night;

1757. night; and without making any ſignal by guns or lights, anchored in *Fort St. David*'s road. Our cruizers ſtanding in from the ſea, had done the ſame about 7 o'clock in the evening, and the next morning at the break of day were found to be in a very critical ſituation: The *French* ſhips were firſt diſcovered, getting under ſail, had *Engliſh* colours flying, and their number anſwered to Commodore *Stevens*'s ſquadron with the expected *India* ſhips of the ſeaſon. The *Revenge* being the ſouthermoſt of our ſhips, was by the accident of her ſtation in a manner almoſt ſurrounded by them, and an officer of leſs activity and diſcernment than Mr. *James* might have been fatally deceived; eſpecially as he had received certain advice but two days before, that Mr. *Stevens* might every hour be expected.—By an expert and ſuperior manœuvre our ſhips were gotten under ſail quicker than thoſe of the enemy, and by that means ſoon increaſed their diſtance: the *French* admiral therefore made the general ſignal to chace, and ſeveral other ſignals, all with *Engliſh* colours, by which the governor of *Fort St. David* was ſo much deceived, that he ſent off Mr. *Newton*, a gentleman of the council, to congratulate, as he thought, Mr. *Stevens*, upon his arrival, and to invite him on ſhore; and ſent alſo four *Moſſulas*, or country boats, to accommodate him, and any of the gentlemen of the ſquadron, over the ſurf. Mr. *Newton* was in the firſt boat, and actually went a-long ſide of the *French* admiral, before he was convinced of his miſtake, and was thus made a priſoner. The other boats took the alarm upon the *French* ſhips firing at the *Revenge*, and rowed in ſhore, and Mr. *James* had the preſence of mind to throw into them, for the reinforcement of *Fort St. David*, near one hundred recruits, which he took out of the *India* men mentioned in his letter to Admiral *Pocock* on their paſſage to *Madraſs*. He left his own boats, an officer, and ſixteen *Laſcars*, to aſſiſt in landing them, and eluded the purſuit of the enemy, with no other loſs or inconvenience, than having ſome of his rigging cut, and his ſails fired through.

At this ſeaſon of the year, the current ſets ſtrong to the N. E. which, together with the S. W. monſoon, renders it difficult for ſhips that fall to leeward of their port to beat up. The *French* admiral therefore, as ſoon as he got abreaſt of *Pondicherry*, made the general ſignal to leave off chace, and ſtood into that road, when he haſtily landed a few men and ſtores, and the next day precipitately ſailed away to *Mauritius*; probably, being convinced, that by the eſcape of our cruizers, our ſettlements and ſhips would be put ſo much on their guard, as to render any attempt of his abortive.

I once intended to have given a ſummary account of the farther progreſs of the *Britiſh* arms in *India*, from the death of Admiral *Watſon* down to the reduction of *Pondicherry* by Colonel *Coote* in the year 1761; but as ſuch an addition might probably have been cenſured by ſome as an anticipation of events, not belonging to the plan of the work, I was eaſily perſuaded to drop it, and refer ſuch as are unacquainted with that glorious æra of *Engliſh*

liſh hiſtory, to the periodical compilatio ns of the times; but rather, to the intended 2d volume of Mr. *Orme*'s incomparable hiſtory of the military tranſactions of the *Britiſh* nation in *Indoſtan*, which will ſoon make its appearance to the public. 1757.

In conſequence of the death of my good friend Admiral *Watſon*, and of my conſtitution's being greatly impaired by the unwholeſome climate of *Bengal*, I came to a reſolution of quitting the ſervice; and having communicated my intentions to my friend Mr. *Doidge* the late admiral's ſecretary, and to Mr. *Pye* (ſtorekeeper to the ſquadron) I was happy to find both theſe gentlemen in the ſame way of thinking with myſelf. We reſolved therefore to throw up our ſeveral employments, and to return to *England* by the way of *Baſſora*, and the great deſert of *Arabia*. But before this ſcheme could poſſibly be put in execution, it was abſolutely neceſſary for us to get the conſent of Rear-Admiral *Pocock*; who, upon our making application to him, politely accepted of our reſignation. We had now a little time to look about us, and from political and warlike tranſactions, turn our thoughts to things, which though not ſo important and intereſting, were pleaſing and entertaining.

In the evening excurſions which I made with Captain *Martin*, Mr. *Doidge*, Mr. *Thomas*, and other friends near *Calcutta*, we had often obſerved an extraordinary ſpecies of birds, called by the natives *Argill*, or *Hurgill*, a native of *Bengal*. They would majeſtically ſtalk along before us, and at firſt we took them for *Indians*, naked. Upon diſcovering however that they were birds, we reſolved to ſhoot one, to ſatisfy our curioſity relative to their exact magnitude and ſhape. For this, we frequently went out with ſome of our fuſils loaded with ball, others with *Briſtol* drop; but, though we had ſeveral good marks, our repeated efforts were fruitleſs. We had always been attended by the *Bearers* of our *Palanquins*, in whoſe countenances we could not but diſcern the moſt evident marks of ſatisfaction, on our want of ſucceſs; at length one of them gravely told us, "That if we tried to eternity to kill theſe birds, we ſhould never ſucceed, for that the ſouls of the *Brahmins* poſſeſſed them." We at laſt grew weary of the purſuit, and gave it over. But one evening as I was returning from *Calcutta*, to a houſe which had been lent me in the neighbourhood, I obſerved one flying very ſlowly over my head, and afterwards to perch on a tree by which I was to paſs; I took not the leaſt notice to my *Bearers*, until they were within the diſtance of 30 or 40 yards, when I ordered them to ſtop, and having in my *Palanquin* a loaded fuſil, I diſcharged it at the *Monſter*, and brought him down.

' The following are the exact marks and dimenſions of this bird:—— The wings extended 14 feet 10 inches. From the tip of the bill to the extremity of the claw, it meaſured 7 feet 6 inches. The legs were naked, and

1757. and ſo was one half of the thighs; the naked parts were full 3 feet in length. The feathers of the wings and back were very ſtrong, and of an iron colour. The feathers of the breaſt were long: Over the belly was a great deal of down, all of a dirty white. The bill was 16 inches round at the baſe, of different colours, and nearly of a triangular ſhape. In the *craw* was a *Terapin* or land tortoiſe 10 inches long; and *a large black male cat* was found entire in it's ſtomach.

Having already mentioned the *Beetle-nut* as a favourite with the *Indians*, (and which they chew with *chunam*, or ſhell lime, and the leaf of an aromatic ſhrub that grows like a vine, and is ſupported on ſticks as our ſcarlet beans, called alſo *Beetle-leaf*) I ſhall here ſubjoin a brief deſcription of the *Arica* tree, which produces the nut. It is a fine ſlender upright tree, not above 6 inches thick at bottom, but grows to upwards of 30 feet high, and is jointed at about 8 or 9 inches diſtance, perhaps the laſt year's growth: it contains a large quantity of pith, the woody part being thin, but as tough as whalebone. The leaves grow in the ſame manner as thoſe of the *Cocoa-nut* tree, very long, and with a ſtrong, large middle rib; the flower comes out between the concave part of the leaves. The nuts are numerous, and out of the huſk (which is yellow on the outſide, brown and fibrous within) the fruit is about the ſize of a large walnut, and of the ſhape and colour of a nutmeg, though ſome are round. The extract of this nut ſeems to be the *Terra Japonica*; for after boiling ſome of thoſe nuts with a little *chunam* in the water, the decoction is the colour of that drug, and taſtes like it. This nut, wrapped with *chunam* in the *Beetle-leaf*, is not only chewed all over *India*, by men, women, and children, but is uſed likewiſe as an emblem of peace and friendſhip, being ſent by the *Rajahs* and princes to thoſe with whom they intend to live in friendſhip, and is given to you on all viſits you make to the natives.

There is alſo in *Bengal* an elegant, large, ſpreading flower tree, called *Chulta*: the leaves are a pale but pleaſant green, deeply furrowed above, and highly ridged below; they grow in bunches, in a plume-like form, and round the end of the branches. The flower is at firſt a hard green ball, on footſtalks about 4 inches; this opens, and the calix is compoſed of 5 round thick ſucculent leaves; the corolla is alſo 5 fine beautiful white round petals: the ſtamina are numerous and lingueform; ſtyles ſixteen, and lancelated. They ſtand in a radiated manner, and after one day the corolla falls off, and the ball cloſes again, when it is ſold in their markets. There is a ſucceſſion of theſe for ſeveral months, but no other appearance.—The *Mango* tree is plenty in *Bengal*, which grows to a large ſize, and ſpreads much; the wood is brown, and uſed only for indifferent work, the leaves are a fine green, and grow in bunches at the extremity of the branches. The flowers grow on a ſpike at the end of the branches, and at the extremity of the flower hangs one, two, and ſometimes three *Mangos*. The fruit, when ripe, is yellow and reddiſh, full of a fine agreeable juice: Some *Mangos* are very full of thread,

thread, or hair-like fibres; the juice runs out of these on cutting, or with a little handling; the others which have few or no fibres are much the finest; they cut like an apple, but more juicy, and I have seen some as big as a large man's fist. The form is oval, and they contain a large kernel in a tough husk near half as big as the fruit; this stone is taken out of the green ones which are pickled and carried to *England*. The ripe fruit is very wholesome, and except very fine pine apples, is preferable to any in *India*; the gentlemen eat little else in the hot months, when they are in season, if no wine is drank with them, they are apt to throw out troublesome but healthful boils. 1757.

In the walks at *Bengal* they have a tall tree, called the *Tatoon*, and which Captain *Birch* is said to have first brought from *England*. The leaves are of a deep shining green, the lower part rather paler, where it is ribbed, and undulated round the edges. I saw no flowers, but the fruit is of the size, shape and colour of an olive; it hath a moderate thin husk, and contains a kernel, like that of the date: five or six grow on the same pedicle.——Near *Calcutta* is a large spreading tree called the *Russa*, which makes a fine appearance when in full bloom. The natives say that this, and another near the *Dutch* settlement, are the only two in *Bengal*; they pretend likewise that they could never find the seed, which must certainly be a mistake, because there is abundance, and large. That they could not preserve them may be true, because the ants and other vermin are excessively fond of them, so that you can never find a pod untouched either by insects within, or ants; Mr. *Thomas* attended the tree daily for a considerable time to procure a whole pod, but in vain. The bark is brown and rough; the leaves are a deep green, but bright; they are pinnated, 4 pair and an odd one, or 5 pair on every pinna; several of these grow round every branch, which makes the whole bushy. The flower grows out between the lower leaves of the pinnæ, on a short but strong footstalk; this divides and subdivides into a great number, so as to make the whole a hemisphere. On the top of each of these, is a flower of a bright crimson, orange, and different shades down to yellow; they are monopetalous; the cup is about an inch long, divided above in four, ten stamina, and one style: they almost cover the tree, and there is a long succession of them, but little smell. The fruit is a pod of the shape and size of a large garden bean, containing 4 or 5 large fleshy seeds, which easily fall in two when dry; they are brown on the outside, white within, nearly square, but convex on the sides.

The latter end of *October*, the *Indian* inhabitants near *Calcutta*, were ordered by the governor and council to remove from the black town, and to build houses for themselves on another spot, at a greater distance from the fort. This was owing to the governor and council's resolution in consequence of Colonel *Clive*'s advice, to enlarge and well secure *Fort William*, which could not be done, whilst the *Indian* town was standing. It must be owned, that the natives received but a short notice to remove themselves and families; but certain intelligence having been received, that the country

1757. *Rajahs* were aſſembling troops with a view of diſputing the late acquired authority of *Meer Jaffier*, it was therefore thought indiſpenſably neceſſary that the fortreſs ſhould with the utmoſt expedition be put on a much more reſpectable footing, than what it had ever heretofore been.

Accounts are here kept in imaginary or current *Rupees*, *Annas*, and *Pices*.

The *Rupee* is valued in the company's caſh at 2 *s.* 3 *d.*
16 *Annas* make a *Rupee*.
12 *Pices* make an *Anna*.

Cowry ſhells are alſo current here on account of the cheapneſs of proviſions; theſe vary as to their value, from 4000 to 4800 to the *Rupee*, as hath already been noticed.

It muſt alſo be obſerved that the *Arcot* and *Pondicherry Rupees* have an advance or *Batta* of 8 *per Cent.* over the current *Rupees*.
Thoſe of *Bombay* have a *Batta* of 10 *per Cent.*
New *Siccas* or *Royal Rupees* have a *Batta* of 20 *per Cent.*
But the latter loſe in their value 2 *per Cent.* every year, until they are recoined.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Occurrences on the voyage from Calcutta *to* Gombroon.—*Arrival at* Columbo, Anjengo, Cochin, *with deſcriptions of the places.—Account of the* Cochin *or* Elephant-leg.—*Arrival at, and a ſhort account of,* Tellicherry, Goa, Bombay, *and* Gombroon.—*Obſervations on the* Banian *tree.*

THE beginning of the month of *November*, was ſpent in taking leave of our many friends, both of the ſquadron, and of *Calcutta*; and in writing letters to many others on the *Coromandel* coaſt, expreſſing our gratitude for the many civilities and acts of friendſhip they had ſhewn us, during our reſidence among them. The polite and friendly treatment, we had all experienced on our arrival, and during our ſtay in *India*, from the principal families reſiding in thoſe places, required that this compliment ſhould be paid to them. In truth, the hoſpitality and generoſity ſhewn to ſtrangers in general in this country, are beyond expreſſion; nor is it poſſible to point out a part of the world where the ſpirit of charity is more nobly exerted than in our *Eaſt India* company's ſettlements: numerous inſtances might be mentioned, where *princely* ſubſcriptions have in a few hours been raiſed, and applied to the effectual relief of many unfortunate families. 1757.

On *Saturday* the 19th of *November* we left *Calcutta*, and embarked in a ſmall boat on the *Ganges*, being provided with a letter of recommendation from Mr. *Gee*, a free merchant in *Bengal*, to Baron *Kniphauſen*, governor of the iſland *Karec* in the *Perſian* gulph. A young gentleman named *Pigot*, (late ſurgeon of a *bomb-veſſel*) went with us from *Calcutta*, with a view of getting a paſſage to *England* in an *European* ſhip from *Bombay*. As ſo long and dangerous a journey was before us, we thought it neceſſary, for the good regulation of our little party's affairs, to appoint Mr. *Doidge* to act as our chief, inveſting him with the ſupreme direction; and Mr. *Pye* we conſtituted our ſecretary. Mr. *Doidge* had in charge ſome diſpatches of importance from Admiral *Pocock* to one of the Secretaries of State, and to the Secretary of the Lords of the Admiralty. He was entruſted alſo with

1757. others from the governor and council of *Calcutta* to the directors of the *Eaſt India* company.

On *Monday* the 21ſt, we and our ſervants repaired on board his majeſty's ſhip the *Cumberland*, which from the time ſhe entered the river, had been ſtationed at *Culpee* *. On the 25th we embarked in the *Revenge*, an armed *Frigate* belonging to the *Eaſt India* company, which had been ordered by the admiral to carry us to *Bombay*, and which at this time was ſtill commanded by Commodore *James*, whom I have had often occaſion to mention. On our entering the *Revenge*, the commodore was ſo complaiſant as to honour us with a ſalute of 11 guns. In the afternoon we anchored at *Ingelee*. An incident happened during our paſſage from *Calcutta* to *Culpee*, which at the inſtant diverted our company not a little, and though but of ſmall conſequence in itſelf, yet as it conveys an idea of the *Indian* cuſtoms in this particular, the inſerting it may not be altogether unacceptable.—— One day we received a meſſage from a farmer of that part of the country which belonged to our *India* company, requeſting admittance to us on an affair which to him was very intereſting. We were told, that he had a petition to offer, and I was appointed to receive the petitioner in form, becauſe I was the moſt corpulent perſon of the party; my fellow-travellers having pleaſantly obſerved, that corpulency in this country is always eſteemed an infallible mark of heaven's favour, and which it never beſtows on any but its peculiar favourites. Upon his being introduced into the cabbin of our veſſel, he immediately proſtrated himſelf at my feet, kiſſed my ſhoe, and laid before me four or five rupees, with a remnant of cotton-cloth. He then was deſired to ſeat himſelf, and to relate his buſineſs: on which, he complained much of the oppreſſions he had lately ſuffered from the *Zemindar* of his diſtrict, expatiated on the ſeveral particulars, and intreated our aſſiſtance, by a letter addreſſed to ſome gentlemen of conſequence at *Calcutta*. It appearing to us that he had really been very ill treated, I ſtated his caſe in a letter to Mr. *Becher*, a gentleman of the council, with whom I thought I might take that liberty; and ſince have had the ſatisfaction to hear, that Mr. *Becher* in conſequence of my application, ſo kindly exerted himſelf in our petitioner's behalf, as to procure him effectual redreſs. We wiſhed very heartily to have returned the farmer his offering, but we had before learned from many ſimilar inſtances which had occurred during our ſtay in *India*, that this could not be done without taking from him all hopes of being relieved; for he hereby would have underſtood, that the letter which we had given to him was written rather to his diſadvantage, than his benefit.

Monday the 28th at nine in the morning, we ſailed from *Ingelee*, and at the ſame hour in the evening, our pilot left us, when we had a fine gale from the north-eaſt. *December* the 2d at noon, we were happy to find

* During the time of her lying here, ſhe took a *French* ſhip, which came into the *Ganges*, richly laden.

ourſelves

ourſelves in 13 degrees north, the latitude of *Madraſs*. The quick run we had from *Bengal*, which now took us up only five days; compared with the tedious paſſage of ſeven weeks which we had to it from *Madraſs* the laſt year, ſerved abundantly to convince us of the exceeding great ſtrength and violence of the monſoon, and how difficult and dangerous it will always be to beat up againſt it.—In the night of the 5th following, a ſlave black boy, who had been ſold by our *Bengal* pilot to one of the lieutenants of the *Revenge*, on account of his having been too familiar with his maſter's ſlave wench, ſuddenly diſappeared; having, as we ſuppoſed, thrown himſelf overboard. The boy became ſullen from the moment the pilot parted with him, and told the other boys of the ſhip, that he was much in love with the girl, and that ſhe was then pregnant by him.—We could not but lament the hard fate of theſe two unhappy, but faithful lovers! 1757.

The 8th, by obſervation at noon, we found ourſelves in the latitude of 6° 1′ north, and in ſight of the iſland of *Ceylon*, remarkable as hath been already obſerved for the large quantity of ſpice it yields to the *Dutch*. Beſides ſpices, it alſo produces arrack in great plenty. The *Dutch* ſupply the other parts of *India* with this commodity, as well as ſend a great quantity to *Europe*. By age it becomes (as I was told) nearly as mild and ſoft to the taſte, as what they make at *Batavia*, though, when newly diſtilled, it is very fiery and diſagreeable.

Wedneſday the 14th, in the afternoon, we anchored in *Columbo* road. Mr. *Doidge* and *I* went on ſhore to pay a viſit to Mr. *Knox*, the ſupercargo of the *Fatty Salem*, Captain *Woodſon:* we found that he had been very ill, and that his illneſs had been occaſioned by a cold he caught at *Galle*, in dancing with ſome ladies, who were juſt arrived from *Europe*. By what I could learn from Mr. *Knox*, who had been bred to the practice of phyſic, and had treated his diſorder as a fever of the intermittent kind, he had unfortunately taken too large a quantity of the *Peruvian* bark. At this time he laboured under a very conſiderable hardneſs on the left lobe of the liver, with a conſtipation of the body.—The boluſſes of the *Mercurius Alcalizatus*, clyſters, and fomentations which I preſcribed, gave him a little relief; but the next day his delirium returned, and then at his earneſt requeſt, made in lucid intervals, he was carried on board the *Revenge*; where he died the 18th of a mortification of the bowels and ſtomach, much lamented by all who knew him.

The town of *Columbo*, is the chief ſettlement of the *Dutch* on this iſland, and indeed, next to *Batavia* on the iſle of *Java*, is the moſt important of any they poſſeſs in the *Eaſt Indies*. It is ſituated on the weſt ſide of the iſland, in the latitude of ſeven degrees north, on a gently riſing ground. The ſoil is a red ſand, mixed with ſmall black ſhining gravel, which harden to a good pavement in the ſtreets. Theſe are all ſo judiciouſly contrived by eaſy aſcents and deſcents, that no inconvenience can poſſibly ariſe, even from the

1757. greateſt rains. They are alſo very wide, and have a beautiful row of trees on each ſide, between which and the houſes, is a very ſmooth and regular pavement. Between each tree too, there is a very fine and refreſhing graſs verdure, equal, if not ſuperior to what we ſee in the beſt walks of the moſt noted gardens in *England*. The ſtreets likewiſe all croſs each other at right angles, and upon the whole are ſo elegantly diſpoſed, and ſo very unlike any thing of the kind we had before ſeen in *India*, that we could not help admiring the ſuperior ſkill and ingenuity of the *Dutch*.

After we had ſatisfied our curioſity in viewing the beauty and regularity of the buildings, we walked to the extremities of the town, to examine the fortifications, which towards the ſea are but indifferent. Indeed there is no neceſſity for that part being very ſtrong, as no enemy can approach near enough to do them any conſiderable damage; they have wiſely therefore turned their chief ſtrength towards the land, and have ſo well executed their deſigns, we may venture to ſay, that all the *Europeans* in *India*, collected into one army, would be able to make very little, if any impreſſion at all upon the place. The citadel is of an irregular figure, occaſioned by the form of the ground on which it ſtands; the wall ſeems to be built of very good and large ſtones; the baſtions are very extenſive; and round moſt part of the town there is a double wall. Here is alſo a wet ditch, full ſixty feet wide, and a covered way, and *glacis*, where the ground will admit of it. The *Dutch* at this place, ſeem to be as capable of defending themſelves againſt an enemy by the good diſpoſition they have likewiſe made of their water, as by the ſtrength of their fortifications; for they have ſo contrived it, that a man cannot poſſibly approach the citadel under any cover, though at a little diſtance a ſtranger would be apt to imagine, that the whole town was built in a wood. There is always a garriſon here of thirteen hundred *Europeans*, all fine looking, healthy young men; for in our whole day's walk we did not ſee three ſoldiers who appeared to be forty years of age. Among other military and naval ſtores, we could not help taking notice of a great number of fine maſts, ſome of which appeared as large as the middle piece of a ſeventy gun ſhip's main-maſt.

We were introduced to the governor of *Columbo*, (who from his lofty deportment towards us, and the great authority he poſſeſſes in this part of the world, may be juſtly ſtiled *High* and *Mighty*) by *Mynheer Planchard*, his maſter of ceremonies; but our reception was ſo cool, that we entertained a very mean opinion of the governor's civility to ſtrangers. As to *Planchard*, his open countenance beſpoke a mind quite happy and at eaſe, and he very ſociably drank his bottle of wine with us at the public houſe the firſt night after our arrival; but never took the leaſt notice of us afterwards. This change in his behaviour, was in all probability owing to the influence of *Mynheer Shrewder* the governor; between whom and Commodore *James* no kind of civilities had paſt, as the manner of ſaluting, and returning the ſalute, could not be adjuſted between them. We obſerved nothing worthy

of

of remark in the inhabitants of this place, except that the breaſts of the men, who were natives of *Ceylon*, appeared to us of an uncommon ſize. While we lay here, three deſerters from the *Dutch* came on board of us; two were hollanders, and the third *Alexander M'Intoſh*, a *Scotchman*. The laſt I engaged as my ſervant, and he was added to our party. 1757.

Saturday the 17th of *December* we ſet ſail from *Columbo*, in company with an *Engliſh* merchant-ſhip from *Bengal*. On the 19th we were off *Anjengo*, on the *Malabar* coaſt, and then buried Mr. *Knox*, the *Revenge* firing half-minute guns. *Anjengo* lies in the latitude of 8° 35″ north, and is the ſouthernmoſt of our ſettlements.

Mr. *Moor* came on board with Mr. *Spencer* the *Chief*'s compliments to Commodore *James* and his paſſengers, deſiring the pleaſure of their company at his houſe. Here we were genteely and hoſpitably entertained, till the 23d. Our mornings we ſpent in reading, or rather feaſting on the many news-papers, magazines, and political pamphlets, lately brought from *Europe*. The evenings we paſt on the river in the *Chief*'s barge, with our muſkets, in purſuit of alligators. The groves on each ſide the river, are chiefly planted with cocoa-nut trees, and are inhabited by men and women in almoſt a pure ſtate of nature, for they go with their breaſts and bellies entirely naked: this cuſtom prevails univerſally throughout every *Caſt*, from the pooreſt planter of rice, to the daughter or conſort of the king upon the throne.

Here, for the firſt time, I ſaw pepper grow: the plant is a creeper that runs up and around trees; and I found the tree which gives the *Gongery*, or *Tellicherry** bark, to be the moſt common ſupporter of it. This grows to the ſize of our common cherry tree; the pepper, like the ivy, entwines itſelf about the tree, and ſends off cluſters, reſembling the firſt ſhootings of a bunch of grapes. A great variety of doves are found here; one ſort is green, and larger than the common pidgeon. Here are alſo ſnipes, a few woodcocks, hares, and wild hogs, but no partridges. The ſea abounds with Sardinias, Mullet, Horſe-mackrel, Rock-fiſh, Eels, young Sharks, Nayer-fiſh, *&c.*

Anjengo fort is ſmall, but neat and ſtrong; it is a ſquare with four baſtions, having eight guns mounted on each, carrying a ball of eighteen pounds. Two of theſe baſtions face the ſea, the other two the country.

* This bark was many years ago recommended to me by Mr. *Swan*, late ſurgeon of his majeſty's dock-yard at *Portſmouth*, under the name of the *Cort de Pala*, as an excellent ſuccedaneum to the *Peruvian* or *Jeſuit*'s bark; and when I got to *India* I frequently uſed it with ſucceſs. It is no where to be met with but on the *Malabar* coaſt; and ſhould a large quantity be wanted, it cannot be purchaſed at *Bombay* on a ſudden, but timely notice muſt be given for it's being procured from *Tellicherry*.

1757. Beſides theſe, there is a line of eighteen or twenty guns pointing towards the ſea, of eighteen and twenty-four pounders. About a piſtol ſhot from the back of the fort, runs a river, which, beſides its being a ſecurity to the factory, adds much to the agreeable ſituation of the place. This river has its ſource in ſome diſtant mountains, and deſcending in a courſe from the north and eaſt, it afterwards turns in ſeveral pleaſing meanders ſo far to the weſt, as to waſh the bottom of our factory's garden, and at laſt winding to the ſouth, it empties itſelf into the ſea. Several beautiful ſmall iſlands too, which are waſhed by its current, diverſify the ſcenery, and greatly heighten the beauty of the proſpect.

The firſt evening we ſpent in the barge, we were accompanied by a *Marchan*, or *Moorman*, governor of 12 *Carricars*, or officers of diſtricts, all under the king of *Travencore*. This *Moor* drank beer and wine, with as much ſatisfaction as any of us. He had no covering for his back, and the evening being ſomewhat ſharp, one of our company expreſſed his fear that the air would be too cold for him; to which he chearfully replied, "The weather, while I am in the company of *Engliſh* gentlemen, is never too cold, or any way diſagreeable." About ſeven miles up the river, at a place called *Attinga*, and at the diſtance of half a mile from the water, is a *Pagoda* or temple of the *Gentoos*, in which the queen of *Attinga* reſides. Till of late, the town and country of *Attinga* were quite independent of the king of *Travencore*, but now they are tributary to him. The eldeſt ſon of the queen of *Attinga* is always heir apparent to the crown of *Travencore*. We remarked at this place, a ſingular maxim of ſtate policy, adopted by the kingdoms on the *Malabar* coaſt. To aſcertain to themſelves a ſucceſſion of princes, deſcending from the pure and royal blood of their antient monarchs, the right of ſucceſſion to the throne is determined to belong to the eldeſt ſon of the female line: hence, a king's ſon in this country is preciſely on the ſame footing with a daughter of the *French* king, only with this difference (or rather degradation) that the young *Malabar* prince, being ranged (like all others of the *Nayer* or royal *Caſt*) among the ſecond *Caſt* or claſs of the nation, gives place in rank to the *Brahmins* *.

This ſettlement ſupplies our *Eaſt India* company with pepper; and its ſituation is alſo very convenient for giving proper intelligence to our ſhips touching here from *Europe*, or from any part of *India*. The preſent chief, Mr. *Spencer*, is a man of an excellent character both for probity and ſagacity;

* The following paſſage in *Guthrie*'s hiſtory of the world, proves however that this maxim of the eldeſt ſon of the female line ſucceeding to the throne, is not entirely confined to the *Malabar* coaſt.

"According to the eſtabliſhed order of ſucceſſion among ſome of the *Æthiopic* nations, upon the death of the king, his ſiſter's ſon mounted the throne: and in caſe the female branches of the royal family failed of iſſue, they choſe the moſt beautiful and valiant perſon among them for their king." Vol. 5. page 252.

the

the greateſt harmony and ſatisfaction ſubſiſt among the inhabitants in his government *. 1757.

December the 25th at noon we anchored in *Cochin* road, a ſettlement belonging to the *Dutch*, in the latitude of 9° 50′ north. We dined with the chief, *De Young*, by them called commandant; he was a very obliging little man. After dinner we drank ſucceſs to the king of *England*, the ſtates of *Holland*, &c.; and when our wine was finiſhed, we took a ſhort ride to the company's country houſe, in ſingle-horſe chaiſes, accompanied by the commandant and the late chief of *Quilon*. The town of *Cochin* is not unpleaſant, but in point of grandeur, regularity, and indeed in every other reſpect, it falls greatly ſhort of *Columbo*. We found the *Dutch* in this ſettlement involved in diſputes with the *country* powers, whoſe head is ſtiled *Samoreen*, a title equal to king. This prince had lately taken a fort or two from the *Dutch*, at about ten leagues diſtance from *Cochin*, they were then aſſembling forces to oppoſe him, and for that purpoſe had already landed three or four hundred ſoldiers from *Batavia*. From this place, the *Dutch* are chiefly ſupplied with pepper. The fortification is irregular, but ſtrong enough to reſiſt any country power, and has forty or fifty guns facing the ſea. Many families of *Jews* are eſtabliſhed here; their anceſtors were found on this ſpot by the *Portugueſe* at their firſt ſettling in the country; and the general opinion is, that they are deſcendants of ſome *Jews* who travelled hither ſoon after the final deſtruction of the temple. One *Ezekiel* a *Rabbi* is now living at *Cochin*, a man of conſequence, and his word is held in high eſtimation; he is a lover of ſcience, and underſtands aſtronomy.

We could not but take notice at this place, of a great number of the *Cochin* or *Elephant* legs. This is a diſorder peculiar to the inhabitants of the *Malabar* coaſt, and eſpecially to thoſe of *Cochin*. It ſeems to be merely an œdematous ſwelling, ariſing from an impoveriſhed ſtate of the blood; and in many perſons the leg is of ſo enormous a ſize, as to occaſion it's being called the *Elephant-leg*, having greatly the appearance both in ſhape and bigneſs of the *Elephant*'s. I could not learn that any remedy for this diſorder had been diſcovered by the natives, and as they ſeldom or never apply to *Europeans* for aſſiſtance, I believe they are ſeldom if ever cured: but were they to do ſo, probably it would but little avail, ſince an alteration from the pooreſt to the moſt cordial and nutritious diet would certainly be recommended to them, and we well know, that every *Caſt* of *Indians* are ſo much wedded to their own particular cuſtoms, they would ſooner chooſe to die, than materially to alter their uſual courſe of living, even if their circumſtances permitted it †. The generality of thoſe who labour under this

* This gentleman is ſince dead.

† Of this, we had ſeveral inſtances in our long paſſage to *Bengal*, among the *Sepoys* under the command of Colonel *Clive*, who periſhed becauſe they would not partake of the ſhip's proviſions after their own had been expended.

1757. diſorder, ſeldom are able indeed to call in any aſſiſtance, being compoſed of the very pooreſt of the people, who feed chiefly on *Sardinias*, and cannot purchaſe even the ſmalleſt quantity of rice to boil with the fiſh for their daily ſubſiſtence. I was informed, that theſe poor wretches are ſupported for whole weeks together, perhaps months, with no other aliment than what this ſpecies of fiſh affords; and their drink is water only, unleſs by way of regale they now and then procure a draught of the ſimple unfermented juice of the cocoa-nut-tree, called *Toddy*.

1758. The 28th we ſailed from *Cochin*, and on the 31ſt anchored at *Tellicherry*. The next day (*January* 1ſt 1758) we dined with our company's chief, Mr. *Hodges*, who was ſo polite as to introduce us to every gentleman and lady of the ſettlement. After dinner, many loyal healths went round, with firing of cannon at each intereſting toaſt. *Tellicherry* is a ſettlement independant of *Anjengo*, but both are ſubordinate to *Bombay*. Beſides it's own garriſon, there are ſeveral other forts in the neighbourhood; one to the ſouthward, at about a mile diſtance, and therefore called *Mile-end*, and eight or nine to the northward, all under the government of the chief here. Theſe forts are of no other uſe but to ſecure the pepper-trade, by preventing the natives from clandeſtinely bringing it to the water's ſide, to the prejudice of our commerce.

Tellicherry fort is ſituated on a riſing ground, but there is another hill within cannon ſhot yet higher, on which ſtands a little inconſiderable fort. Was this laſt in poſſeſſion of an enemy, it would entirely command that of *Tellicherry*. About two miles to the ſouthward, on a very fine eminence, is the *French* ſettlement of *Mabie*, the only one of conſequence that nation has on the *Malabar* coaſt. Juſt before our arrival at *Tellicherry*, our factory having unfortunately loſt their ſurgeon, a *French* gentleman of that profeſſion at *Mabie*, notwithſtanding the war between the two nations, occaſionally viſited our ſick, and Mrs. *Hodges* had been ſome time under his care *. Our garriſon for the defence of *Tellicherry*, and it's neighbouring forts, conſiſts of about four hundred *European* troops, and as many *Topaſſes*. Almoſt the whole time we continued here, the *Briſtol Frigate* (formerly an *Engliſh* privateer, but which had been taken by the *French*) lay at anchor off *Mabie*. This ſhip, after having landed forty or fifty ſoldiers, took in ſome pepper, and ſailed (as we then imagined) for *Mauritius*.——About four miles from *Tellicherry*, there is a ſmall iſland, belonging to the *Engliſh*, called *Damapatan*, on which Mr. *Doidge* diſcovered a ſpring of excellent water, before unknown to our people.

* After the reduction of *Pondicherry* in the year 1761, an armament was equipped againſt this *French* ſettlement of *Mabie*, under the command of Major *Hector Monro*, who in concert with Mr. *Hodges*, took the place, though defended by above 200 pieces of cannon.

We

We ſailed from *Tellicherry*, the 3d of *January*, and on the 8th anchored in the road of *Goa*. The ſame afternoon, we paſſed pleaſantly up the river in a boat belonging to a *Portugueſe* nobleman, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. *Howel* of *Bombay*, who embarked on board our frigate at *Anjengo*. *Goa* is the principal, and almoſt the only ſettlement which remains to the *Portugueſe*, of all the large poſſeſſions they once had in the *Eaſt Indies*. It hath been generally governed by a vice-roy ſent from *Europe*, but was now under the adminiſtration of the archbiſhop, and two of the principal people, who acted as regents. The late vice-roy was killed in a battle with the *Maharattas*, (in the year 1756,) who inhabit the country at the back of *Goa*, and with whom the *Portugueſe* have for ſeveral years carried on a troubleſome war. 1758.

Goa is an iſland; there is properly no town, but many pleaſant villas belonging to the merchants are ſcattered up and down; ſome are moſt agreeably ſituated on the ſides of hills, but the greater part on the banks of the river, for the convenience of landing goods. There are alſo ſeveral houſes built on the oppoſite continent, from which *Goa* is not ſeparated above three miles at the broadeſt part. Upon an hill on the left ſide of the entrance of the harbour, they have a line of about fifty guns, which is called the *Alguardo*; and as you go farther in, they have a fort on the top of another hill, which entirely commands the harbour. There are many churches and monaſteries here, ſome of which were once ſuperb; the decay of theſe, and moſt of the other public buildings, too plainly ſhews the preſent ruinous ſtate of the *Portugueſe* power and trade in this part of the world. However, the infamouſly cruel *Court* of *Inquiſition* reigns here in all it's fury, and primitive diabolical glory.

We left *Goa* the 11th, and on *Monday* the 24th of *January*, anchored in *Bombay* harbour. We found a conſiderable addition had been made the laſt year to the ſtrength of the fortifications towards the ſea, under the direction of Captain *Defunk*, engineer; a *Swede* by birth, and eſteemed a man of ability in his profeſſion. Juſt before our arrival at *Bombay*, it unfortunately happened, that Major *Mace* (late of the king's artillery) touch'd there from *Europe*, with a commiſſion from the *Eaſt India* company, appointing him engineer general of all their garriſons. Captain *Defunk* looked upon this commiſſion of the major's, as a diſhonour done to himſelf, and accordingly in great diſguſt quitted the company's ſervice. Many imagined, that the reſignation of this gentleman would be attended with circumſtances very diſadvantageous to the company; as by his abſence Major *Mace* would neceſſarily be detained in *Bombay* at a time when his beſt abilities and ſpeedieſt ſervices were required at *Calcutta*, in order to put its fortifications in a proper ſtate of defence. It was known indeed, that Captain *Browyer* (an engineer in the company's ſervice) had not yet left *Calcutta*, but then it was ſaid, that his ill health would oblige him to do it in *March* next, to avoid the killing heats and rains of the ſummer. We expected to have found the dock at

1758. *Bombay* capable of receiving a ſhip of ſeventy guns, agreeable to the repeated aſſurances given to Mr. *Watſon*; but we were diſappointed in this particular, the hands to carry it on being very ſcarce: however, Mr. *Hough*, ſuperintendant of the company's marine here, was indefatigable in his endeavours to finiſh this work of immenſe labour, and the dock is now compleated. Commodore (afterwards admiral) *Stevens* was here obliged to heave down the *Elizabeth*, one of the ſhips of his ſquadron, to ſtop a conſiderable leak, but in the firſt attempt, ſhe had the misfortune to ſpring her mainmaſt, by which accident he was detained a longer time than he wiſhed. We learned that he left *Bombay* to join Admiral *Pocock*, a few days before we arrived, with the crews in health, and his ſhips in good condition.

As ſoon as we went aſhore, we all waited upon governor *Bourchier*, who received us very politely, and told us that the *Swallow*, a ſhip belonging to the company, commanded by Captain *Price*, was then taking in goods for *Gombroon* in *Perſia*, and if it was agreeable to us, we were welcome to take a paſſage in her. — We very gladly accepted the offer. We continued at *Bombay* waiting for the ſhip to be ready, till the 8th of *February*, when we embarked, having taken into our party my worthy old friend Mr. *Alms* formerly mentioned, a lieutenant in the navy, but late commander of the *Hardwick*, a large ſhip trading in theſe ſeas: And Mr. *Pigot*, who came with us from *Calcutta*, with a deſign of getting a paſſage from *Bombay* in one of the company's ſhips to *England*, now gladly accepted of the invitation we gave him, and reſolved to accompany us in our journey by land. Mr. *Hough* * (to whom and to whoſe family we were greatly indebted for their polite and friendly behaviour during our reſidence at *Bombay*) gave us letters of credit on *Gombroon* and *Baſſora*; and Sir *James Foulis* was ſo obliging as to furniſh us with bills for caſh on Mr. *Drummond*, our *Turky* company's conſul at *Aleppo*.

February 14, paſſed by *Surat*, which was heretofore a very populous and rich city, about three miles in circumference, walled round, with ſome antique forts to defend it, but which are of no conſequence. It is ſituated in the kingdom of *Guzarat*, and ſubject to the Great *Mogul*: The *Engliſh* have a factory there; † and alſo the *Dutch*, *French*, *Portugueſe* and *Armenians*; theſe laſt trade very largely, and are very rich. *Surat* is about 160 miles diſtance from *Bombay*, latitude 21°. 30′ north.—*Saturday* the 25th at noon, by obſervation we found ourſelves in the latitude of 23°. 10′ north, and at ſun ſet ſaw the coaſt of *Arabia Felix*, which lies in about thirteen degrees weſt longitude from *Bombay*. The 1ſt of *March* at ſun riſe we diſcovered the *Perſian* ſhore. By noon we were in the latitude of 25 degrees north; and then we caſt off a boat called a large *Seebar*, bound to

* This gentleman returned to *England*, but in a year or two after died in *London*.

† Since the year 1759, the *Engliſh* have been conſidered as principals at *Surat*.

Muſcat,

Muſcat *, which we had in tow all the way from *Bombay*, and which had hindered our progreſs very much. *Wedneſday* the 8th, at noon, we got round *Cape Jaſques*, which on the *Perſian* ſide forms the entrance into the *Gulph*. At night we had a very hard gale of wind, which we rode out with two anchors, between the iſlands *Ormus* † and *Larac*. The next day, at 11 in the morning, we anchored in *Gombroon* road, where we found the *Succeſs*, a veſſel of war belonging to the *Eaſt India* company, one of whoſe officers came on board and told us the diſagreeable news, that the *Briſtol*, a *French* man of war of 30 guns, had arrived at *Baſſora* the 8th of laſt month, to take under her convoy a merchant ſhip which had lain there for ſome time. This frigate we knew to be the ſame ſhip that lay at anchor off *Mahie*, during our ſtay at *Tellicherry*, and which we then ſuppoſed had ſailed to *Mauritius*. 1758.

Captain *Price* went on ſhore the ſame day we arrived at *Gombroon*, and my fellow travellers followed him the next morning; but finding myſelf a good deal out of order ‡, and not knowing how we might fare in lodgings, I did not leave the ſhip till two days afterwards. *Alexander Douglas* Eſq; of the council at *Bombay*, was chief or agent here. Mr. *Moſtyn*, ſon to a captain of foot in the company's ſervice, was next to him, a very obliging, ſenſible young man. Mr. *Naſh* and Mr. *Holmes*, two writers, and Mr. *Parker* the ſurgeon, with Mr. *Wait*, book-keeper to Mr. *Douglas*, made up the company.

* A port town in *Arabia Felix*, from whence there is a large trade with *Bombay*, which hath civilized the natives much, and greatly prejudiced them in favour of the *Engliſh*, more than any other *European* nation.

† *Ormus* was at this time covered over with ſalt, which grows two inches thick on the ſurface in a ſolid cruſt, and appears at a diſtance, on the hills, like driven ſnow. No freſh water is to be found on the iſland; nevertheleſs, the *Portugueſe* at their firſt diſcovering it in the fifteenth century, from its advantageous ſituation for trade, built here an elegant city, and ſtrongly fortified it. About 120 years ago, the *Perſians* with the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* expelled the *Portugueſe*, and the *Shah Abbas* cauſed the fortifications to be demoliſhed, and removed the trade to *Gombroon* on the oppoſite ſhore, allowing the *Engliſh* great privileges in commerce.

‡ During our ſtay at *Bombay* I had been ſeized with a bilious inflammatory fever, which in all probability would have been very violent, and attended with the moſt imminent danger, had I not on the firſt attack happily given directions, that the febrifuge powder of Dr. *James* ſhould be adminiſtered to me every hour during the ſpace of a whole day, which operated ſo powerfully on the ſtomach, inteſtines, kidneys, and pores of the ſkin, that in ſix hours after I had taken the firſt doſe, all the alarming and moſt diſtreſsful ſymptoms went off. The quantity of bile diſcharged from my ſtomach exceeded all belief. Indeed I have in the courſe of my practice for ſome paſt years, experienced ſo much benefit from this noble medicine, that I have often lamented it's ſuperior efficacy was not ſooner known to me. I am now verily perſuaded that it is as truly a ſpecific in ardent fevers, as the *Peruvian* bark is in thoſe that are intermitting, or as mercury in venereal complaints. However, there is great danger attending the common and indiſcriminate adminiſtration of it; ſince it is as certainly true that this powder will deſtroy in a putrid, as that it will cure in an inflammatory diſorder.

1758. *Gombroon* is ſituated at the foot of a very high mountain, which by intercepting the paſſage of the land-wind, makes it intolerably hot. At preſent, it is a place of no kind of conſequence, except what it receives from the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* factories, beſides whom, no other *European* nation has any ſettlement here. The two factory houſes are the only buildings remaining of any importance; the whole city beſides, is almoſt one entire ſcene of ruins, which ſerved indeed to convince us of its once flouriſhing ſtate; but the conſtant wars carried on in this country, and their attendants, confuſion and anarchy, have deprived the *Engliſh* of almoſt all their commercial advantages, and the place of almoſt all its inhabitants; the few that remain, are only ſuch as have a dependance on the two factories, and a very ſmall number of *Banian*, *Gentoo* and *Perſian* merchants who reſide there. So different an appearance hath this city now, from what it had when Sir *John Chardin* viſited it! The air is ſtill as unhealthy, as it was in the time of that writer; the *Perſians* themſelves fly from it in the bad ſeaſon, and few of our factory eſcape putrid, intermitting fevers (which principally rage in the months of *May* and *September*); and though they ſometimes recover, yet it generally happens that their conſtitutions are much impair'd; they loſe the *European* complexion, become pale, and enervated, and their diſeaſes terminate in obſtructions of the liver, and adheſions of it to the peritonæum.

Beſides the many conjectures mentioned by *Chardin* and others, on the cauſes of the unwholeſomeneſs of the *Gombroon* air in the ſummer months; Dr. *Boerhaave* accounts for it, from the nature of the ſoil, which as it abounds with ſalt, renders it the hotteſt part upon the globe in his eſtimation, though its latitude doth not exceed 27° 30′. The white cruſt which the ſalt forms all over the earth, firſt attracts, and then reflects the intenſe heat of the ſun to the neighbouring bodies, *&c.* Our countrymen reſiding there, judged alſo, that the very great quantity of blubber-fiſh, left by the ſea on the ſhore, which at that ſeaſon of the year quickly become putrid, and emit moſt offenſive and noxious effluvia, contributed much to render the place unhealthy.

Mr. *Douglas*'s garden, adjoining to his houſe, produces however beans, coleworts, ſpinage, lettuce, onions, and cucumbers; and ſo do the company's public gardens at *Aſſein*, diſtant from hence about 12 miles. Theſe gardens alſo furniſh *Citrons*, *Oranges*, *Limes*, *Pomegranates*, and *Bedams*. The fig too, and ſome other trees, are to be found here; the moſt common ones are the *Date* and *Gum Arabic*. The gentlemen of our factory ſeemed quite unacquainted with the latter. The jeſſamin, and damaſk roſe, grow at *Narban*, in the neighbourhood of *Gombroon*; the latter we ſaw in bloom when we were there. We were told of apples, grapes, peaches, apricots, plumbs and walnuts, being to be had in plenty in their proper ſeaſons; the two laſt we eat of, but they were dry, and of the laſt year. Butchers meat, poultry, oyſters, (the beſt I met with in *Aſia*) prawns, and many other

other ſorts of fiſh, are to be had in great abundance. *Perſian* wine is furniſhed at the company's expence to all their ſervants, and is the beſt wine I ever taſted, except claret; it coſts about twenty-pence the bottle. The company allow alſo their ſervants *Madeira* wine, and ſeveral other articles neceſſary for their table. Hither the company ſend fine woollen cloth, and ſome lead, and carry away *Carminian* wool and copper. 1758.

Perſia produces alſo many other articles of trade, but our *Eaſt India* company do not concern themſelves about them, leaving the profits ariſing from thence to private adventurers. Thoſe products are *Aſſa-fœtida*; *Hing* or *Hingra* (which is a finer ſort of *Aſſa-fœtida*) *Dragon*'s blood, *Opopanax*, *Sagopenum*, *Ruinus* (which has the appearance of ſprigs of trees, and is uſed in dying red) *Cummin-ſeeds*, *Almonds*, *Kiſmas* (a ſmall ſort of raiſins without ſtones) black raiſins of the ſun, *Piſtachia-nuts*, *Prunes*, *Mangos*, and *Dates*, which laſt come not to ſo great perfection in any other part of the world, as in thoſe places which border on the *Perſian* gulph.

About twenty-four miles from *Gombroon*, at a place called *Genow*, a hot ſpring or bath has been diſcovered: hither the people of the country reſort for the cure of all their diſeaſes. Mr. *Parker* told me, that it had been found uſeful in moſt cutaneous diſorders; he had the curioſity to bring ſome bottles of the water from thence, evaporated it by the fire, and found the *Reſiduum* to be chiefly ſulphur. He gave it to ſome of his patients, and it acted as a gentle purge. At the diſtance of half a mile from the factory at *Gombroon*, ſtill remains the ſo much celebrated *Banian* tree: it did not appear to me to expand itſelf equal to that in *Trevandeparum*, four miles diſtant from *Fort St. David*, under whoſe ſhade and branches, Mr. *Doidge* computed that ten thouſand men might ſtand without incommoding themſelves, allowing ſix men to a yard ſquare; and ſeveral people have built houſes under the arches which have been formed by the limbs dropping down fibres, which take root and become another tree, united to the firſt. The arches which theſe different ſtocks make, are *Gothic*, and ſomewhat like the arches in *Weſtminſter-hall*. The leaves of this tree are a bright ſhining green, fleſhy, and oval, about ſix inches long: the fruit is a fig, but the birds eat them as ſoon as they appear.

There is another tree of this ſort in the *Cocoa-nut* grove at *Bombay*, on the road to the arbour near *Malabar* hill, which is the third largeſt and moſt ſhady of any I have ever ſeen; but this laſt differs from the other two in this remarkable circumſtance, that none of its branches have deſcended into the earth, and formed (as the two others have done) new trunks or trees *. It appears indeed to have made ſome efforts towards it, but the rooty ſhoots have not yet

* Although this has the ſame leaf as the other two, and goes by the ſame name, yet probably it is of a different ſpecies.

1758. ſtruck the ground. The ſingle body however, or trunk of the tree at *Bombay*, is of much larger dimenſions than any one of the many bodies or trunks belonging to thoſe near *Fort St. David* and *Gombroon*. Under that on the *Coromandel* coaſt, are the ruins of ſome houſes; and it is commonly related (in order to make the tree appear the more marvellous) that this one tree once ſhaded a whole town. At a ſmall diſtance from this tree near *Gombroon*, there is a *Pagoda* or temple, in a very ruinous condition, except a ſmall part, which is kept in good repair, and much frequented by the *Gentoos* in their devotions. The *Gentoos* likewiſe worſhip under the ſhade of thoſe trees which grow near *Fort St. David* and *Bombay*, but with this material difference, that at the two laſt places they have no † *Pagodas* built with mens hands, any more than the *Druids* of old had, who under their conſecrated oak worſhipped one ſupreme *God*, immenſe and infinite, and could not think of confining their adoration to the narrow limits of a temple, which they deemed would be quite inconſiſtent with thoſe attributes. In like manner, the *Banian* tree is held ſacred by the *Gentoos*, who are almoſt as ſenſibly hurt by your cutting or lopping off one of its ſuperfluous branches, as if you were to mutilate or deſtroy a cow, between whoſe ſacred horns they often place their hand, when they make their moſt ſolemn oaths, and appeals to the Deity.

Our countryman Mr. *Tickel* has taken notice of this tree in the following lines.

" Like the fam'd Banian tree, whoſe pliant ſhoot
" To earthward bending, of itſelf takes root,
" Till like their mother plant, ten thouſand ſtand
" In verdant arches on the fertile land;
" Beneath her ſhade the tawny Indians rove,
" Or hunt at large through the wide echoing grove."

We here found the aſs a very uſeful creature; I rode twice on one to *Narbau*, and my brother travellers made uſe of the ſame conveyance in a jaunt to *Aſſein*. The road to this laſt place is over a chain of barren, inhoſpitable mountains, where are not only many dreadful precipices, which you muſt neceſſarily paſs over, but alſo large pieces of cragged rocks, which hang over your head, and ſeem to threaten you with immediate deſtruction.

† *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Perſians* erected neither ſtatues, temples, nor altars to their gods; but offered their ſacrifices in the open air, and generally on the tops of hills, or high places. Book I. chap. 131.

Cicero ſuppoſes it to have been through the advice and inſtigation of the *Magi*, that *Xerxes*, the *Perſian* king, burnt all the *Grecian* temples, eſteeming it injurious to the majeſty of god to ſhut up him within walls, to whom all things are open, and to whom the whole world ſhould be reckoned as an houſe or a temple. His words are theſe: " Auctoribus *Magis Xerxes* inflammaſſe templa *Græciæ* dicitur, quod *parietibus includerunt deos*, quibus omnia deberent eſſe patentia ac libera, quorumque hîc mundus omnis templum eſſet & domus. Cic. *l. 2. de Legibus.*

From

From a mile without *Gombroon*, all the way to *Aſſein*, there is not the leaſt herbage or paſture to be ſeen. Round the company's houſe indeed, there is a tolerable good garden, and what makes it of more value, there are in it ſome wells of excellent water, which is carried every day to *Gombroon* upon camels for the uſe of the factory. At the back of the factory houſe, there are ten or twelve large guns towards the land; and at the entrance of the gate towards the ſea, there are a few others, but of ſo ſmall a bore that unleſs a ſhip anchors very near the ſhore, and the wind blows at the ſame time off the land, their report cannot be heard; which was exactly our caſe, when they returned the ſalute which we gave them from the *Swallow*. 1758.

The kingdom of *Perſia* had for ſeveral years been torn to pieces by civil wars. At this time, there were four competitors for the empire; and till lately there was a fifth named *Azet Khan*, but his forces were entirely defeated, himſelf forced to fly to *Baghdad* for protection, and his power ruined, by an unſucceſsful battle he fought againſt *Hamet Schah*, his rival in the *Affghan* or *Pytan* country. *Nauzir Khan*, one of the four, reſided at *Laar*, not far diſtant from *Gombroon*; and this is he who by the *European* gentlemen there is called *Our Khan*, as living in their neighbourhood, and to whoſe power the governors or *Sheicks* thereabouts are obliged to ſubmit. I was told that this *Khan*, or general (as is the meaning of the word *Kan*, *Khan*, or *Cawn* in the *Perſian* language) had not above five thouſand troops in his pay, but that he poſſeſſed many ſtrong-holds and garriſons among mountains almoſt inacceſſible; and that he had lately forced *Kerim Khan*, another of the competitors, who with a great army had beſieged him in the city of *Laar*, to retire without ſucceſs.

A ſkirmiſh happened a few days before our arrival, near *Aſſein*, which was occaſioned by the ill behaviour of a certain *Sheick*, who being in poſſeſſion of a fort with a garriſon of three or four hundred men, frequently interrupted the wool trade from *Carminia* going to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* factories at *Gombroon*. Complaint having been made of this to *Nauzir Khan*, he immediately marched with a body of troops, attacked the fort, and took it; but unfortunately the *Sheick* made his eſcape, with ſome of his people, to another petty *Sheick* in the neighbourhood, who joined the fugitives, and together made up a body of ſome hundred men. *Nauzir Khan* marching againſt them in perſon, detached an officer before with a ſmall body of troops, who ſoon got up with the enemy, gave them battle, killed about ſeventy of them, took priſoners as many more, and diſperſed the reſt. Elated with this ſucceſs, the victors lay, as they imagined, in perfect ſecurity, and ſo ſuffered part of their troops to ſtraggle and plunder; one of theſe moroding parties was ſurprized by their lately defeated enemy, the chief officer of the *Khan* was killed upon the ſpot, with four or five others of inferior rank, and the ſurgeon of the *Engliſh* factory at *Gombroon* was called on to aſſiſt thoſe who were wounded.

1758. *Muley Aly*, the *Perſian* governor of *Gombroon* is an *Arab*. The iſlands of *Ormus* and *Larac* are ſubject to him. He has three ſhips of war lying at the former, but they are in no condition to put to ſea. The forts under his command are alſo out of repair. His uſual place of reſidence is *Ormus*, or he is ſure to fly thither upon every alarm of the *Khan*'s approach; and as he has been very backward in paying thoſe duties which are required from him, he is under continual apprehenſions of a viſit from that *General*. Beſide the iſlands of *Ormus* and *Larac*, *Kiſme* another iſland inhabited by *Perſians*, but of no great note, is at preſent under *Muley Aly*'s government, though till very lately quite independant of him. The late governor of this iſland for many years bravely reſiſted all the attempts of *Muley Aly*; lived to the age of fourſcore, and died at laſt in his bed, at the very time that *Muley Aly* was beſieging his principal fortreſs, which we obſerved, as ſailing by it, to be advantageouſly ſeated on a hill. It was generally imagined, that this laſt expedition of *Muley Aly*'s would not have been attended with greater ſucceſs than his former, had not the death of the governor given an unlucky turn to the affairs of the ſiege. For ſoon after that event, the garriſon found themſelves under a neceſſity of ſurrendering; and *Muley Aly*, to give (as he thought) the greater *eclat* to his ſucceſſes, cauſed the head of the brave, deceaſed governor, to be cut off, and returned in triumph with it to *Banderabaſſi*, and *Ormus*.

This military robber * has a bad character among our people; he has been often threatened by *Nauzir Khan*, and probably would long ſince have been made a public example of, were it not for his connection with a powerful *Sheick* on the *Arabian* ſhore, whoſe daughter he married, and who is always ready to aſſiſt him with veſſels to tranſport him to the iſles, and with troops to defend himſelf there in caſe he ſhould be attacked.

I cannot conclude this account of the ſituation of affairs at *Gombroon*, without paying a juſt compliment to the great prudence and ſagacity of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* factories eſtabliſhed there, who amidſt all the ſhocks and convulſions of a civil war among the *Perſians*, have met with little or no interuption in their trade from any of the contending parties; it being a maxim with them, to ſide openly with none of the competitors, and yet at the ſame time to keep well with all: for this end, civil letters, and ſometimes preſents, have been thought indiſpenſably neceſſary.

As the *Briſtol*, the *French Frigate*, was in *Baſſora* river, Mr. *Douglas* was hereby prevented from diſpatching the *Succeſs Grab* with us to *Baſſora*, as he had been directed by the governor and council of *Bombay*; he not thinking it prudent, under the preſent circumſtances, to truſt the company's bales, which were her intended loading, in a veſſel of ſuch little force.

* It is believed, that he ſecretly aſſiſted the *French* Count *de Eſtaing* in his attack and conqueſt of our factory houſe at *Gombroon*, in the year 1759.

This

This delay was the more diſagreeable to us, being quite unexpected, as no *French* ſhip of war had made its appearance in thoſe ſeas, ſince the commencement of the diſpute between the two nations. We flattered ourſelves at the time we left *Calcutta*, of having a quick paſſage to *Baſſora*, and of being able to join the *Caravan* which goes from thence to *Aleppo*, early in the ſpring; but unfortunately for us, our views of that kind were now entirely diſconcerted! But the interruption we met with from the *French* ſhip, was not the firſt difficulty we had experienced in our tedious voyage: a thouſand beſides had intervened to prolong our paſſage, which coſt us many ſerious reflections, eſpecially on account of the public diſpatches we were entruſted with, the ſpeedy delivery of which we had reaſon to believe would be of the utmoſt conſequence to the nation; and therefore we thought it our duty to run all riſks in getting to *England* as faſt as poſſible. Accordingly we reſolved to hire one of the common, but uncomfortable veſſels of the *Gulph*, called a *Trankey*, and to proceed in her to *Baſſora*, diſguiſed like *Arabs*. Upon our making application to Mr. *Douglas* for this purpoſe, he was ſo obliging as to ſend a boat to *Kiſme* to procure us one; but no anſwer arriving from thence for ſeveral days, we grew quite impatient, and reſolved to addreſs Mr. *Douglas* by letter to favour us with ſome veſſel to carry us up the *Gulph* as far as *Karec*, an iſland belonging to the *Dutch*; to the governor of which, *Baron Kniphauſen*, we had a letter of recommendation. Mr. *Douglas*, after mature conſideration, conſented to this requeſt, and accordingly ordered the *Succeſs Grab*, Captain *Lindeſey*, to put us aſhore on that iſland. 1758.

CHAP. XIV.

The run from Gombroon *up the* Perſian *Gulph.—Arrival at the iſland of* Karec.—*Our generous reception by* Baron Kniphauſen *the governor.—Account of that gentleman's diſpute with the* Turkiſh *government at* Baſſora, *and his eſtabliſhment at* Karec.—*State of that iſland at the time of our arrival.—The pearl-fiſhery; natural curioſities.—The manners and cuſtoms of the* Arabs, *and* Perſians.—*Anecdotes of the famous* Thamas Kuli Khan, *with an account of the preſent competitors for the crown of* Perſia.—*Anecdotes of a late governor of* Batavia.—*Forty thouſand* Chineſe *maſſacred there in one night.—Negotiation with the* Sheick *of* Grane *for conducting us over the* Deſert.—*Deſcription of the ſeveral ſmoking tubes made uſe of in* India.—*The author and his brother-travellers arrive at* Baſſora.

1758. IN the evening of the 17th of *March* we took our leave of *Gombroon*; and on the 19th paſſed by *Congo-Bender*, formerly a town of elegance and conſiderable trade belonging to the *Portugueſe*, but now in a moſt ruinous condition. The ſame day we came to an anchor at *Ling*, a ſmall village, about a league from *Congo*, and there took in another pilot to carry us up to *Karec*. At eight o'clock we got under ſail again with a fine eaſterly wind. *Friday* the 24th we paſſed by the iſles of *Kiſme*, *Pellear*, *Kyes*, *Inderabie*, *Shittewar*, and *Buſheel*. Some of theſe were quite barren; on others we obſerved a few trees or buſhes, and little fiſhing towns, with two or three *Trankeys* lying on ſhore. The *Date* trees were thinly ſcattered among the hills, and though a ſmall portion of green might here and there be diſcovered, yet ſuch was the barrenneſs of theſe iſlands in general, that it was for ſome time a matter of ſurprize to us, how ſheep and goats could poſſibly ſubſiſt there: But upon a cloſer examination, when aſhore, we found that the ground produced a ſmall-leaved juicy mallows, which ſeems to be the principal food of theſe animals. The *Perſian* coaſt afforded a moſt romantic proſpect. It appeared to us at firſt to be one continued rock, rent and torn aſunder by earthquakes; but we afterwards diſcovered, that ſome part of it was only ſand, hardened by the rains and ſun.

On the 25th we had the wind from the north-weſt, which obliged us to drop anchor, to prevent the ſhip being driven back by the ebb tide.

We

We caught this day ſeveral ſorts of fiſh; ſuch as the *Bonetta*, plaice, bream, conger-eel, &c. &c. At nine o'clock a breeze ſpringing up from the ſouthward, we again made ſail, and paſſed by a little fiſhing town on the *Perſian* ſhore, called *Shewee*, where there appeared to be a ſmall ſquare fort, which by our pilot's account, has a few guns, and is kept in ſome ſort of repair. *Engliſh* ſhips trading in this gulph from *Bombay*, frequently take in rock-ſalt for ballaſt, and ſell it on the *Malabar* coaſt for about thirty *Rupees* the ton, which is almoſt all clear gain. Captain *Lindſey* preſented me with two pieces of metal-ore, and one of rock-ſalt, which he got from the iſland of *Ormus*, where both are found in great plenty. 1758.

In our run thus far from *Gombroon*, two preſents came off to us from as many *Perſian Sheicks:* One was of a goat, and ſome eggs; the other of eggs only. Our captain ſent them ſome rice in return. We found the weather hitherto very cool and pleaſant. The evenings were made damp by dews, and we had no cauſe to complain of heat in the night, although ſix of us ſlept in one cabbin.

Sunday the 26th we found ourſelves abreaſt of *Narban* point: It terminates in a long and low piece of land, which runs off into the gulph, from the foot of the *Perſian* hills. Mr. *Parker*, an officer on board the *Succeſs*, informed us, that about two years before, he was between this point and the main land, where he diſcovered a channel, in which a ſhip of 900 tuns might ride: he farther acquainted us, that the *Portugueſe* had once a ſettlement here, (and indeed, upon the main land, the ruins of their factory-houſe are ſtill to be ſeen) where they alſo ſunk ſome wells, the remains of which may eaſily be traced. Mr. *Parker* added, that at this place a large river empties itſelf into the ſea, and that the adjacent country is in ſubjection to two *Arab* chiefs. One reſides up the country about three miles from *Narban* point, and is tributary to the other, who lives on the oppoſite ſide of the river. Here providence ſeems to have allotted a ſpot of ground, amidſt inhoſpitable rocks and deſerts, capable of affording the kind production of vegetables for the benefit of man and beaſt.

On the 27th at nine in the morning we were abreaſt of Cape *Verdiſtan*, diſtant from Cape *Narban* twelve leagues. Hitherto in our paſſage up the gulph, we kept as near to the *Perſian* ſhore as poſſible, for the advantage of anchoring when the tide ebbed, or the wind was contrary; and alſo for avoiding the *French* frigate, which we were apprehenſive we ſhould fall in with, if we approached too near the *Arabian* ſhore.

Arabia Felix was at this time governed by two ſovereigns; one of whom reſided at *Muſcat*. This city, is a place of trade, as before obſerved, and ſtands at the entrance of that part of the gulph which is called *Ormus*, and is the capital of his dominions, whence the chief is ſtiled King of *Muſcat*. The other has the title of King of *Moſcha*, whoſe chief reſidence is on the borders

1758. borders of the gulph of that name, otherwiſe called the *Red Sea*. Theſe two princes are no way tributary to the *Grand Seignior*; but are both independant in their reſpective dominions, and govern the whole country of *Arabia Felix*, from the ſouthern extremities of the two gulphs, even as far almoſt as *Mecca*. The province of *Mecca* is governed by a *Beglerbeg*, who reſides at *Judda*, and is in a manner an independant ſovereign: He ſtiles himſelf *Monarch*, and accumulates great wealth by the rich preſents which are yearly made to him by the devout *Turks*, *Arabians*, and *Perſians*, in their pilgrimages to *Medina* and *Mecca*, the birth and burial places of their prophet *Mahomet* *.

In the morning of the 28th we plainly diſcovered the *Salt* mountains, (which running out into the ſea, form Cape *Verdiſtan*) and opened the high land to the northward of it. We were now in expectation of ſeeing the iſland of *Karec* in a day or two, being only thirty-ſix leagues diſtant. This day, a large locuſt, and a beautiful ſea-ſnake, about four feet long, and ten inches round, floated near the veſſel. We had little or no wind all this night; but at 7 the next morning, a light, fair breeze ſprang up, and continued till ten, when we diſcovered the land called *Halala* on our ſtarboard bow, about ſeven leagues off. On the 30th we came in ſight of the long wiſhed-for iſland; at 8 at night we came to an anchor off *Karec*, in 20 fathom water, having had gentle breezes all the day. It lies in 29° 2′ north latitude. Early the next morning we made ſail again, and ſoon ran within two leagues of a fort, which ſtands on the north ſide of the iſland, at the end of a low point, that ſtretches towards another flat ſandy iſland, called *Cargo*.

At half paſt eight, a *Dutch* boat came off, with two letters of Mr. *Shaw*'s, our company's reſident at *Baſſora*. One was written in *French*, addreſſed to the *Dutch* maſter attendant at *Karec*, deſiring him to ſend the other (*Engliſh*) letter to all ſhips of our nation, which might come to an anchor off *Karec*, or be ſeen in the offing. This letter was dated the 9th of *March*, and informed us of the *Briſtol*'s being in *Baſſora* river; that ſhe carried 30 guns, had 85 *Europeans* on board, and that the reſt of her complement was made up of *Indians* and *Laſcars*, in the whole, about 140 men. Mr. *Shaw* added, "that ſhe would probably take in a loading of corn, and convoy another *French* ſhip, which had lain in the river ever ſince the commencement of the war: that this laſt was of about 300, or 350 tons burthen, and carried 20 guns three pounders; that the enemy gave out, they were to ſtay in the river ſome months longer, and ſhould they wait to take in freſh corn, this might probably be the caſe; that they had their

* A good *Turk*, *Arab*, and *Moor* never fails once in his life to make this pilgrimage in perſon, but a *Perſian* generally does it by proxy. In *Mecca* they pretend to ſhew the houſe of *Abraham* or *Ibrahim*, and at a little diſtance from it the mount on which he was to have offered up his ſon *Iſaac*.

top-maſts

top-maſts an end, but had diſcharged their pilots." Upon the whole, he gave it as his opinion, that the two *French* veſſels could not be going yet, but adviſed all maſters, in proceeding up the gulph, to call at every port, where he would not fail to lodge intelligence. He concluded with ſaying, "that ſhould any *Engliſh* ſhips get into *Baſſora* river, they would then be ſafe, as he was perſuaded, the country power would interpoſe to prevent hoſtilities." 1758.

We came to an anchor in the road about one o'clock in the afternoon, ſaluted the fort with eleven guns, and received the ſame number in return. Captain *Lindeſey*, Meſſieurs *Doidge* and *Pye* went on ſhore after dinner. The *Grab* ſaluted them on their putting off with nine guns, and at their landing they were received by the ſecond in council, and the military officer, who introduced them to *Baron Knipbauſen*, to whom they delivered Mr. *Gee*'s letter of recommendation. The ſame evening Captain *Lindeſey* came on board, and gave us an account, that the *Baron* (who had given them the moſt genteel and friendly reception) had in his opinion ſuggeſted an excellent plan for our future proceedings, having recommended it to Mr. *Doidge*, that we ſhould land at *Grane* on the *Arabian* ſhore, and ſet out from thence over the *Great Deſert* for *Aleppo*. That the *Baron* knew it to be a road frequented by people of trade; that an *European*, attended only by a ſingle ſervant, had ſafely travelled over it, and that the journey would not take up more than 25 days. Captain *Lindeſey* farther added, that ſhould we approve of the ſcheme, the *Baron* would immediately ſend a *Felucca* with a meſſenger to *Grane*, who ſhould bring the *Sheick* of that place (a man greatly obliged to him, and in ſome meaſure under his influence) to *Karec*; with him he did not doubt, but he ſhould be able to concert a plan for conveying us ſafe to *Aleppo*.

The next morning, Lieutenant *James Alms*, Captain *Lindeſey*, Mr. *Pigot*, and myſelf, went on ſhore, and were very genteely received by the *Baron*. We were met by Meſſieurs *Doidge* and *Pye*, *Mynheer Boſman* the ſecond; Mr. *Robingſon*, an enſign in the *Dutch* artillery, but of *Engliſh* extraction, and who ſpoke our language tolerably well; *Mynheer Nicoli* the company's accomptant; *Mynheer Tilick* the ſurgeon; and *Mynheer Binkey*, the maſter attendant. The *Baron* preſently opened to us his plan for our future journey, and it appearing to be a route as little hazardous, as any we had yet thought of, and more expeditious (though leſs commodious) than that by *Bagbdad*, we unanimouſly agreed to put ourſelves entirely under the *Baron*'s direction; who gave immediate orders for the *Felucca*'s going to *Grane* to bring the *Sheick* of that place to *Karec*.

In the evening we took a walk to the ſouth end of the iſland, accompanied by Mr. *Robingſon*; and paſſed through ſome agreeable fields of corn, a few ears of which were then ripe, and ſome gardens, where we ſaw cole-worts, beans, and peaſe in perfection. We could not but take notice

1758. alſo of a large handſome building which we met with in the way, ſuppoſed by the common people to be the tomb of *Meer Mahomet* the ſon of *Aly*, a man much renowned for his piety, and who is ſaid to have performed miracles among them. The *Baron* however aſſured us, that this notion of theirs is merely imaginary, for that *Meer Mahomet*, was ſo far from being buried under this tomb, that he never was once in the iſland, either living or dead. His opinion, and which was confirmed by the moſt ſenſible of the *Arabs* and *Perſians*, is, that this monument was only erected in remembrance and honour of that ſage, and that neither his, nor the bones of any other perſon were depoſited under it. He obſerved, it was poſſible this tomb might once have been a *Portugueſe* chapel; and that after thoſe people had deſerted the iſland, the *Perſians* had changed it's form into that it now bears. This opinion is probably well founded, for from the appearance of the ſtone-maſonry, and the painted tiles above the door, it was very evident that ſome parts at leaſt of this building were of modern conſtruction. Juſt before we reached this tomb, we entered, and ſurveyed with great attention, a long ſubterraneous paſſage, made for the conveyance of water from the oppoſite ſide of an hill; which (according to the *Perſian* cuſtom) has at proper diſtances, holes cut through the ſurface of it, for the admiſſion of light and air. We obſerved alſo at this ſouth end (which is the higheſt part of the iſland) ſome caverns hewn out of the ſolid rock, which ſeem to have been the dwelling-places of the firſt inhabitants. There were alſo two or three ſtructures here, which appeared to have been once appropriated to religious uſes, perhaps they were *Portugueſe* churches; and what ſerves to confirm this opinion, is, that a crucifix had been diſcovered cut on one of the walls.

The next day we began pitching the four tents which we had furniſhed ourſelves with at *Calcutta*; but before we had finiſhed with the largeſt, our dining-tent, the *Baron* paid us a viſit, and put an entire ſtop to our proceedings, aſſuring us, that thoſe high and ſpacious tents, were by no means calculated for our purpoſe, ſince they would certainly diſcover us a great way off, and give even thoſe *Arabs* that were about us, too high an opinion of our conſequence; they were alſo, he obſerved, too heavy and unwieldy, and promiſed to provide us with proper ones in their ſtead. He had with him ſeveral *Arabian* merchants, who all joined in what the *Baron* had ſaid. After he had thus paſſed his judgment on our tents, he went on examining the other part of our baggage, and could not help ſmiling at a two-wheel chaiſe we had brought with us, in hopes of it's being uſeful in our journey over the *Deſert*. We knew indeed that no ſuch thing was uſed in common either in *Turkey* or *Perſia*, yet as we imagined we might be able to get horſes either at *Baſſora* or *Baghdad*, we had pleaſed ourſelves with the thoughts of being ſometimes relieved from the *Camel*'s untoward motion by this means; and in ſuch roads as ſhould turn out rugged or ſandy, we had formed a ſcheme of taking the chaiſe to pieces,

and throwing it on a camel's back *. We were not quite clear as to the practicability of this ſcheme, but concluded, that at the worſt, we could make a preſent of it to Mr. *Shaw* at *Baſſora*, to whom we flattered ourſelves it might be acceptable, having heard that Mr. *Dorrel*, his predeceſſor, had made uſe of a two-wheel chaiſe at that place. The *Arabs* ſeemed greatly ſurprized at the conſtruction of this vehicle, and many of them with much pleaſantry, placed themſelves in the ſeat of it. We hoped that the *Baron* himſelf might be prevailed upon to accept of the chaiſe, though from the rugged appearance of the whole iſland, there was but little reaſon to expect it †. 1758.

From the chaiſe, the *Baron* caſt an eye on ſome other things we had brought, and talked of making a ſtill greater alteration, but ſaid, he would let that alone till after the arrival of the *Sheick* from *Grane*. He approved much of our fuſils, bayonets, and piſtols, as well as of the canvas and leather-portmanteaus, which we had procured to be made on board the *Grab*, in lieu of common wooden trunks. He adviſed us to take no finery with us, eſpecially no gold or ſilver lace, but to appear as plain as poſſible; to make our journey in the habit of *Turkiſh* janizaries, for as the *Arabs* well knew thoſe gentlemen not to be rich, we might probably go on in this diſguiſe with little interruption. Our camp-tables and ſtools, according to the *Baron*'s plan, were to go no farther, and our claſp-cots were to be ſent back alſo to *Bombay*, as being of no kind of uſe in our future journey, ſince we muſt ſleep on the ground. Had we been ſo fortunate as to have met with ſo able a counſellor either at *Calcutta* or *Bombay*, it would have ſaved us at leaſt two hundred and fifty pounds ſterling: but what was paſt could not be recalled, and I have now only to wiſh, that our miſtakes in this reſpect may be of advantage to future travellers.

Baron *Kniphauſen* is a *Pruſſian* by birth, brother to the late *Embaſſador* of that name at *London*, of a middle age, and was formerly in his *Pruſſian* majeſty's ſervice, but from ſome diſguſt left it, and ſerved as a lieutenant in a regiment of *French* dragoons. He afterwards went to the *Eaſt Indies*, and was appointed reſident to the *Dutch* company at *Baſſora*, where he unluckily fell into a diſpute with the *Turkiſh* government, the particulars of which are as follow.—The *Baron* one morning received a meſſage, that the governor deſired to ſpeak with him: he haſtened to the palace, and according to cuſtom ſat in the outer room, among ſome of the *Agas* of the court. A ſervant having been ſent in to acquaint the governor that the *Baron* was waiting in obedience to his commands, brought for anſwer,

* We afterwards ſorely repented that we had not taken the chaiſe with us.

† Non eſt aptus equis Ithacæ locus, ut neque planis
Porrectus ſpatiis, neque multæ prodigus herbæ.
HOR. Epiſt. Lib. 1.

1758. that his maſter was not ready to receive him. Not long after, another ſervant came out, and deſired him to walk into an inner apartment; which he had no ſooner done, but an officer there in waiting abruptly told him, that he was his priſoner. The *Baron* was exceedingly ſurprized, and enquiring into the reaſon of his being treated in ſuch a manner, was anſwered, that "it was for being criminal with *Turkiſh* women, and defrauding the *Government* of it's cuſtoms." He inſiſted on the proofs being produced; but was only told in general that both the charges were well ſupported, and that from henceforward he was to look upon himſelf as in priſon. He then demanded a fair trial, but that favour was refuſed him. He remained confined for ſeveral days, and during the whole time, perſons were employed to perſuade him to accommodate matters with a ſum of money. This, he for a while abſolutely refuſed to do, demanding the proofs, and complaining loudly of his ill treatment. Some days had now paſſed away, and the *Baron* having made no overture of a pecuniary compromiſe, the * *Mufti* (who in this country is both prieſt and judge) was ſent for, and deſired to declare what puniſhment the law denounced againſt an *Infidel* who ſhould preſume to lie with a *Mahometan* woman? He replied, "*Death.*"—He was then told, that there was a certain perſon now in priſon, who was undoubtedly guilty of this crime, and that he (the *Mufti*) had been ſent for to paſs ſentence upon him in form, in writing, and under his own ſignature. He honeſtly replied, that he could not poſſibly do it, 'till he had ſeen the priſoner, heard what the witneſſes had to ſay, and was fully ſatisfied in his own mind of the truth of the charge laid againſt him. Theſe formalities, he was told, ought to be diſpenſed with on the preſent occaſion, for it was as clear, as the light at noon-day, that the priſoner was guilty. It was intimated alſo to him, that the governor had not the leaſt intention to take away the *Baron*'s life, but his ſole deſign in confining him, was to frighten him, and if poſſible amend him by making him to pay down a large ſum for his pardon. The venerable and upright *Mufti* begged to be excuſed from having any hand in ſuch a buſineſs, declaring it to be his duty to ſit as a juſt and uncorrupt judge, and that as the law gave the priſoner a right to a fair and impartial tryal, he certainly ſhould have it at all events.

The affair ſtood thus in ſuſpenſe for a little time, when the *Baron* was informed of ſome underhand dealings of *Mynheer* ********** his ſecond, which made him reſolve immediately to compromiſe matters with the *Turkiſh* government. He ſent therefore for the proper officer, and deſired to know what was the ſum required for his releaſe? and whether he would favour

* What the *Muftis* are in *Turky*, the *Sheicks-Salem* are in *Perſia*, and the *Imaums* in *Arabia*. There is a great difference between a *Sheick-Salem* and a common *Sheick*. The former is both prieſt and judge, whereas the latter means no more than the father of the family, or people, about him.

him with his good offices for an accommodation? The *Turk* readily promiſed his beſt aſſiſtance, but ſaid, he feared it would not be leſs than one hundred thouſand rupees. The *Baron* demurred, and complained heavily of the enormous ſum that was fixed, but all his complaints were to no manner of purpoſe. At laſt, he told the *Turk*, he would that evening pay down his all, amounting to fifty thouſand rupees, ſtay in *Baſſora* only the next day, and depart in a *Dutch* ſhip the day following; but as by this ſtep, his ſecond would be ſure to ſucceed to the reſidency, the governor might, if he pleaſed, demand a complimentary loan from him of thirty thouſand rupees, and make up the remaining twenty out of the private fortune of the *Banian*, who was employed in doing the buſineſs of the *Dutch* factory here, and with whoſe conduct in the preſent diſpute, the *Baron* had great reaſon to be diſpleaſed. The hint was reliſhed and accepted; the *Baron* was immediately uſhered into one of the beſt rooms of the *Seraglio*, where the governor and his *Agas* were ſitting, the money was ſent for, and paid down, and the priſoner ſet at liberty. The *Dutch* ſecond, and other *European* gentlemen were in company together, when they firſt heard of the *Baron*'s enlargement. The ſecond immediately waited upon him, and was very inquiſitive to know the terms of his deliverance, but received no ſatisfactory anſwer; the *Baron* only coldly telling him, that he ſhould the next day embark for *Batavia*, where he would account for the whole of his conduct, and there only. 1758.

Mynheer ************ was now looked upon as chief or reſident, and received the uſual compliments on the occaſion. He was ſent for to court, and beſides being congratulated by the governor and all his *Agas* on his new promotion, he was honoured with a rich *Peliſe*, or ſilk veſt lined with ermine. He went home in the higheſt ſpirits, and without doubt hugged himſelf in the ſucceſs of the day. But how ſoon did the ſcene change! that very afternoon, a meſſenger was diſpatched to him from the governor, with a demand of thirty thouſand rupees. He was aſtoniſhed at the unlooked for tidings; he raved, curſed and ſwore; refuſed to pay the money, and inſiſted upon being told why it was required of him. The meſſenger dryly told him, that it was but a neceſſary compliment to the governor, from a man who had ſo lately received ſuch honours, and who had ſo fortunately gotten into poſſeſſion of a poſt of ſuch conſequence. Upon this, he flew to the *Baron*, who referred him to others for better advice than he could give him. He afterwards repaired to the *Seraglio*, to complain of his ill uſage, but here too he met with no redreſs: the thirty thouſand rupees were paid down, and ſo were the twenty thouſand by the *Banian*.

The day following, the *Baron* embarked; but he was no ſooner on board, than he received a meſſage from the governor, inviting him to come back again, with aſſurances of his protection, and readineſs to receive from him any complaint he had to make againſt any other *European* gentlemen.

1758. The *Baron* conſidering that the money was gone, and that he ſhould afterwards be as liable to inſult and impoſition as he had been already, declined the invitation, and immediately ſailed for the little iſle of *Karec*, where he ſafely landed: having attentively ſurveyed the ſpot, he at that time laid the plan (in conjunction with the *Sheick* of *Bundarick*) of what he afterwards executed with ſo much ſucceſs. He carried a letter from the *Sheick*, addreſſed to the general and council at *Batavia*, in which he offered to put the *Dutch* in poſſeſſion of the iſland, and to ſurrender up to them his right of ſovereignty. However, before the *Baron* left *Karec*, he took care to diſpatch a meſſenger acroſs the *Deſert* to the *Dutch* embaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, complaining of the violation of treaties, and of the affront which had been offered to all *European* powers, by his late unjuſt impriſonment. He moreover deſired the embaſſador to apply to the *Grand Vizier*, that the *Dutch* might have liberty to reſent the governor of *Baſſora*'s behaviour, and that they might alſo have leave to ſettle upon the iſland. Both theſe requeſts were complied with, and the meſſenger made his way back again to *Karec*, before the *Baron* returned from *Batavia*.

When the government of *Baſſora* found, that the *Baron* could not be prevailed on to come back to that place, they preſently drew up a letter of complaint againſt him to the general and council at *Batavia* in the moſt exaggerating terms, but at the ſame time took care not to mention a ſyllable of the 100,000 rupees. The governor, and all the principal people of his court, ſigned the letter, the honeſt *Mufti* excepted. It was immediately ſent away to Mr. *Douglas* at *Gombroon*, who was to deliver it to the *Dutch* agent there, and this laſt gentleman was requeſted to uſe his utmoſt diligence in forwarding it to *Batavia*. The *Baron*, who fortunately knew of this ſtep, went himſelf to *Gombroon*, and embarked on board the very ſhip in which the letter was ſent; conſequently he got to *Batavia* in proper time to reply to every article of complaint that was exhibited againſt him. This he did to the entire ſatisfaction of the general and council; to whom he now propoſed his ſcheme of making a ſettlement at *Karec*, and thereby putting their company's affairs in the *Perſian* gulph on a more advantageous footing than ever. This being approved of by them, he ſailed from *Batavia* with two ſhips and fifty men, and took poſſeſſion of *Karec*, the whole of whoſe inhabitants at that time conſiſted only of about one hundred poor fiſhermen.

As he had brought but few materials with him, and as the government at *Batavia* was very ſlow in ſending him the ſuccours they had promiſed, he was at firſt driven to great ſtraits in endeavouring to eſtabliſh his new colony. At laſt, he hit upon the expedient of ſending for workmen from *Perſia* and *Arabia*, and with their aſſiſtance built a little compact fort, ſufficiently ſtrong againſt any of the country powers, and capable of defending itſelf againſt any ſhips in *India*, except thoſe belonging to our *Eaſt India* company. The want of materials indeed, and of a ſufficient number of work-

workmen, was not the only difficulty the *Baron* had at firſt to ſtruggle with; for at his coming on the coaſt, he had the mortification to hear that his old friend the *Sheick* of *Bunderick* had been murdered by his ſecond ſon, and that this unnatural villain having uſurped the ſovereignty, threatened deſtruction to him and his intended enterprize. No way intimidated however with theſe threats, he made good his landing, and began and perfected his work. 1758.

This eſtabliſhment at *Karec*, was only a part of the *Baron*'s ſcheme. There was ſomething beſides, which from the beginning he had never once loſt ſight of, the reimburſing himſelf, at the expence of the *Turkiſh* government, the 50,000 *rupees* which had been ſo unjuſtly taken from him at *Baſſora*. For this purpoſe, he kept his ſhips in conſtant readineſs to put to ſea, and in the months of *April* and *May*, when he knew the rich *Turkiſh* veſſels would be coming from the gulph, he ordered two of his ſhips (for he had by this time fitted up a third) to cruize at the entrance of *Baſſora* river, and not to ſuffer any veſſels to paſs without examination. Theſe orders the captains of his two cruizers moſt punctually fulfilled, and moreover frequently landed in their boats, and took away oxen, ſheep, goats, and all other ſorts of proviſion, from the ſhore. While the *Baron*'s two ſhips were thus commencing hoſtilities in the mouth of *Baſſora* river, two *Turkiſh* veſſels, very richly laden, touched at *Karec* for pilots, and to enquire into the cauſe of the *Dutch* commanders conduct, as reported to them in their paſſage up the gulph. The *Baron* entertained the *Turkiſh* captains in the moſt polite manner, and took care to furniſh them with every thing that could contribute either to the refreſhment of their ſhips crews, or their own amuſement. He pretended alſo to find great fault with the hoſtilities committed by his two cruizers, and was politic enough to perſuade the *Turkiſh* commanders not to depart from *Karec*, until the return of his own captains, when, ſaid he, you yourſelves ſhall be witneſſes of their being brought to a proper account for their paſt behaviour. He was all this while however very uneaſy at his own untoward ſituation; being doubtful whether, in ſpite of all his art, theſe two ſhips might not by ſome accident or other be alarmed, and make their way back again out of the gulph. He could not but reflect too, that he had no force with him at preſent capable of preventing it, there being but one ſhip left at *Karec*, poorly manned, and ſtill worſe commanded; and the two *Turkiſh* veſſels carried at leaſt two hundred and forty men, with guns in proportion. Add to this, that he was in daily, almoſt in momentary expectation of his enemy, the *Sheick* of *Bundarick*, ſending over his *Trankeys*, filled with ſoldiers, to the aſſiſtance of the *Turks*. In this dilemma, he wiſhed only for an opportunity of calling in his cruizers, but at the ſame time deſpaired of finding any. Luckily for him, at this very critical conjuncture, the maſter of a *Trankey*, bound to *Baſſora*, applied to him for a paſs; the *Turkiſh* captains ſeconded the requeſt, the paſs was granted, and an order was ſent with it to the commanding officer for the immediate

1758. return of the cruizers. In two or three days they appeared, to the no ſmall joy of the *Baron*. And now, the *Turks*, who before were prevented from ſailing by what they thought prudential reaſons, were to their inexpreſſible ſurprize, compelled to ſtay by force. The hoſtilities committed by the two cruizers at the mouth of the river, had given the government at *Baſſora* the moſt ſenſible alarm; but how greatly was it increaſed, when the news arrived of the *Baron*'s having detained the two rich ſhips, which they had been anxiouſly expecting from *Surat!* They immediately wrote to him, offering to pay back the 100,000 rupees, and in all other reſpects to come to an amicable accommodation. The terms were readily accepted of, the money was paid, and the government of *Baſſora*, and the *Baron* (who generouſly reimburſed *Mynheer* *********** and the *Banian* their ſhare), have continued on a friendly footing ever ſince.

Having circumſtantially given the particulars of the *Baron*'s hiſtory relative to his firſt ſettling at *Karec*, I ſhall ſubjoin a deſcription of the ſtate of that little iſland, at the time of our arrival. The fort is a ſquare, built of ſtone, with four baſtions, each of which hath eight guns mounted upon it; ſix of theſe were in the two faces, and the others were ſo contrived as to flank the two curtains. Before the gate, facing the ſea, was a battery or ravelin, with twelve guns mounted, from ſix to eighteen pounders. There were alſo thirty or forty more of various ſizes lying upon the ground, for want of carriages. This irregularity in the weight of cannon, was owing to the *Baron*'s being obliged to get them as he could from different ſhips, and at ſeveral times. An eſplanade alſo extended itſelf about 200 yards, beyond which, they had juſt finiſhed ſome houſes for *Europeans* to dwell in, and a wall, which joined to thoſe houſes. This wall, it was deſigned, ſhould hereafter be continued from ſea to ſea, as a ſecurity to the fort and the inhabitants within. It ran nearly north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt.—The fort was garriſoned with an hundred *European* ſoldiers. There was alſo a triangular baſtion at the north-weſt end of the iſland, mounted with ſix guns; two of theſe pointed towards the ſea, two to the ſhore, and the other two were to flank the intended curtain-wall of the town. About mid-way between this north-weſt point and the fort, there was a ſmall pier-head of ſtone-work, deſigned to protect a little haven, whither all the *Trankeys*, *Gallivats*, and *Feluccas* run, when the ſouth wind blows hard, and where they lay in perfect ſecurity. In this haven we ſaw two or three armed *Gallivats*, with ſix or eight carriage guns, which is ſuperior to any force the *Turks* or their neighbours have in theſe ſeas. Upon the whole, the *Baron* had made a ſurprizing progreſs for the little time he had been upon the iſland, and it plainly appeared to us, that he intended to make it a very ſtrong and wealthy place.

In the middle of this iſland, are very high hills, which abound with a variety of ſhells. Some fragments torn from their ſides, gave us an opportunity of diſcovering ſeveral yards under the ſurface, an aſtoniſhing quantity

quantity of oyſter, ſcallop, cockle, lamprey, barnicle, and other ſhells. The common tree here, is the *Banian*; but none of the limbs yield thoſe luxuriant ſhoots which go downwards, and fix themſelves in the ground, as at *Gombroon*, and *Fort St. David*.—The lavender-cotton ſhrub is found here in great plenty. Here are alſo partridges, wild pidgeons, wood-peckers, many kinds of ſmall birds, beſides gulls, *&c.* near the ſea. 1758.

Pearl oyſters have been found near this iſland, but as they lie in conſiderable depths, not leſs than 13 or 14 fathom water, the divers (who were not very expert at the buſineſs) had not met with much ſucceſs, at the time we were there. Some pearls of conſiderable value however had been found, particularly one, very handſome and large, which the *Baron* was ſo polite as to preſent to Mr. *Doidge*. It had a *Luſus Naturæ* upon it, ſtrongly reſembling the face of a human fœtus in the early months of pregnancy.

The *Baron* was very inquiſitive about the diving-bell, and ſome other late diſcoveries made in *England*, for enabling men to keep a long while under water; and deſired Mr. *Doidge* to think of him on this article. He gave me alſo a commiſſion to buy, and ſend him out from *England* the following books and inſtruments, viz.

Dictionnaire de Bayle
——— Moreri } Derniere edition.
——— Oeconomique

Cours de la ſcience Militaire par Bardette de Villeneuve.

Oeuvres de Voltaire
——— Boileau
——— Regnard } Toutes.
——— Requier
——— Vertot

L'Hiſtoire d'Angleterre par Rapin.
L'Hiſtoire de France qu'on Jugera la meilleure.
Lettres de Guy Patin.
Oeuvres de Cyrano de Bergerac.
Toutes ſortes de Voyages particuliers, entre autres d'Ethiopie, d'Abyſſinie, & Nubie.
Memoires et Voyages du Chevalier d'Ervieux.
Toutes ſortes de Memoires inſtructives, ou amuſantes.
Toutes les Oeuvres du Marquis d'Argens.
Hiſtoire Generale des Voyages in 4to les 12 tomes, & ceux qui ſuivent.
La Mothe le Vayer.
Anecdotes de la Cour de Philippe Auguſte; & autres de cette ſorte.
Lettres edifiantes & curieuſes.
Deſcription de l'Amerique par le Pere Labat.
Deſcription d'Afrique.

Toutes

1758. Toutes ſortes de Romans bien ecrits, ſoit François, ſoit Anglois traduits en François.

Don Quichotte, et toutes les Oeuvres de Cervantes.

Dictionnaire François et Anglois; et Anglois et François; avec une bonne Grammaire.

Quelques bons et nouveaux Livres ſur l'Artillerie, la Fortification, et Attaques des Places; de meme ſur la Marine, et la Conſtruction des Vaiſſeaux.

Ditto, Sur l'Architecture, et les Mechaniques, et Phiſique experimentale; enfin, tous les Livres que vous jugerez m'etre utiles.

The above catalogue is exactly copied from the *Baron*'s original commiſſion, and inſerted as a ſpecimen of that gentleman's ingenuity and turn of mind. He was pleaſed afterwards to add to the catalogue ſeveral mechanical inſtruments; as Captain *Tovey*'s new inſtrument for levelling cannon, *&c.* and any other invention for the bomb. Any new-invented optical inſtruments, being improvements on the teleſcope, microſcope, or common eye-glaſs. And ſuch other inſtruments as tended to illuſtrate any art or ſcience, or could be of ſervice to him in his new ſettlement.

Theſe ſeveral articles were to be ſent to him by one of our *India* ſhips, or by ſome veſſel bound to *Scanderoon*; and from thence to be ſent to *Aleppo*, conſigned to the care of the *Engliſh* or *Dutch* conſul at that place. On my arrival in *London*, this commiſſion of the worthy *Baron*, was punctually executed, and diſcharged out of a ſum of money, which he had advanced to Mr. *Doidge*.

Not far from *Grane* is an iſland called *Bareen* or *Bubaren*, where at certain known depths, divers go down to the bottom of the ſea, and come up again with their veſſels filled with freſh water. The fact is indiſputable: I had it from the *Baron*, and ſeveral *Arabian* merchants who lived near the iſland confirmed the truth of it. The freſh water is found in holes or little natural wells, ſome fathoms below the ſurface of the ſea. The *Arabs* have certain marks on the iſland, to teach them where to dive for the freſh water holes. One of the merchants aſſured us, that he himſelf diſcovered a ſpring upon the ſhore, ſerving one of theſe wells; that he put a bit of a heavy ſtick into it, and in two or three days afterwards, a diver brought it to him from the bottom of one of the holes. It is worthy of remark alſo, that through all the *Perſian* gulph, the ſpring water of the iſlands is much better than that which is found upon the continent; and the water neareſt the ſea in the iſlands, has greatly the advantage over that which is found in the middle parts. This obſervation of the inferiority of the water upon the continent, holds good however, only reſpecting that part of it which is near the ſea; for about 12 miles up the country, both on the *Perſian* and *Arabian* ſide of the gulph, the water is very good.

To

In the diſtrict of *Dedeſht* near *Bebaim*, in the province of *Pegſoai* (or *Cokelaun*) in *Perſia*, is a black *Bitumen*, extracted from a rock, which is looked upon as a ſpecific in reuniting fractured bones. The *Baron* gave me two little caniſters of it; and the directions I received for uſing it, were, "Take half a drachm of the *Bitumen*, and melt it over the fire, mixed with an ounce of oil: when theſe are well incorporated, rub the broken part with them quite warm, and in all other reſpects treat the fracture according to the common rules of ſurgery. The patient is alſo to take a pill of it inwardly three or four times a day." Mr. *Alves*, an *Engliſh* ſurgeon, had made uſe of it in a caſe where both thighs were fractured, and aſſured the *Baron* that no fever came on during the whole time of the cure. Another perſon aſſured the *Baron*, that having once applied it to the broken leg of a fowl, it was able to walk in twenty-four hours. The rock yielding this *Bitumen* had formerly a guard placed over it, and a very conſiderable profit aroſe therefrom to the governor of the province; but ſince the kingdom of *Perſia* has been rent in pieces by civil wars, it is ſuppoſed that this guard has been withdrawn, for ſeveral poor *Perſians*, who fled for protection to *Karec*, brought a little of this pitch along with them, and offered it in ſale to the *Baron*. That which he gave me, was a preſent to him from the governor of the province *. 1758.

We were greatly diſappointed at the long abſence of the *Felucca*, which the *Baron* had ſent to *Grane*, to bring the *Sheick* who was to conduct us over the great *Deſert* to *Aleppo*; however, on the whole our time paſſed away not unpleaſantly. The mornings were generally ſpent in making little excurſions to different parts of the iſland, and our evenings in ſupping with the *Baron* at the fort. Here we met with a very agreeable and ſenſible gentleman, who amidſt a variety of other topics, gave us the following account of the *Arabs* and *Perſians*.

"The *Arabs* ſtill continue divided into *Tribes*; and out of as many of theſe as poſſible, it will be adviſable for you to ſelect the men who are to eſcort you over the *Deſert*; for ſhould you happen to fall in with a body of any of thoſe particular tribes, to which the *Arabs* who accompany you belong, you may depend upon paſſing unhurt and unmoleſted; or if you meet with any of their ſcouting parties, and can prevail only on one of them to enter your tents, drink of your coffee, eat rice, or any thing beſides, you will then be ſafe from any inſult either by them or their brethren; it being an invariable maxim with them, "*never to moleſt thoſe ſtrangers they have once eaten and drank with*," looking upon it then as a breach of hoſpitality, and conſequently as a moſt enormous crime. Should any of their out-lying detachments accidentally fall in with you, and inſtead of

* Sir *John Chardin* in the ſecond volume of his travels has given an exact and ample account of this medicine.

1758. entering your tents, and partaking of your entertainment, hurry back to their main body to communicate the pleaſing intelligence; even in this caſe, if one of your party can make greater haſte than they, and join the *Arab*-body firſt, throw himſelf at the *Sheick*'s feet, and demand protection, you may reſt aſſured of your lives and property: for another ſtable maxim with them is, that "*whoſoever ſhall fly to the powerful, and humbly implore aſſiſtance, has a right to receive it.*" This point they carry ſo far, that were the murderer of the *Sheick*'s father, ſon, or brother, to be the perſon ſo petitioning, he would not be refuſed. And what is ſtill more extraordinary, this act of mercy is ſure to take place, although the ſupplicant may not be able to get quite up to the perſon of the *Sheick*. If he is only ſo near him, as to be capable of throwing a ſtick to, or beyond the ſpot of ground where he happens to be, this circumſtance ſecures him from all danger.

But though the *Arabs* are thus ſcrupulous in regard to the rights of hoſpitality, yet in other inſtances they will be found to equivocate as well as their neighbours. The moſt effectual way to bind them is by a particular oath of theirs, called the *Tallauck*; the penalty of a non-performance of which is, that the perjured perſon ſhall part with all his wives, and never cohabit with them again, until they have been proſtituted to other men. The infamy and inconvenience ariſing from hence, is eſteemed ſo very great, that you ſeldom, if ever, hear of this ſacred obligation being broken. The wife, that has the greateſt power in a family, is ſhe, who by the conſent of the parents of both parties, was firſt married to the young man; ſhe is early taught the art of cookery, and takes the lead of all the other wives in that reſpect; ſhe has alſo the chief management of his domeſtic affairs; nor can he ever part with her, but with the utmoſt difficulty and inconvenience."

The money uſed by the *Arabs*, are the *Perſian* and *Indian Rupees*. In one town in *Arabia Felix*, the government coins a piece of ſilver ſomewhat of the ſhape of an horſeſhoe; fifteen of theſe amount to a *Rupee*. The *Indian Rupee* is worth forty-ſix *Marmoodas*, the *Perſian* is valued only at forty-five.

The character which this gentleman gave us of the *Perſians* alſo was by no means likely to prejudice us in their favour. He repreſented them as "a deceitful, treacherous people; faithleſs in their dealings, and ſo addicted to all the little arts of guile and falſehood, that a man muſt be credulous to a great degree, to believe them even upon their oaths. Should one of that nation ſwear (according to the *Perſian* mode) that he will perform a certain act, on the penalty, we will ſuppoſe, of his ſon *Hoſſein* being diſhonoured by his wife; upon being detected of failing in his engagement, and reproached with the diſhonour which is done to his family by his perjury,

he will only laugh and ſay, that he took that oath at the expence of another *Hoſſein*, not of his ſon, nor of any one of that name, for whom he had the leaſt affection. A *Perſian* is not limited in the number of his wives: he may marry them for a certain time, and at the expiration of that period put them away if he pleaſes, taking care however to perform his marriage contract, which always ſecures to the woman a return of whatever money or goods ſhe brought with her, in caſe of a divorce." 1758.

In *Gombroon* if a woman ſhall be diſcovered to have committed adultery, the huſband of that woman is obliged to pay a fine to the governor, if able; if not, the wife is taken from him by the officers of juſtice, and ſent to a common ſtew, there to remain, 'till ſhe has by a repetition of the ſame crime, earned as much money, as will diſcharge the fine: after this ſhe is returned to her huſband again, who may keep her or not, as he thinks proper. If he chuſes to part with her, he muſt exactly fulfil the marriage contract by returning the fortune he received with her.

In a viſit we made to another gentleman of this iſland, who had the beſt opportunities of getting at the true character of the late famous *Thamas Kuli Khan*, he aſſured us, "that all the hiſtories yet written of him, were very erroneous. He was not naturally cruel; his ambition indeed led him to empire, but he would have been glad to have governed mildly. That though the two laſt years of his life were attended with continual revolts among his ſubjects, at the head of whom were his own children, yet he ſeldom put any of them to death; the puniſhment he generally inflicted was that of putting out their eyes. *Kuly Khan* being once aſked, why he choſe this method of treating his rebellious ſubjects, rather than taking away their lives, replied, *Becauſe I would have them live on, eyeleſs, as laſting monuments of their own villainy, and of my juſtice.*

This gentleman alſo aſſured us, that *Kuli Khan* had once flattered himſelf with a vaſt increaſe of empire by a marriage with the *Czarina* of *Muſcovy*, and that he actually ſent an *Embaſſador* to *Peterſburgh* for that purpoſe: though the *Czarina* ſecretly deſpiſed the offer he made to her, looking back with ſcorn on his mean original, yet ſhe took care to demean herſelf with much ſeeming reſpect upon the occaſion, and expreſſed herſelf highly honoured with the *Shah*'s propoſal, but at the ſame time advanced many reaſons why ſhe could not poſſibly comply with it. Among others, ſhe did not forget to mention the difference of their religion. Soon after the return of his embaſſador, the *Perſian* monarch converſed often with the fathers of the three convents at *Iſpahan*; ſeemed very deſirous of being inſtructed in the fundamentals of their religion, liſtened to them with great attention, and threw out hints of his becoming a *Chriſtian*. He ordered alſo theſe fathers to ſet about a tranſlation of the New Teſtament into the *Perſian* language for his own immediate uſe, which they had very near finiſhed, when his life

1758. was put an end to by four of his own generals, who have been fighting for the crown or throne of *Perſia* ever ſince.

The firſt competitor, *Nauzir Khan*, hath already been noticed as reſiding near to *Gombroon*.—The ſecond, *Kerim Khan*, is in poſſeſſion of *Iſpahan*, and has an army of thirty thouſand men under his command.—The third is *Haſſein Khan*, who poſſeſſes the northern parts of the kingdom, and at the time we were at *Gombroon*, was ſaid to be marching from the provinces near the *Caſpian* ſea with a great body of forces towards *Iſpahan*; and that he carried with him a prince of the female line of the great *Shah Abbas*, in whoſe name he founded his pretenſions.—The fourth is *Achmet* or *Hamet Shah*, governor of the *Afghan* or *Pytan* country; his views were ſaid to be confined to the keeping poſſeſſion of that province only, which borders on the territories of the *Great Mogul*. During our ſtay at *Karec*, we received advice, that *Haſſein Khan* had obtained a ſuperiority over all his rivals; that his troops were more numerous, and better diſciplined than theirs; and that his carrying with him a prince of the royal blood had conſiderably increaſed the number of his partiſans, and given him at leaſt a ſhew of better pretenſions to the crown.

Hamet Khan or *Shah*, the chief of the *Afghans*, according to theſe advices, had juſt before gained a conſiderable, tho' not a deciſive victory over *Kerim Khan*. We were now alſo given to underſtand, that *Nauzir Khan*, in the neighbourhood of *Gombroon* was become of ſo little conſequence, as not to be thought worthy of being ranked among the competitors for the crown of *Perſia*. So that at this time the four claimants were reduced to three.

To the ſame gentleman who furniſhed us with the account of the nations bordering on the *Perſian* gulph, we were alſo obliged for the following anecdotes relative to a late maſſacre in *Batavia*, the chief actors of which ſurpaſſed either *Arabs* or *Perſians*, in diſſimulation and cruelty.

As all kinds of grain were ſcarce at *Ceylon*, and as all the ſettlements in *India* were chiefly ſupplied with wheat and rice from *Bengal* and the *Malabar* coaſt, it was propoſed in the *Dutch* council at *Batavia*, that a conſiderable number of *Chineſe* ſhould be forcibly taken from the iſland of *Java*, and tranſported to *Ceylon*, in order to cultivate the lands, which thereby would be ſure to produce great quantities of grain. This motion met with violent oppoſition, and was almoſt unanimouſly rejected; ſeveral alledging that it was the height of cruelty and injuſtice to force the *Chineſe*, who were a free people, into ſlavery; and ſome threw out hints that there ought to be methods taken to make their affairs better rather than worſe. Elated with what paſſed in the council, the *Chineſe* took great liberties, ſpake freely of their real

or

or pretended hardſhips, and at laſt went ſo far as to inſult, and commit ſeveral robberies. A council was preſently ſummoned to remedy theſe evils; when, after much debate, it was at laſt reſolved, that all the vagrant *Chineſe* ſhould be ſeized and ſent to *Ceylon*; but the officer, who put this order in execution, made a fatal miſtake, for inſtead of confining himſelf to vagrants, he impriſoned ſeveral of the principal planters and merchants. During their confinement, many of their ſervants committed great thefts, and did them conſiderable damage in plundering their eſtates. No ſooner however were they ſet at liberty, but the ſervants, apprehenſive of their maſters diſpleaſure, ran into the mountains, where they committed great diſorders among the native iſlanders, who came to a pitched battle with them, and beat them back to the *Dutch* territories. Upon their return, the ring-leaders were puniſhed, and affairs were once more put upon a tolerable good footing. The *Dutch* council then thought it neceſſary to make a new law, by which all the *Chineſe* were forbidden to have a light in their houſes after eight o'clock in the evening. This was a moſt ſenſible mortification to people, who had ever been accuſtomed to ſpend their evenings in the greateſt feſtivity; and in ſpite of this reſtraint, they came to a reſolution of continuing their meetings, and of increaſing their mutual intercourſe with one another. For this purpoſe, they broke down their partition-walls, threw ſeveral houſes into one, and kept up their ſpirits as well as men could do who were without light. 1758.

The *Dutch* were greatly alarmed at this behaviour of the *Chineſe*; they aſſembled in council, and orders were preſently iſſued for all the ſeamen belonging to the ſhips in the port, to come aſhore, to be ſtationed in the marine yard, where they were locked up every evening, in order to keep the *Chineſe* in awe, and to act as occaſion might require. One night, either through careleſsneſs or deſign, the gate of the marine yard was left open; the ſailors ſoon diſcovered it, and, enraged with being kept ſo long confined, they broke looſe like ſo many wild beaſts, and roamed all over the city, maſſacring every man, woman, and child, they met with, to the number of forty thouſand.

The news of this dreadful ſcene was ſoon brought to the general; but alas! no remedy was to be found! Preſently after, an officer was diſpatched to him in all haſte from the priſon (in which were kept fifteen hundred *Chineſe*, deſigned to be tranſported to *Ceylon*), acquainting him, that the priſoners were in an uproar, that without immediate aſſiſtance he ſhould not be able to keep them under, but they would break out and put to death all that came in their way, and that little or no reſiſtance could be made to ſo large a body of men, conſidering how the *Dutch* ſeamen and ſoldiers were diſperſed through the ſeveral quarters of the town. In anſwer to this, the general is ſaid to have replied, "*If that be really the caſe, the priſoners*

1758. *priſoners ought to be cut off.*" This was a ſufficient hint to the officer, who took care to ſee the bloody act perpetrated without delay. Nothing more than giving the above anſwer, could ever be proved againſt the general, though he afterwards was accuſed of being the principal actor in this horrid butchery, and was accordingly removed from his government, and impriſoned, till death ſet him free.

On *Friday* the 14th of *April*, to our great ſatisfaction, the *Felucca* returned from *Grane*, and brought the long-expected *Arab*. He behaved very complaiſantly, aſſuring us of his beſt aſſiſtance, and how ready he was to accompany us to *Aleppo*. He thought it his duty however, he ſaid, to acquaint us, that if we undertook our journey at this time, we ſhould run great riſk of being inſulted by the tribe of a powerful neighbouring *Sheick* *, who having a quarrel among themſelves, were under no ſort of regulation: that two perſons had been lately attacked by them, one of whom, well known by the *Baron*, was mortally wounded. He added, that this day was the ſeventh of the *Moon*, and by letters received from different places it appeared, that the great *Caravan* for *Aleppo* would be near *Grane* on the twentieth, when the camels from this laſt place were to join it; that if we choſe to travel in company with them, we might do it with much more ſafety and convenience, than in a ſmaller party; that the *Caravan* would be only thirty days in going from *Grane* to *Aleppo*, and would conſiſt of five thouſand camels and a thouſand men. The whole of this intelligence was of too pleaſing a nature to admit of our continuing long in ſuſpence; we unanimouſly agreed to join the *Caravan*. The *Sheick* ſeemed delighted with our determination, and adviſed us to leave *Karec* on the fifteenth, that we might get to *Grane* in proper time; aſſuring us, that he himſelf would return back to *Grane* in a day or two, to get the camels, *&c.* ready for our uſe.

The Baron, after conſulting with the *Arab*, determined that our baggage ſhould conſiſt of the following articles. One *Bengal* tent, two *Arabian* tents, 18 *Arabian* baſkets, which, one with another, holds about 24 quart bottles. They were to contain 72 bottles of *Madeira* wine, 58 of claret, 54 of *Mango* ſhrub, 15 of *Arrack*, 15 of cyder, 240 pounds of biſcuit or ruſk, 6 hams, 30 neats tongues, 27 pieces of ſhip beef, 1 cheſhire cheeſe, 32 pounds of butter, 2 ſmall jars of pickled *Sardinias*, 3 quart bottles of oil, 5 of vinegar, 2 bottles of muſtard, 2 bottles of powdered pepper, 20 pounds of powdered ſugar, 8 pounds of powdered ſugar-candy, 12 quart bottles of common ſyrup clarified with whites of eggs, 28 pounds of onions,

* The *Sheick* alluded to lives near *Grane*, and is the moſt powerful of all that live in the *Deſert*, having thirty thouſand men under his command; he receives fifty thouſand crowns out of the one hundred thouſand, which are yearly ſent to the *Arabs* from the *Grand Seignior*, for permitting the *Pilgrim-Caravans* to paſs unmoleſted.

12 pounds of ginger-bread nuts, 30 pounds of *Gombroon* dried prunes, 1758.
two *Cattees* of tea, two of powdered coffee, one canvas portmanteau, to hold our linnen and clothes, and a larger one for our bedding. As our whole party conſiſted of eight perſons, it was agreed that each of us (ſervants excepted) ſhould take with him 30 ſuits of linnen, one *European* ſuit of clothes, four or five pair of thin ſhoes, a plain hat, an *Arabian Camaline*, trouſers, *Turban* and ſlippers, and a *Turkiſh Janizary*'s dreſs. The above inventory of our baggage being fixed, and the Baron having acquainted the *Arab*, that he intended to accommodate us with two of his own horſes in our journey; the latter declared, that 30 camels would ſtill be wanting to carry us, our ſervants, and baggage. The Baron inſiſted, that a leſs number would be ſufficient, and brought him down to twenty. It was then agreed between them, it would be neceſſary for us to take from *Grane* an *Arab* of credit, whoſe buſineſs would be to ſettle all points with the commander of the *Caravan*, to prevent inſults, thefts, *&c. &c.*

The Baron took me aſide, and told me, by what he could learn, the price of a camel at and about *Grane*, was about thirty-five *Piaſtres*, but he feared that we as travellers would be obliged to pay for the ſervice only, more than the camel's original coſt; but by a calculation he had made, he thought he ſhould be able to agree with the *Sheick*, to provide us with camels, and all other neceſſaries, for about a thouſand or eleven hundred *Piaſtres* *. I took upon me to anſwer for my brother travellers, that we ſhould not have the leaſt objection to this ſum, and deſired the Baron to ſettle matters with the *Arab* upon this footing.

The affair, agreeable to the *Arabian* cuſtom, was negotiated between them by the mediation of a third perſon; the Baron and the *Sheick* having no immediate intercourſe with each other. A great deal of pompous ſolemnity ſat on the face of the *Arab*, who treated this buſineſs as a matter of the utmoſt conſequence, and by ſigns upon his fingers, made a demand of two thouſand *Piaſtres*. The Baron in return offered one thouſand, and the affair was thus debated by ſigns from the parties, and ſerious whiſperings from the mediator, for full half an hour; when they parted rather abruptly, the Baron being greatly diſpleaſed with the intended impoſition of the *Arab*. He told us in the evening, that this exorbitant demand muſt proceed from a report that we were exceedingly rich; that he was ſure the crafty *Arab* had caſt a wiſhful eye upon our purſes, and that nothing but this, and the hopes he ſtill entertained of our being obliged to cloſe with him, prevented his acceptance of the offer, for the whole money would be clear gain to him; as we were immediately to depoſit the caſh, and the camels which he was to buy with it, would ſell at *Aleppo* for more than their prime coſt. The *Sheick*,

* Eight hundred *piaſtres* make one thouſand *rupees*, or one hundred and twenty-five pounds ſterling.

after

1758. after the negotiation was broken off, waited upon the *Baron*, and remonſtrated after this manner. "*You uſe me very unkindly, Sir. Pray what are* "*theſe travellers to you? I and my tribe have been in friendſhip with you for* "*a long time, and I could not have expected that you would thus have given* "*the preference to ſtrangers.*" The Baron was ſo much out of temper with him, that he returned him very little anſwer, but ordered a *Felucca* to be immediately got ready for us, that the *Arab* might think we were determined to go to *Baſſora* by water in order to join the *Caravan* there, where we were aſſured it would arrive in two days, after its leaving *Grane*. Our ſervants alſo were made to believe that we ſhould certainly proceed by water, that the *Arab*, who probably would be inquiſitive with them, might be deprived of all hope of our ever coming up to his demand. The Baron cloſed this night's converſation, with the following ſenſible obſervation. "*In* Europe *perhaps it may ſometimes be a proper maxim for people to deſire to be* "*thought rich; but in this part of the world, all ſhould endeavour to be eſteemed* "*poor, for the ſuppoſed rich man will ever be impoſed upon, and it is out of* "*his power to prevent it. Gentlemen's ſervants have alſo a peculiar vanity in* "*exaggerating the wealth of their maſters, and thereby often put them to an* "*extraordinary expence.*"

While things remained in ſuſpenſe, as to the *Arab*, we took frequent opportunities of viſiting our ſeveral friends upon the iſland, particularly Mr. and Mrs. *Boſman*, in whoſe gardens we paſſed ſome hours very agreeably, and ſmoked the *Calloon* and *Kerim Can**, pipes which are uſed by the gentlemen here, in the ſame manner as the *Hooka* is in *Bengal*. The common people on *Karec*, like thoſe in *India*, ſmoke the *Hubble-Bubble*, which is made of a *Cocoa-nut* ſhell, and a *Bamboo* joint. In all theſe pipes the ſmoke paſſes through water before it enters the mouth, and is thereby very cool. The tobacco of *Perſia* too is of a mild kind, which being conveyed in great quantities to *India*, is there made into a paſte with ſugar, ſcented ingredients, and roſe-water, and thus ſmoking is made agreeable to perſons, who otherwiſe would diſlike it. The *Hooka* (the form of which is not inelegantly ſhewn in the annexed plate) is conſtructed upon the ſame principles as the *Calloon*, *Kerim-Can*, and *Hubble-Bubble*. It is indeed of a different ſhape from the three laſt, but will ſerve to give a competent idea of all the pipes that are uſed throughout *Aſia*.

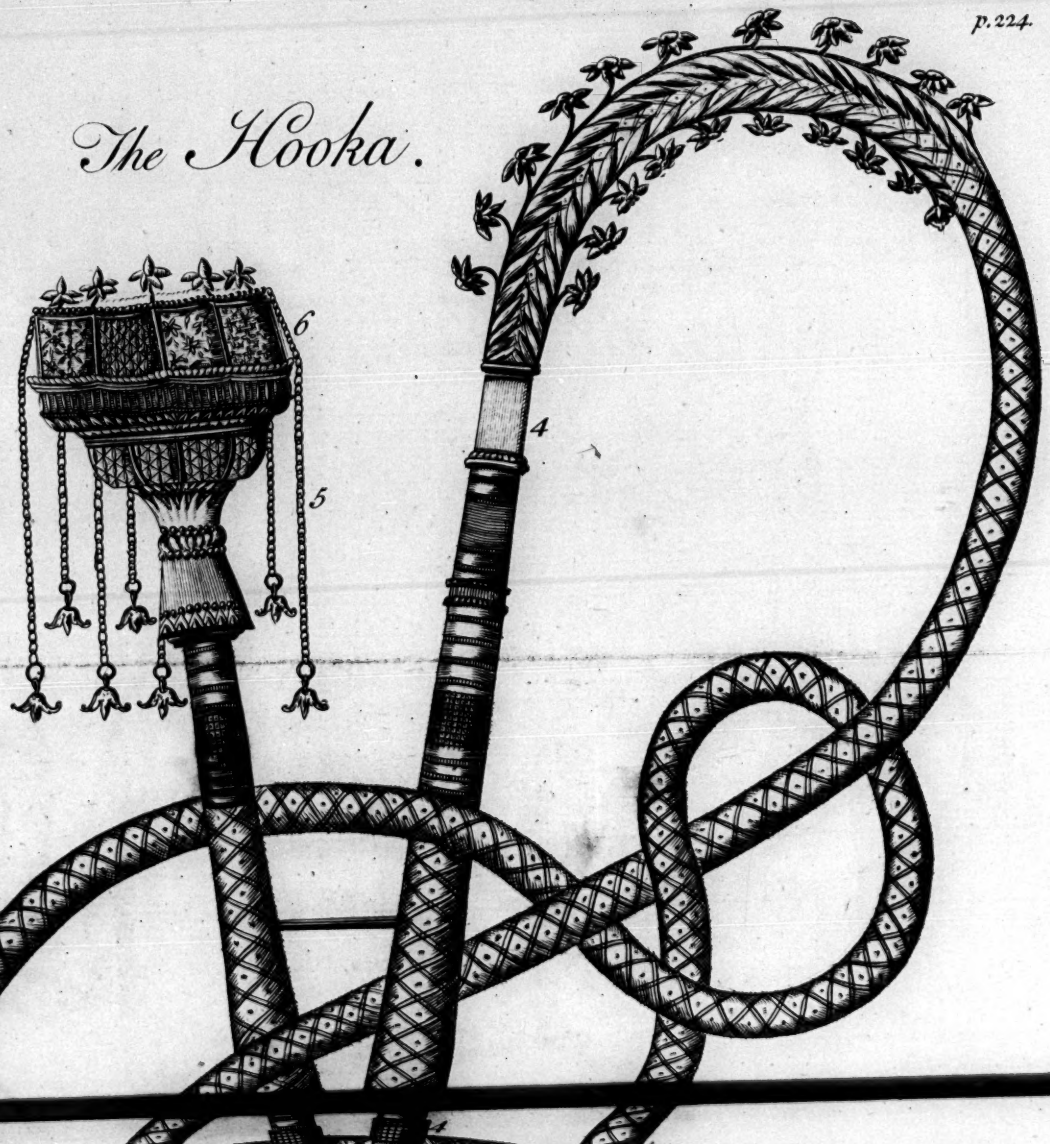
In the evening of the 16th, Mr. *Doidge* learned from Enſign *Robingſon*, that the *Baron*, ſince the exorbitant demand of the *Arab*, had been exceedingly uneaſy, and very thoughtful upon our account. "He wiſhed (ſaid the "enſign) to have facilitated your journey; but as ſo much time has already "been loſt, and the whole ſcheme of going by *Grane* is likely to prove

* So called from a *Perſian* general of that name, who invented it, or perhaps from the word *Kerim*, which in the *Perſian* language ſignifies a horn or tube.

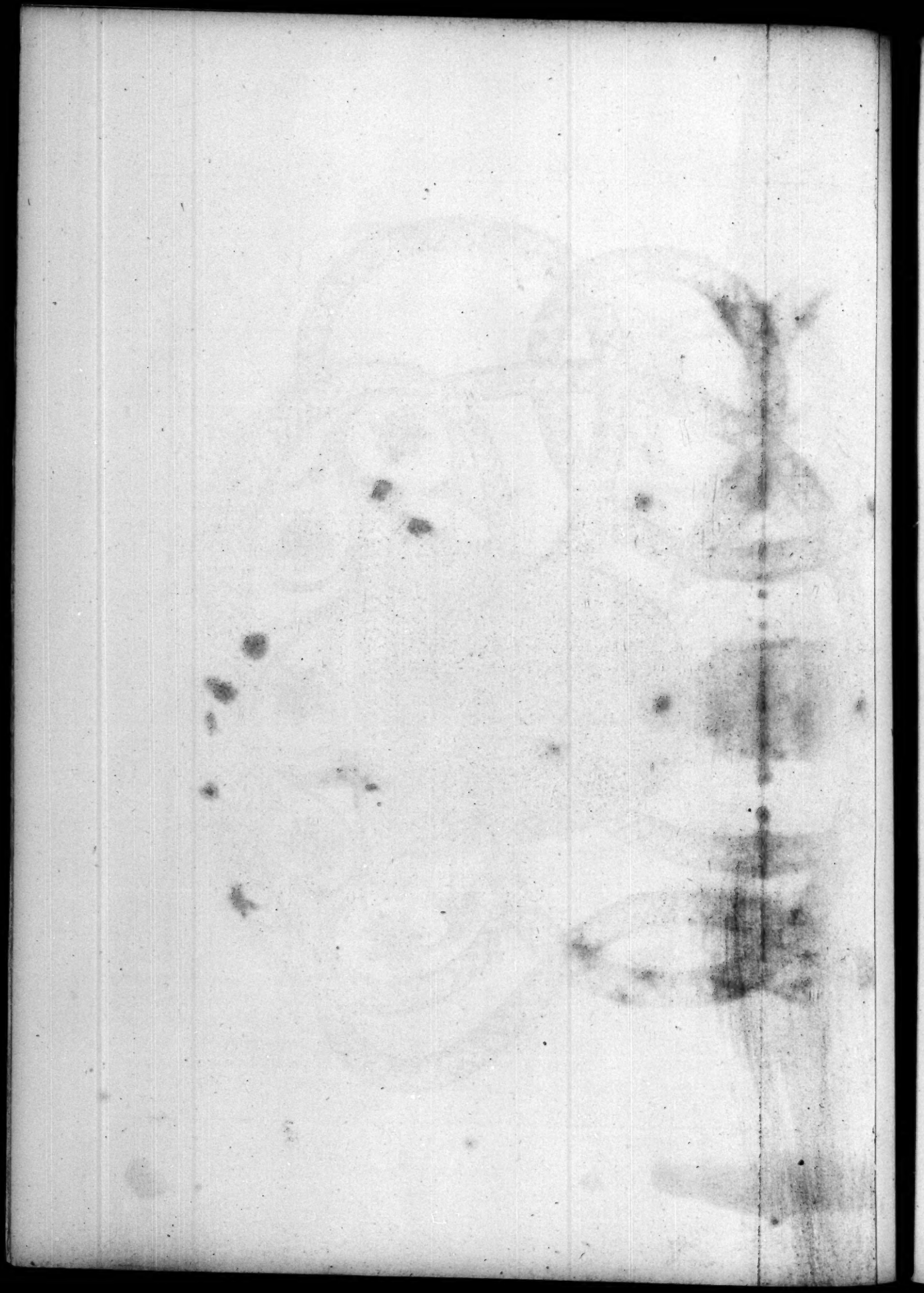
"abortive,

The Hooka.

1. Hooka. The Bottle which contains the water.
2. Necha. The Snake thro' which the smoke passes.
3. Moo-noll. The Mouth piece.
4. Ogni. The Tube to which the Necha joins.
5. Chillum. The Cup in which the Tile is put that the Tobacco composition is placed on.
6. Serpoose. The Cap which is put upon the Chillum over the fire.
7. An Embroider'd Carpet on which the Instrument is placed.




1
2
3
4
7
F. Delge sculp.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 Fuß



" abortive, I am very ſure he would be greatly pleaſed if you ſpared 1758.
" his delicacy ſo far as to make the propoſal yourſelves of going by ſome
" other route." Mr. *Robingſon* ingenuouſly added, " that every other gentleman upon the iſland was clearly of opinion, that we ought to go by water to *Baſſora*, and he had reaſon to think the *Baron* was not to be excepted out of this number, however ſcrupulous he might be of delivering his ſentiments." He deſired however that the hints which he had given might be kept a ſecret from the *Baron*. Immediately, a ſhort conſultation was held between us on our preſent ſituation; and the ſame evening, with the general conſent of the whole party, I opened to the *Baron*, that " as ſo exorbitant a ſum had been demanded by the *Arab*, as the time of our continuance at *Grane*, before the arrival of the *Caravan*, would alſo be very uncertain, as well as diſagreeable, and as from what had paſſed, it was very probable we might ſtill be ſubjected to farther impoſition; I therefore ſubmitted to him, whether he did not think our ſailing to *Baſſora*, the moſt eligible route." The *Baron* ſeemed greatly pleaſed with the propoſal, and adopted it without any heſitation. He was ſo obliging as ſtill to inſiſt on our acceptance of the two horſes, he had intended for our uſe, and propoſed ſending them with our baggage, and one of our ſervants, in a *Trankey* to *Baſſora*; we were to follow in one of his armed *Gallivats*. This night's converſation ended, in our making him moſt hearty acknowledgments for the whole of his friendly and polite behaviour towards us; and in his giving the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the earneſt deſire he had of contributing to our eaſe and ſatisfaction.

The next morning a boat arrived from *Baſſora*, with a letter from Mr. *Shaw*, addreſſed to Mr. *Doidge*: the following is an extract.——" I flattered
" myſelf that I ſhould have had the ſatisfaction of your company, for a
" few days at leaſt at *Baſſora*; but from the doubtful manner in which you
" wrote laſt, I know not whether I may now expect that pleaſure. I pre-
" ſume your intentions may be to proceed over the *Deſert* by the way of
" *Grane*; which doubtleſs will be more expeditious, though in my humble
" opinion not ſo ſecure, as by the way of *Baghdad*. Beſides, a *Caravan* is
" to ſet out from this laſt place in thirty-five or forty days, directly over the
" *Deſert* for *Aleppo*. It is certain alſo, that the *Deſert* is not ſafe at preſent
" without a *Caravan* or ſome proper eſcort, for yeſterday I had advices from
" *Baghdad*, that an *Engliſh* gentleman, one *Barton*, coming poſt from *Aleppo*
" to this place with a few camels, was plundered ſome days ago by the
" roving *Arabs*, who have of late in particular, greatly infeſted the *Deſert*;
" and you muſt have heard at *Bombay*, that one Captain *Ivers*, going hence
" to *Aleppo*, in *September* laſt, was in like manner plundered."

The tenor of this letter confirmed us ſtill more in the reſolution we had taken of proceeding by the way of *Baſſora*. So that on *Wedneſday* the 19th, we embarked our baggage, and the two horſes the *Baron* had given

1758. us, and ſent with them in the *Trankey*, *Benjamin Jenkins*, who alſo carried an anſwer from his maſter to Mr. *Shaw*'s letter.

The next day about three in the afternoon, we all went on board the *Gallivat*, commanded by *Mynheer Binkey*, bound to *Baſſora*. We were accompanied down to the water ſide by the * *Baron* himſelf, *Mynheers Boſman*, *Robingſon*, *Tillie*, and *Nicholi*, who did not quit the ſhore, till our veſſel was at a conſiderable diſtance from the iſland. The wind was nearly north-weſt when we firſt put to ſea, but in the evening it came to the ſouthward, and carried us along very pleaſantly at the rate of about five or ſix miles an hour: But in the morning of the 21ſt it began to blow hard, and in the evening the gale increaſed ſo much, that we were forced out of the proper channel for *Baſſora* river. This obliged us to come to an anchor; we dropt two from the bow, yet the veſſel drove; we then let go a third from the ſtarboard quarter, which brought her up, and we rode ſafely till the next morning, when, to our great ſatisfaction, the wind abated, the *Gallivat* having frequently in the night ſtruck the ground. About ſix we weighed our anchors, and with a gale ſtill from the ſouth, ſtood into the mid-channel of the river, having on our left, the iſland, on which are the ruins of old *Baſſora*. Theſe ruins extend eight or ten miles. An almoſt innumerable quantity of black, withered ſtumps of date trees, ſtill remain, and reach for ſome miles to the ſouthward and northward of the ruined city. We paſſed this day very agreeably; for on both ſides of the river quite up to *Baſſora*, are date and apricot trees, regularly planted, and the ſoil yields one continued verdure, a ſight as uncommon in this part of the world, as it is beautiful. From the ſhrouds of our little veſſel however, at a few miles diſtance beyond this delightful ſcene, we could plainly diſcover a ſpecimen of what we were to expect in our journey, over the dreary *Deſert* of *Arabia*.

In our paſſage up the river, we ſaw ſeveral people croſſing it in baſket-boats; others on large bladders or ſkins filled with air. The baſket-boats are of a circular form, generally from eight to ſixteen feet in diameter. Their depth is about three feet, the bottoms flat, which, as well as their outſides, are covered with a kind of pitch. They are very convenient, will carry a great number of paſſengers, and are as eaſily puſhed through the mud when there is no depth of water, as over it when there is. The

* Baron *Kniphauſen*, ſince our leaving *Karec*, has quitted the *Dutch* ſervice, and I am told that the *Sheick* of *Bundarick* is again in poſſeſſion of the iſland. Our ſettlement at *Gombroon* was taken from us by the *French* in the year 1759, and our affairs have not been proſperous ſince that event, if at all reinſtated in that part of the world. Is not then the iſle of *Karec*, as well upon the account of it's ſituation for trade, as for it's pearl-fiſhery, an object worthy of our *Eaſt India* company's conſideration? It is about five miles in length, and two in breadth, lies nearly in mid-channel between the *Perſian* and *Arabian* ſhores, about ſeven leagues from each, and about 30 leagues from the mouth of *Baſſora* river, where all ſhips bound to that place muſt call for pilots.

largeſt

largeſt require only two men to manage them; the other ſort but one. The river in ſome places is a mile over; in others much leſs. From it's mouth quite up to *Baſſora*, is about a hundred *Engliſh* miles. 1758.

A little before we reached the city, we paſſed on our left, the *French* merchant ſhip, mentioned in Mr. *Shaw*'s firſt letter; and abreaſt of the town, lay the *Briſtol Frigate*, with her jack, enſign, and pendant. At a little diſtance from her, we had the pleaſure to diſcover our *Trankey*, in which were the horſes and baggage, ſhe had gotten up about an hour before us; and at four o'clock in the afternoon, we happily came to an anchor off the city of *Baſſora*, and ſaluted the Captain *Paſha* with eleven guns.

A

JOURNEY

FROM

PERSIA TO ENGLAND,

In 1758 and 1759,

By the way of BASSORA, BAGHDAD, MOSUL, DIARBEKIR, BIR, ALEPPO, LATICHEA, LEGHORN, FLORENCE, VENICE, INSPRUCK, COLOGNE, NIMEGUEN, &c.

CONTAINING

An Account of thoſe Cities, and of the Manners, Cuſtoms, Religion, Polity, &c. of the Inhabitants of ASIATIC TURKY, and of the other Countries through which the Author paſſed.

Vadimus in campos ſteriles, exuſtaque mundi,
Quâ nimius Titan, & raræ in fontibus undæ,
Siccaque letiferis ſqualent ſerpentibus arva,
Durum iter!—— LUCAN, Lib. ix.

search
ications

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TURCOMANIAN MOUNTAINS

DIARBEKIR
R. Tygris

Meniserah in Diarbek
Incesu
Meniserah in Urfa
Paselleleeu
Vale
URFA
R. Euphrates
BIR
Magara or Mazar
R. Sajura

COURD
Cojans
Arun
Serka Kaupi
Nisibin
Gerdu
Demir Kapee

MESOPOTAMIA

SANJAC MOUNTAINS

ALEPPO
a Well
Cantaman
Bad Water
Tillaran
Indahab
Sphera
Geboul
Hagla
Lahaur
Auro il Arauneb
Tilleamlack
Ain il Kom
Gussora
Swarjee
Geboul Bushier
Jubil Ganam
Battan Swab
Palmyra
Battan Farda
Tweabjamus
Oglet Haran
Ainil Arnab
Bad Water
Cabass
Bad Wate

Benish
Endiip
Well
Bad Water
Tortosa
Bernada
LATICHEA

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

SYRIA

The common Route of the Caravan from ALEPPO to BASSORA over the great Defert of

Mr. IVES's ROUTE from BASSORA to LATICHEA.



A

JOURNEY

FROM

PERSIA TO ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Deſcription of Baſſora *and the country adjacent.—Account of Mr.* Barton's *being firſt plundered, and afterwards humanely treated by the* Arabs.—*Monſieur* Perdria, *the* French *reſident, and the officers of the* Briſtol Frigate, *pay the author and his companions a viſit.—More occurrences at* Baſſora.—*We embark on board a yacht lent us by Mr.* Shaw.—*Paſſage up the* Euphrates *to* Corna, Cota, *and* Semava.—*Inſolent behaviour of the* Chocarda.

THE city of *Baſſora*, where we arrived on the 22d of *April*, lies in the latitude of 30° 3′ north, and is ſituated three miles on the weſt ſide of the *Euphrates*, in *Aſiatic Turky*: it is large, and populous, about 12 miles in circumference, and contains between ſixty and ſeventy thouſand inhabitants. The houſes are all built of mud, and bricks dried in the ſun, as is the wall of the city, which is defended by turrets at proper diſtances from each other. It was beſieged by *Thamas Kuli Khan*, but without ſucceſs. The ſtreets in general are very narrow, and ſtink abominably, owing to their taking no care to carry off the dirt and filth, tho' a creek very convenient for that purpoſe runs by the ſide of the city. Much trade is carried on here, through a navigable canal which is cut into the river; there is a daily intercourſe with *Boghdad* by water, on the two great rivers, *Euphrates*

1758. BASSORA. Saturday, April 22.

1758. and *Tygris*. The moſt ſightly edifice here, is the *Caravanſerah*; which is large, covered in at the top, full of ſhops with different kinds of merchandiſe, and at one of the ends is a good market, well furniſhed with all ſorts of meat, except pork; the mutton you buy here is excellent. Nothing can be imagined pleaſanter than the face of the country juſt round the city: large vineyards interſperſed with roſe-trees, fields of corn ſcattered up and down, and a view of the river at the ſame time, form a picturesque and delightful landſcape.

In about two hours after our arrival, we waited upon Mr. *Shaw*, the *Eaſt India* company's reſident, who received us with the greateſt politeneſs and hoſpitality, and provided lodgings for us under his own roof. We paſſed the evening in company with Mr. *Purnel*, and three or four *Italian* merchants. The beſt method of travelling to *Aleppo*, was the principal ſubject of our converſation; they were unanimous in adviſing us to continue our journey by water to *Baghdad*, and then join the *Caravan*, which was to ſet off from that place. We accordingly adopted this ſcheme, as being leſs hazardous and fatiguing than the route we had before propoſed. Mr. *Barton* alſo (the *Engliſh* gentleman mentioned in Mr. *Shaw*'s letter to have been plundered by the *Arabs*) joined the company, and gave us a very full and pleaſing account of public affairs in *Europe*.

This gentleman (Mr. *Barton*) had it ſeems a few years before, acquired a handſome fortune in the *Eaſt Indies*, with which he returned to *England*, ſettled at ſome diſtance from *London* in the character of a country gentleman, and ſerved the office of high-ſheriff for the county in which he lived. Being neceſſitated however to return to *India* to ſettle ſome affairs, he had the courage to fit out a ſmall *Folkſtone* cutter, in which he actually ſet ſail from *England* for the *Eaſt Indies*; but before he had been many days at ſea, ſhe was (luckily perhaps for himſelf and his little crew) taken by a *French* privateer, and carried into *Vigo*. From hence he got a paſſage to *Leghorn*, taking his ſon with him, who had alſo embarked in the ſame dangerous enterprize for the *Eaſt Indies*. At *Leghorn* they took ſhip again, and got ſafe to *Scanderoon*. Here, he was ſo impatient to get forward on his journey, that he would not wait for the *Caravan*, but ſet out for *Aleppo*, attended only by his ſon, a country-ſervant, and a few camels. His ſpirit was too active to endure the ſlow march of theſe animals; he therefore frequently made excurſions on the road before them, but one day while walking on foot and alone, he was attacked by a few *Arabs*, who robbed him of every thing he had about him. This obliged him to wait for the coming up of his little company, and with them he travelled on without any other accident to *Aleppo*. Here, he was in the ſame hurry for proceeding on his journey, nor could the whole factory prevail upon him to wait only a fortnight or three weeks for the ſetting out of a large *Caravan* for *Baghdad* and *Baſſora*.

He accordingly began this ſecond hazardous expedition with only two or three camels, and the ſame country-ſervant, leaving his ſon behind at *Aleppo*, with orders to follow him, by the firſt convenient opportunity. For a few days, he and his man went on uninterrupted over the *Deſert*. At length five or ſix hundred *Arabs* diſcovered them; but upon their coming nigh, Mr. *Barton* drew out a brace of piſtols which he carried in his belt, and preſented them at the *Arabs*: aſtoniſhed at his raſhneſs, they made a ſtand, but at the ſame time ordered him to throw down his arms. His ſervant alſo perſuaded him to comply, but all in vain; he ſtill held his cocked piſtols towards the *Arabs*, and with a determined look, and high-toned voice, declared he would kill ſome of them, if they dared to approach any nearer. By degrees they ſurrounded him, and with a blow on the head he was brought to the ground, and his piſtols taken from him: the *Arabs* now in their turn preſented their weapons to his breaſt, and told him that he deſerved to be put to death; but they ſatisfied themſelves with ſtripping him quite naked, and leaving the ſervant a jacket and breeches, but not a drop of water, or morſel of proviſion for either. 1758.

Mr. *Barton*, after the enemy rode off, accepted the breeches which his ſervant offered to him, and they both ſet out bare-footed (their camels alſo having been taken from them) in the track for *Baghdad*. After having paſſed two days and nights without meeting with any other ſupport than the *Truffles* of the *Deſert*, that happened then to be in ſeaſon, and which they found in great plenty, they fortunately fell in with another tribe of *Arabs*, to whoſe *Sheick* they told their melancholy tale, and implored his aſſiſtance. The *Sheick* was touched with the relation of their diſtreſs, and afforded them every help in his power; his own wives miniſtred unto them, anointed their feet, brought them milk, and every other neceſſary. As ſoon as they were ſufficiently recovered to ſet forward, the ſon of the *Sheick* eſcorted them ſo far, as to put them under the protection of another *Sheick*, by whom they were entertained in the like hoſpitable manner, and diſmiſſed with other guards and paſſports; nor did they want friends as long as their journey laſted, each tribe ſeeing them ſafely lodged with it's next neighbour, until they had delivered them into the hands of our countrymen at *Baghdad*.

From that city, Mr. *Barton* was carried in the *Paſha*'s galley down the *Tygris* to *Corna*, and from thence to *Baſſora*, where we met with him. He was at that time clothed like a poor *Turk*, without ſhirt or ſtockings; his beard was grown to an uncommon length; and he declared that he would indulge himſelf in few of the comforts, much leſs in the elegancies of life, till he arrived ſafely at *Calcutta*, the place of his deſtination.

This morning we were complimented with a viſit from Monſieur *Perdria* the *French* reſident, Monſieur *Rivage* the captain of the *Briſtol Frigate*, and two of his officers. Mr. *Shaw* invited them to dine with us, and in the April 23.

1758. evening we returned the compliment, and ſupped with them at the country-houſe of Monſ. *Perdria*, where we were politely and elegantly entertained. Monſ. *Rivage* and his officers were preſent, ſo that we made up 26 in all, the greateſt number of *European* gentlemen that were known to have been in *Baſſora* at one time.

Monday, April 24. This was Mr. *Shaw*'s levee day; his room was full of *Turkiſh*, *Arabian*, and *Armenian* merchants. Moſt of them were large-ſized men, fine eyed, well proportioned, and of good complexions. Their principal deſign in coming at this time, was to pay their compliments to us. Here alſo we had an opportunity of converſing with ſeveral *Padrees* or miſſionaries, who are ſettled in a convent at *Baſſora*, with a view to propagate the *Chriſtian* faith. A very odd ſcheme! ſince they dare not attempt the converſion even of a ſingle *Muſſulman*. Theſe good men paid us ſeveral viſits afterwards, gave us many benedictions, and a letter of recommendation to the *Roman* nominal *Biſhop* of *Babylon*.

After dinner Mr. *Shaw* carried us to ſee a long-boat of his, which he had fitted up as a little yacht, and was ſo obliging as to offer us the uſe of it to carry us as far as *Hilla*, in our way to *Baghdad*. We gladly accepted it, as being much more commodious than any of the country boats; and Mr. *Alms* undertook to fit her for the voyage. We likewiſe hired a *Sandal* or boat for carrying our baggage and the two horſes we brought with us from *Karec*, to which Mr. *Shaw* now added a third, as a preſent to Mr. *Doidge*. Mr. *Shaw* alſo laid in a very large ſtock of freſh proviſions for our paſſage up the river, and was ſo generous as to inſiſt, it ſhould not be carried to account.

To the ſame gentleman we were alſo obliged for the following directions, which we thought proper to make minutes of, as neceſſary for our future conduct.——1ſt. If, when we arrive at *Aleppo*, we ſhall want more money than we have credit for from *India*, Mr. *Shaw* gives us a letter of credit on his correſpondent at that place: If we ſhall have occaſion for leſs than two hundred pounds, then our bills are to be drawn in favour of *Laurence Sullivan* Eſq; in *England*; but if more than that ſum, then on *Samuel Hough* Eſq; at *Bombay*, in favour of Mr. *Shaw* or order.——2d. To take with us an inferior *Turkiſh* officer, called a *Chocarda*, who is to protect us from all inſult, and to carry with him orders to the ſeveral governors of thoſe places we touch at, to ſupply us with a ſufficient number of men to *track*, or draw up our veſſels againſt the ſtream, when the wind and current ſhall be unfavourable for ſailing. We are only to hire ſix men at *Baſſora* to *track* us up as far as *Corna*; there we are to engage twelve, and ſo on, till we arrive at *Hilla*. Every time we change our men, we are to give them from ſix to eight *Abaſſees*, according to their behaviour. To the *Chocarda*, at the end of our paſſage, and journey, we are to give ſeventy *Cruſe* and a coat. ——3d. To carry with us two letters; one addreſſed to *Aly Aga*, governor of *Haſca*,

Haſca, whom we are to ſalute with an even number of guns, the more the better, and then ſend the *Chocarda*, with our linguiſt and one of our own ſervants to him, with our compliments and the letter, deſiring to be honoured with his comands for *Baghdad*. This will probably induce him to ſend us an invitation to come aſhore, which we are by no means to refuſe, but to wait upon him either at dinner or ſupper, as he ſhall appoint. We muſt particularly remember to go in ſlippers, and be very careful not to thruſt our legs and feet out, but contrive (after the *Turkiſh* manner) to ſit with them acroſs. Should he preſent any one of us with a veſt, we are then to give the ſervant who ſhall put it on, ſixty *Cruſe*, making at the ſame time a proper apology for his trouble, but to take care not to give the money till the moment of our departure. If no veſt be preſented, then we are to diſtribute ten or twelve *Cruſe* among the governor's ſervants. The other letter muſt be addreſſed to *Choudar Aga*, governor of *Hilla*, whom we are to ſalute with three guns, and then ſend the letter by our *Chocarda* and linguiſt with our compliments, as before to *Aly Aga*. Here we are to be furniſhed with horſes, camels, mules, and aſſes to carry us and our baggage to *Baghdad*, paying for each horſe ten *Cruſe*, for each camel five, and for each mule or aſs two and an half. Should the governor make us a compliment of paying for theſe animals himſelf, we are then to make a preſent of half, or ſomething more than half of their value, to his ſervant. ——4th. We are alſo to carry a letter addreſſed to Mr. *Garden* at *Baghdad*, which we are to diſpatch to that gentleman from *Hilla*; taking care that our ſtay at this laſt place be as ſhort as poſſible, leſt the ſhew of our baggage might tempt the *Arabs* to endeavour to intercept us.——5th. Should we be ſo unfortunate as not to meet with Mr. *Garden* at *Baghdad*, we are then to apply to *Cojee Raphael*, an *Armenian*, who does Mr. *Shaw*'s buſineſs there, and he will take care to provide us with camels, *&c.* and will bargain for their hire to *Aleppo*; which uſually is from fifteen to twenty *Piaſtres Rume* of eight, five *Marmoodas Baghdad* currency; or $\frac{5}{8}$ of a loaded camel. The hire of a camel to ride on, is little more than half the price of a loaded one. our ſervants have a cuſtomary right to mount the camels which carry proviſions, without our paying any thing extra upon that account.——6th. If we meet with Mr. *Garden* at *Baghdad*, he is beſt able to inform us of the price of a hired horſe to ride on to *Aleppo*.——7th. To remember to purchaſe at *Baghdad*, two *Cradles* * for a camel, which will be very uſeful, ſhould any of us be ſick. —— 8th. Mr. *Shaw* will give us a letter of credit on Mr. *Garden* or *Cojee Raphael* (as Mr. *Hough* of *Bombay* did before on Mr. *Shaw*) for what monies we ſhall want. If we ſhould not have occaſion for the whole of what we leave with Mr. *Shaw*, or rather, for what we have given our draughts on Mr. *Hough*; in that caſe, he provides us with credit upon *Miner-Rigo*, by means of Mr. *Drummond* at *Aleppo*.——9th. We are now and then to entertain with coffee the man who provides us with camels, and the

1758.

* Theſe are not much unlike our common cradles for children; a pair of them are hung on a camel's back in the ſame manner as panniers on horſes in *England*.

1758. principal conductor of the *Caravan*.——10th. The moſt likely places for our baggage to be examined by the officers of the *Turkiſh* cuſtoms, are *Hilla* and *Baghdad*.——11th. In caſe the *Caravan* ſhould unluckily be ſet out before we arrive at *Baghdad*, Mr. *Shaw* furniſhes us with a letter to *Cojee Raphael* to deſire him to apply to the *Paſha* for an eſcort; and leſt that ſhould fail, we are alſo promiſed a letter from the governor of *Baſſora* to the *Paſha* on the ſame ſubject.——12th. When we ſhall arrive within two days journey of *Aleppo*, we are to ſend a letter to Mr. *Drummond* the *Britiſh* conſul there, and acquaint him with the number of our party. This is cuſtomary, as he generally makes a point to meet his countrymen at ſome little diſtance from the city.——13th. *Franciſco*, a ſervant hired at *Baſſora*, and who ſpeaks *French*, is to have fifty *Piaſtres* at *Aleppo*, and a ſuit of clothes, if he behaves well.——14th. *Vertan*, our ſecond ſervant, is to have fifty *Piaſtres* at *Baghdad*, and a ſuit of clothes at *Aleppo*, provided he ſhall have deſerved it: he is to have a camel's hire for his expences in returning to *Baſſora*, but if Mr. *Barton*'s ſon ſhall engage him, then the camel hire is not to be paid.

ACCOUNT of COINS.

	Marmoodas.	Fluce.
One Toman is	100	0
A *Perſian* Rupee is	5	50
A *Venetian* Sequin is	28	0
A *Bombay* Rupee is	5	60
One Marmooda is	0	100
One Denim is	0	10
One Cruſe *Baſſora* is	4	50
One Cruſe Rume is, of *Baſſora* currency,	7	10
One Piaſtre is, — of *Baghdad* ditto,	8	50
One Piaſtre is, — of *Aleppo* ditto,	6	0
One Abaſſee is	2	20
One Nadercee is	3	30
One Fenduke is, of *Baſſora* currency,	27	0
One ditto is, of *Aleppo* currency,	22	50
One Zirmaboob is, of *Baſſora* currency,	19	75
One ditto is, of *Baghdad* currency,	24	0

April 25. To-day we were chiefly employed in ſending our baggage *&c.* on board, and in taking leave of the reverend miſſionaries, and ſeveral *European* merchants.

April 26. This afternoon, the *French* reſident Monſ. *Perdria*, accompanied with the officers of the *Frigate*, came to take their leave of us, which obliged us to make them another viſit, and with much difficulty we got ourſelves excuſed from ſupping with them.

After breakfaſting with the *French* reſident at his country houſe, and taking leave of the *French* gentlemen, who were ſo complaiſant as to attend us down to the water's edge, we went on board the yacht. About 8 o'clock, we began to track up the *Euphrates*, accompanied by Meſſrs. *Shaw* and *Purnel*, who were ſo polite as to inſiſt on going a few miles with us. They left us about noon, after our exchanging mutual good wiſhes and compliments. Monſ. *Hemet* of *French* extraction, but for many years employed as interpreter to the *Engliſh* factory at *Iſpahan*, and now ruined in his circumſtances by the civil wars carried on in *Perſia*, joined us at *Baſſora*, on his way to *Baghdad*, where his family reſided; and he propoſed carrying them from thence to *Venice*, his wife's native place. 1758. April 27.

We found it extremely pleaſant on the river, and were ſo lucky as to have a briſk ſoutherly wind. At ſix in the morning, we paſſed by the ruins of an old village; and a little afterwards ſaw a tomb on the *Arabian* ſhore. At ſeven, we were obliged to anchor, in order to wait for the coming up of our luggage-boat. At half paſt ſeven weighed again, and diſcovered a ſmall *Arab* camp, in which were many ſheep. The deſert came up cloſe to the river on the left-hand ſide. About ten, we paſſed by the tomb of *Meti Sahab Zemaun*, who we were told was the ſon of *Mahomet*. He had been dead 1170 years, and according to the tradition of the country, was to appear again in a very ſhort time, when he would mount on the back of an untamed mule in the foreſt, ride over the face of the whole earth, and be its ſovereign: the tomb ſtands on the *Arabian* ſhore. At twelve, we paſſed by another tomb on the ſame ſide, raiſed to the memory of *Aly Eben Haſſein*, a nephew of *Aly* the renowned. April 28.

Between five and ſix in the afternoon, we reached the village of *Corna* or *Quorne*; near which place reſides the chief of the *Janizaries* of this province. *Corna* lies betwixt the two rivers *Tygris* and *Euphrates*. By the deſire of our *Chocarda*, we ſaluted the *Sheick* of the place; three guns only were intended, but our *Laſcar* gunner, willing to give more, primed the fourth, and fired it. At eight in the evening we left *Corna*: Had cloudy weather with lightning to the ſouthward. At half paſt twelve at night, we were obliged to come to an anchor: the weather ſqually, the wind S. S. W. and a ſtrong tide ſetting to the N. E. We ſailed theſe laſt 24 hours, about 75 miles. CORNA.

At two o'clock in the morning we made ſail again, the weather becoming fair: at five handed the ſails, and ſent the *Trackers* on ſhore. The river is here about five hundred yards broad. Both ſhores are very pleaſant, particularly that on our left, where is a great deal of ripe corn, which the people are now gathering in: on the other ſide large numbers of cattle are grazing. Geographers conjecture the country around here to have been the ſeat of the garden of *Eden*; for no other reaſon probably but becauſe it is pleaſant, and lies between the *Tygris* and *Euphrates*. We obſerved a company of above 60 Pelicans, April 29.

1758. Pelicans, ſwimming majeſtically along the river; Mr. *Alms* fired a ball among them, of which they took but little notice: we were then going to diſcharge one of the ſmall cannon loaded with ſlugs, but our *Chocarda* telling us it would be a ſin, we deſiſted. At eight o'clock we paſſed by two *Arab* villages, and ſoon afterwards a large camp of *Arabs*. At twelve at noon, the latitude by obſervation was 31° 00′ north. At three we came MONSURET. to an anchor abreaſt of *Monſuret*, an *Arab* village, in order to change our *Trackers*.

Our *Chocarda* and we have not well agreed to day. We ſuſpect that he intends to impoſe on us, ſtarting difficulties only to make a merit of getting us out of them again. He wanted us to ſalute the *Sheick* of this village, which we would not comply with; this offended him, and he talks of taking himſelf on board the luggage-boat. We appear indifferent about it, as we know he will never leave the good wines and other liquors which he finds with us, and which he ſeems ſo much to like, merely for indulging a petulant humour. At ſix o'clock, finding our *Chocarda* had not ſucceeded in getting a new ſet of *Trackers*, we weighed and ſtood over to the village, where we found him in high diſpute. The chief of the hamlet happening to be abſent, an old man who called himſelf *Sheick* for the time preſent, offered to ſupply our officer with men, but inſiſted on being paid for them before-hand; on this head, the diſpute aroſe. We thought it beſt to accommodate matters, by ordering the payment of the money, and eight *Marmoodas* were accordingly depoſited: no ſooner however was the money paid, than new difficulties aroſe from another, a younger perſon, who inſiſted that he was the chief, and not the man who had received the *Marmoodas*; and while our *Chocarda* was conteſting it with this new pretender, the firſt endeavoured to make his eſcape. Our officer twice took hold of him, and at length, by violence forced him on board the yacht: on this, the young fellows of the village ſcreamed out *Allah*, and multitudes ran towards the veſſel, demanding the priſoner, who after ſome altercation was delivered up to them. In about three quarters of an hour after his enlargement, they brought down twelve *Trackers*, who ſeemed to come on board with great reluctance. Their chief, upon delivering them, had a bottle of ſpirits and one *Piaſtre* given him as a preſent, and he was to recover the *Marmoodas* from the other perſon in the beſt manner he could.

From this inſtance it plainly appears, what little regard is paid to the *Turks*, by theſe wild, unruly *Arabs*; for notwithſtanding we had obtained an order from the governor of *Baſſora* to the chiefs of the villages to ſupply us with twelve men from ſtage to ſtage, they trifled with us here for above two hours, and it was by mere dint of bribing that a freſh ſet of men could be had. I cannot but obſerve too upon this occaſion, that no kind of payment ought to have been demanded from us; for as theſe *Trackers* have a certain ſum allowed them from the *Turkiſh* government, whatever we paid them beſides, was a mere impoſition.

At eight in the evening we croſſed the river with our new *Trackers*, having firſt filled their bellies with mutton and rice, in hopes of getting them into good humour. We ſent ſix aſhore firſt, agreeable to cuſtom; they tracked about three quarters of an hour, when our luggage boat coming near with the *Chocarda*, the others that remained on board told us, that ſix would not be ſufficient to draw the veſſel at night, as the wind then blew freſh, and offered to go aſhore and aſſiſt their companions. When they found that we would not conſent to this propoſal, they took an opportunity of jumping into the *Sandal*, and from her to the ſhore, and there joined their comrades: they all directly ran off, leaving us to take care of ourſelves. On this we hauled into the middle of the ſtream, and anchored, got our guns loaded with grape-ſhot, and our ſmall arms ready, to prevent being ſurprized by the *Arabs*, for from their late extraordinary behaviour we knew not what to think. At ten we called to Mr. *Hemet*, who with the *Chocarda*, ſlept in the luggage-boat; we propoſed to him, as the wind was foul, to bear back again for *Corna*, and there take in men for the next ſtage. He ſeemed to think that it would be loſing both time and way, and gave as his opinion that it would be more eligible to continue where we were, be upon our guard, and wait for a fair wind to carry us to the next town; adding, that the *Chocarda* was of opinion the men would return again in the morning. We aſked whether he approved of our firing a muſket over any boat that might approach us in the night? The *Chocarda* anſwered, "*Yes, if you fire into the boat and kill any of them, I will be anſwerable for the conſequences.*" We reſolved however not to proceed to ſuch extremities, unleſs we apprehended our lives to be in danger. No diſturbance whatever happened during the remainder of the night. Sailed this day 34 miles. 1758.

About five this morning, our *Trackers* returned to us. They aſſured us, and we had reaſon to believe them, that they ran away by the ſole direction of our *Chocarda*, but cannot get at the whole truth of the affair. We got under way immediately, as did our luggage-boat: we ſtill ſee great numbers of cattle grazing on each ſide of the river, and alſo obſerved a boy croſſing it on the backs of *Buffaloes*. He ſhifted himſelf from the back of one of theſe beaſts, to another, with great dexterity, as often as he found it neceſſary for the order and better conducting of his herd. This extraordinary feat of activity, put me in mind of that paſſage in the fifteenth book of *Homer*'s Iliad, where a man is repreſented as managing four horſes at once, and leaping from the back of one to another at full ſpeed *. April 30.

* So when a horſeman from the watry mead
(Skill'd in the manage of the bounding ſteed)
Drives four fair courſers, practis'd to obey,
To ſome great city thro' the public way;
Safe in his art, as ſide by ſide they run,
He ſhifts his ſeat, and vaults from one to one;
And now to this, and now to that he flies;
Admiring numbers follow with their eyes.
POPE.

Yeſterday,

1758. Yeſterday, as well as to-day, we paſſed by ſeveral *Arab* towns, and ſome large tombs. We ſee from time to time ducks and paddy-birds: every morning the lark ſings moſt delightfully. At noon our latitude by obſervation was 30° 58′ north. We have now no longer any tide of flood to help us, but a conſtant ſtream running down. At half after two in the afternoon, we paſſed by a *Turkiſh* galley, in which was the brother of *Aly Aga*, governor of *Haſca*; this gentleman ſaluted us with one gun, which we returned under jack, enſign, and pendant: he ſeemed to have a large train of attendants with him. At three we came abreaſt of a village on the left-hand ſhore, called *Moochalban*; and ſoon afterwards ſaw ten or twelve wild hogs at a little diſtance from the river. Meſſieurs *Doidge* and *Pigot* went aſhore in hopes of killing one, but they were diſappointed by the hogs running into the ruſhes. On the right-hand ſide we ſaw alſo eight or ten turtle, which would not ſuffer us to come near them, but ſlipt away into the water. After eight o'clock this morning, no corn was to be ſeen on the right-hand ſide of the river; and ſince twelve, none on the left: the whole is paſture land. The oxen and buffaloes here are large, and all the ſheep have broad flat tails, with ſpiral endings.

MOOCHALBAN.

The *Trackers* of the yacht have worked briſkly to-day, we encouraged them by good feeding; they had rice and *Gee* in the morning, and the remnants of our meat at dinner, which they greedily devoured, firſt tearing it in pieces like ſo many Jackalls. We pleaſed them much by telling them, that we would give them good pay, and pay them ourſelves, and not leave the *Chocarda* to do it for us. At half paſt five this afternoon we made our little yacht faſt to the bank, and waited for the *Sandal*, which was far aſtern. We then took a walk on the left-hand ſhore, and found the banks of the river very pleaſant: that part of the land over which the water had lately flowed, is hoary, and incruſted with ſalt-petre. The *Arabs* cut ſluices, and occaſionally let in the water of the river; and to this is owing the verdure which extends for about a mile from it's banks, and which terminates in the *Deſert* *. We ſtill ſaw cattle in great numbers. Mr. *Alms* ſhot a crow, whoſe body was all white, the feathers of the thighs, black and white, the greateſt part of the wings black: theſe birds are ſaid to live 300 years. Several *Pelicans* unconcernedly ſwam by us with the ſtream, and unmoleſted on our parts, for we begin to think it a pity to kill ſo fine, ſo unſuſpicious, and ſtately a bird.

While we lay here, a ſmall diſpute aroſe among our *Arabs*. A *Chocarda*, paſſing by in a ſmall boat from *Baghdad* to *Baſſora*, took upon him to exchange four of his *Trackers* for four of ours; the reaſon he aſſigned for it was, becauſe by this means both ſets would be at their homes the ſooner,

* This practice of letting in the water of the river *Euphrates* to cultivate and enrich the adjacent country, is very ancient, being taken notice of by *Lucan* in the third book of his *Pharſalia*.

——— ——— *Sed ſparſus in agros*
Fertilis Euphrates *Phariæ vice fungitur undæ.*

and

and he engaged that each ſhould have the ſame pay as the other. This excuſe however did not ſatisfy the remaining *Arabs*, who roſe tumultuouſly, and inſiſted on our reſcuing their companions. We were obliged therefore with arms to purſue the *Chocarda*'s boat; who immediately on diſcovering that we were *Frengees*, or *Franks*, that is *Europeans*, diſmiſſed our people, took his own again, and proceeded on very quietly. 1758.

We took the opportunity of waiting for the coming up of the *Sandal*, to preſent our *Trackers* with two or three ſtinking *Sable-fiſh*. They inſtantly made a fire, and broiled them upon the coals: as ſoon as this was done, they ſeparated themſelves, and divided the fiſh into two diſtinct lots; each party appointed a director, and he, after having made the ſeveral portions as equal as poſſible, ordered every man to take his ſhare. When they had eaten as much as they could, and drank plentifully of the water of the *Euphrates*, they all ſeated themſelves on the ground in a circle, and joyouſly began to clap their hands and ſing. Preſently, one of them got up and danced for awhile, then deſired the favour of us to lend him a drawn ſword, and having obtained one, he danced again, and dextrouſly flouriſhed it, whilſt the others clapped and ſung. A ſecond now joined him, with another ſword, and both together diſplayed their activity and addreſs. The entertainment at length ended with a dance of ſix, which was not much unlike our *Engliſh hayes*. We appeared, as we really were, pleaſed with their mirth. When all was over, they drew nigh to us, kiſſed our ſleeves, and aſked for a *Buxie*, or preſent: we tendered them a dram, which they rejected with viſible contempt; we then gave a *Rupee* among them, with which they were much pleaſed, and very thankful. We took this opportunity to hint to them, that as we were ſuch good maſters, and had given them ſo much victuals and money too, we expected that they would work well, and deſerve our future favour, which they promiſed very readily.

A little before eight this evening, the luggage-boat joined us, and our *Chocarda* and Mr. *Hemet* deſired us, that for the next two or three days, we would keep nearer to them, becauſe they looked upon this as the moſt dangerous part of the whole country; adding, that an hour or two before, they had been viſited by about twenty armed *Arabs*, who tho' they made no hoſtile attempt, yet had a very ſuſpicious appearance. On this intelligence we reſolved that the luggage-boat ſhould keep a head, and that we would follow her cloſely, keeping always a ſtrict guard, with our ſwivel guns loaded, matches lighted, ſmall arms at hand, and in order; a regular third watch was ordered alſo to be kept. Meſſieurs *Alms*, *Doidge*, and *Pye* were appointed commanding officers: Mr. *Pigot*, *Jenkins*, *M'Intoſh*, and other ſervants, to watch; I am excuſed on account of my being indiſpoſed. We underſtood from Mr. *Hemet*, who ſpake with the *Chocarda* before-mentioned, paſſing from *Baghdad* to *Baſſora*, that the *Caravan* would not ſet out from the firſt of theſe places for *Aleppo* 'till the tenth day of the *Ra-*

1758. *mazan* (with us the twentieth of *May*) ſo that we flatter ourſelves we ſhall arrive at *Baghdad* in good time. We advanced about thirty five miles to-day. About 11 at night we paſſed by two rivers on the right.

Monday, May 1. NAWASHEE. At one this morning we got to a town on the left ſhore, called *Nawaſhee*. The officer of the watch hailed the *Sandal*, intending to deſire the *Chocarda* to go aſhore; but was anſwered, that he was aſleep, and would not be diſturbed till the morning: we had reaſon to think he was drunk. A little before four we ſent our people on ſhore to track. We wanted two of the twelve men belonging to the yacht to go and aſſiſt in tracking the luggage-boat, whoſe ſlow motion greatly retarded our progreſs; but they would not comply, ſaying they were hired for our veſſel only. About eight we came abreaſt of another large town on the left hand (it's real name I have forgotten). Here ſo great a number of men and boys, and even women, were collected to look at us, that they became quite troubleſome. Among them, we obſerved ſome of the men armed with ſwords; and as the wind and ſtream were both againſt us, and conſequently could paſs but ſlowly by, we thought it neceſſary to make as great a ſhew as poſſible of our arms, to prevent any inſult; however, none was offered to us; on the contrary, ſome of the chief of the *Arab* inhabitants of the place, thinking we might be offended at ſuch a concourſe of people, who could eaſily have jumped into the veſſel, took upon them to diſperſe the multitude. What ſeemed chiefly to attract the eyes of the *Arabs*, and ſurprize them moſt, was the form of the yacht, the manner of rigging her, and above all, the carved work of a horſe's head on the ſtem, and the repreſentation of human figures on the ſtern *.

The country hitherto has been ſo level, that our officers have not wanted an horizon, for their obſervations at noon with *Hadley*'s quadrant. Corn fields are now not ſo frequently met with as formerly. The corn in general was ripe and much of it gathered in, but there was ſtill ſome on the ground, green and young in the ear. We paſſed many villages on each ſide of the river, but the greateſt number are on the left. All the houſes are built of reeds, and covered with mats, and moſt of them are in the form of tilted waggons. The complexion of the *Arabs* in general is pale; children and ſuch as do not work in the ſun, are remarkably ſo, but the *Trackers* are of a deep copper colour, approaching nearly to black.

We had a farther trial of our patience this morning, having been greatly perplexed with additional demands from the *Trackers*, concerning proviſions; they inſiſting that we ſhould ſtop and buy ſome cakes, which they expect to be ſupplied with at leaſt twice a day, beſides their uſual allowance of rice

* Theſe were extraordinary ſights, as all ſuch images are forbidden by the *Turks*, leſt idolatry ſhould ſprout from them.

and

and *Ghee*. We had reaſon to ſuſpect our drunken *Chocarda* at the bottom of this diſturbance, for notwithſtanding his ſolemn looks and high ſounding voice, and all that pompous grimace under the *Chocarda* cap (which is at leaſt a foot and an half in height) I obſerved him in the morning very familiar with our *Trackers*. While we were vexing ourſelves at the unneceſſary delay which this new demand of cakes had occaſioned, he lay baſking in the ſun, upon the ſhore, and had many fellows about him, who *champooed*, or ſtretched his joints, picked from his head and the collar of the coat his vermin, and at the ſame time entertained him with one of their chorus ſongs. The fellow appeared much delighted, and in a very particular manner expreſſed his thanks, by putting his arm round the necks of the youngeſt, and kiſſing them: this mark of his gratitude however was rejected by ſome of the *Arabs*, who flung themſelves from him, with a look of ineffable contempt. There was but little difference here, in the dreſs of the women and men, except that the firſt had no *Turbans*, but a ſort of handkerchief, or veil, over their heads and faces. They had alſo rings in their ears and noſes, and bracelets on their wriſts; but their outer garment is like the men's, a *Camaline* of black and white, like thoſe we ourſelves now wear, and which we provided ourſelves with at *Gombroon*, when we intended to go to *Baſſora* in a *Trankey*, diſguiſed as *Arabs*. 1738.

We paſſed ſeveral very ſtately tombs; but ſaw no other birds to-day but gulls. Now and then we obſerved a few date trees, but they have been rare ſince we got into the *Euphrates*.

We now begin to think that our *Chocarda* is in reality, rather a hindrance than of uſe to us, and almoſt wiſh we had come without him, and reſolve to treat him more cavalierly than heretofore, and not ſo implicitly to yield to his commands. The night before laſt we put on board the *Sandal*, a bottle of claret, and another of ſhrub for the uſe of Mr. *Hemet*, leſt we ſhould be ſeparated from him again, as we were yeſterday at dinner time. We are now told, that the *Turk*, though he had before taken a chearful glaſs with us, the very ſame evening drank a pint of the claret off at a draught, and finiſhed the bottle the next morning. He makes it a rule to call for punch every quarter of an hour, beſides drams at intervals. Coffee (the *Turks* common regale) he often refuſes, and has forbidden its being gotten for him; he ſays, that he likes punch better, but prefers claret (of ten ſhillings a bottle) above all other liquors. We ſhall however mortify him in this particular, and for the future drink no wine at dinner, when he happens to be with us.

At four this afternoon, we paſſed a ſmall river on the left-hand ſhore; as we had before ſeveral on the right; this we can trace with the eye above a mile into the *Deſert*. Between ſeven and eight, we got to *Cota*, a village on the left ſide of the river, a few houſes of which are built with ſtone, Cota.

1758. which we did not obſerve before in any other village ſituated on the bank of this river; a mud-wall ſurrounds it. We ſaluted the chief with one gun.

At half paſt ten, we changed our *Trackers*. Thoſe we now diſcharged, entertained us with a ſong at parting, and gave an excellent character of us to their ſucceſſors; they went ſo far as to tell us, that ſhould we not be able to get new men here, they would track us up to *Hilla*. We performed our promiſe to them, as to paying them their wages ourſelves, and behaved very coldly to our *Chocarda*. On this account Mr. *Hemet* viſited us, and earneſtly recommended, that we ſhould not carry matters to extremities with this man, expreſſing his fear that if we did, his villainy might prompt him to carry on intrigues with the *Arabs* to our prejudice; he propoſed that, on the contrary, we ſhould put twenty rupees into his hands, and deſire that with them he would procure proviſions for himſelf and ſervant, and purchaſe of the villagers what might be wanting for the *Trackers*: he was perſuaded that the *Chocarda* would cheat us of our money, but that he looked on as the leaſt of the evils we had to apprehend; but obſerved, if at our arrival at *Haſca*, we ſhould ſtill have reaſon to be diſpleaſed, there would be the fitteſt place to diſmiſs and diſgrace him, acquainting the governor *Aly Aga* of his behaviour. Sorely againſt our will, we acquieſced in the propoſal, and at his requeſt delivered into his hands for the *Chocarda*'s uſe a bottle of ſtrong liquor, with which he got drunk before eleven o'clock the ſame night.—Advanced the laſt twenty-four hours, about thirty-two miles. Courſe was chiefly north-weſt.

May 2. Yeſterday we were greatly perplexed with flies, but now with *Muſchetos*; the air during the night, was rather cold. At three this morning we paſſed a large lake on the left, and at four, another, with great difficulty to our *Trackers*; ſpoke then with a boat from *Baghdad*, *Hojaſhee* maſter, who told us he was diſpatched by Mr. *Garden* with letters for Mr. *Shaw* at *Baſſora*, and that we ſhould be early enough for the *Caravan*. At ſix we anARSJIA. chored abreaſt of the village *Arsjia*; we ſaluted the *Sheick* with one gun, diſcharged our *Trackers* and got others.—At nine we weighed, and began to track again. Mr. *Pye* and myſelf, while we were off *Arsjia*, took a little walk on ſhore; that place, like almoſt all the other *Arab* villages we had yet ſeen, is chiefly compoſed of very pitiful reed and mat-houſes, encompaſſed with a mud-wall and battlements, with a view to its being defended with lances, and matchlock muſketry (the principal arms of the *Arabs*) againſt their rebel countrymen in the *Deſert*, who are commonly called the wild *Arabs*. Almoſt all the *Arabs* who have not ſwords, carry in their hands a hooked ſtick about two feet long. They here wear their beards to a full length, trimming them to a point below the chin: the young people have their hair long on the forehead, but behind they are commonly ſhaved.

In

In our walk we ſaw ſix or eight loaded camels going into *Arsjia*. We now loſt ſight of corn fields; the banks and country near the river, being covered with a ſtrong ſcented thorny ſhrub, having a ſerrated leaf, ſmaller, but in make like that of the *Gum-Arabic*. Two or three pelicans went down the river, and about three in the afternoon, many partridges ſprung from out of the ſhrubs. We were preſented by a poor *Arab* with a mullet, weighing two pounds, which he ſtruck with his ſpear; and laſt night we had ſome cucumbers and milk given to us; we returned thanks for each, in a *two-marmooda* piece. 1758.

We killed this afternoon, what we were told, was a venomous water-ſnake, two feet and a half in length, that had gotten up the veſſel's rudder, and was making its way into the cabbin. At five Meſſrs. *Alms* and *Pigot* went on ſhore with their fuſils, in hopes of ſhooting partridges, which are here in great plenty; they ſaw many, but had no ſucceſs, and returned with only three doves.

Moſt of the road to-day has been very difficult for our *Trackers*. Wind, current, and rippling waves againſt us. A boat paſſed us this afternoon, three days from *Hilla*, loaded with proviſions. We now hear every night a hideous howling of *Jackalls*, and our *Trackers* are very fearful of meeting with lyons. At noon our latitude by obſervation was 31° 4′ north, which being but ſix miles more than we made on *Sunday* laſt, ſhews that our courſe has been chiefly weſt. Got this day thirty-four miles.

We paſſed this laſt night very diſagreeably. Our raſcal of a *Chocarda* was the occaſion; without aſſigning the leaſt reaſon for it, he about eight in the evening, put the luggage-boat on ſhore, and inſiſted that we ſhould do the ſame with the yacht; but his words had no influence on us; on the contrary we got at a proper diſtance into the ſtream, where we could both ſee, and oppoſe an enemy. This fellow, who was either much frightened himſelf, or willing to frighten us, expatiated largely on the danger we were now in from the wild *Arabs*, and urged the neceſſity of our keeping cloſe to him: the very reaſons he aſſigned for our doing it, induced us to get farther from the ſhore, whoſe bank in this place, was much higher than our veſſel, and almoſt hung over our heads. We learned afterwards from Mr. *Hemet* (who was ſo unhappy as to be with him all night) that upon our getting into the ſtream, he grew enraged, whiſpered the *Trackers*, and gave them their cue to alarm us: they hailed us from the ſhore, and told us, if we did not immediately draw nigh to them, they would run away. We made no reply, nor any change in our conduct. Soon after, they ſet up a hideous noiſe, ſometimes in the howl of the *Jackall*, ſometimes like a dog, and every now and then called to us in a threatening manner. Our *Chocarda* finding that all his ſchemes had no manner of effect upon us, ordered his *Arabs* to dance and ſing around their fire; and for the whole of their obedient behaviour, he May 3.

1758. he diſtributed among them two *Abaſſees*, telling them they were good boys, and that he expected the ſame ſubmiſſion to his future commands, as they had ſhewn that evening. He dropt alſo ſome threatening expreſſions to Mr. *Hemet*, as "*that having refuſed to obey his directions, we ſhould periſh.*" He loaded his muſket and piſtol, and at half paſt eight, fired the firſt, and at ten the laſt, both with ball, pointed towards us, but not ſo directly, as if deſigned to hit us. Mr. *Hemet* obſerved, that ſoon after he whiſpered again to the *Arabs*, when ſeven or eight of them left the veſſel and got aſhore; preſently they returned on board in a diſorderly haſte, and ſo disfigured, as greatly to alarm him: the villains view, no doubt, was ſo far to intimidate Mr. *Hemet*, that we through him might be prevailed upon to ſubmit ourſelves implicitly to his orders. The good old man indeed did hail us ſeveral times, and told us, the ſcoundrel's conduct was ſuch, that he really was in fear of his life, and that he could not help ſuſpecting, he was meditating ſome miſchievous deſign againſt us. About a quarter after ten he once more got under ſail, paſſed to the other ſide of the river and began to track: we did the ſame. At one in the morning, he laid the luggage-boat aſhore again, for no reaſon that we could think of, unleſs to give us a freſh proof of his inſolence and endeavour for the maſtery. We determined with one conſent to purſue our plan, and by no means to ſubmit ourſelves to his folly and obſtinacy. We formed among ourſelves various ſchemes for puniſhing him for his inſolence; but on this head came to no final determination, having heard too much of the revengeful ways of theſe people, to reſolve precipitately. However, as we carry a letter of recommendation from Mr. *Shaw* to *Aly Aga*, governor of *Haſca*; we ſhall talk to him, on the *Chocarda*'s behaviour, and probably prevail on him to hinder his going any farther with us.

GRAYHIM. At nine this morning we paſſed by a large river on the right hand; which communicates with the *Tygris*, and has a large place ſtanding near it called *Grayhim*. The weather cloudy; wind N. N. E. and blew freſh, ſo that our *Trackers* had very hard work. At three in the afternoon, the *Sandal* ſtopped, and the *Chocarda*'s *Arabs* were very active in ſecuring our veſſel to a ſtake, near his. We called out in a peremptory tone to caſt off our rope immediately; they obeyed us, and we anchored off in the ſtream, ſo as to command either ſhore. We had preſently an alarm from the *Chocarda*, of *Arabs* being near us; but not diſcovering any from our poop, or maſt-head, we were very tranquil. In the ſpace of half an hour, the luggage-boat tracked again; we did the ſame, and ſoon joined her; then our *Chocarda* hailed us in a more complaiſant manner than of late, and told us to be under no alarm, that nothing ſhould hurt us; we gave him for anſwer, that we were perfectly eaſy in reſpect to all the world, but himſelf; that we were prepared to reſiſt a thouſand *Arabs* or more; but that our peace had been ſomewhat diſturbed by his irregular conduct: we aſſured him that we would be our own maſters, and, if we thought fit to go ahead, to be aſtern, near the ſhore, or in the middle of the ſtream, we ſhould guide ourſelves in conformity to our

own opinion, whether it ſhould pleaſe or diſpleaſe him; that therefore, if he choſe to be on good terms with us, it was neceſſary he ſhould reconcile himſelf to our reſolution. He made a civil reply, and came into our yacht. We recapitulated the particulars of his ill behaviour, and plainly told him, that a continuance of it, could not end to his advantage, either in reſpect to his maſter at *Baſſora*, the *Baſha* of *Baghdad* or ourſelves. He now laid aſide his haughtineſs, and ſaid, he was ſorry for what had paſſed, and promiſed a better look-out for the future. We finiſhed our lecture by adviſing him to drink coffee and water *only*; gave him a diſh of the firſt, and reſolved he ſhould have from us nothing elſe. 1758.

No villages, corn fields or paſture land; nothing but wild ſhrubs on the banks of the river, and the *Deſert* is at a quarter of a mile diſtance. Numbers of partridges and pidgeons ſtill. We this day were very buſy in making bounces to give a grand ſalute to *Aly Aga*; and, as they may be uſeful to us againſt an enemy in the room of hand-grenades, we propoſed to prepare a number of them, loaded with ſlugs of lead and iron.

At eight at night we anchored; at eleven weighed; at a quarter paſt eleven dropped anchor again, the *Chocarda* calling to us, that our men were run away, which was both falſe and improbable, being ſo far from their home, and having had no wages; they had laid themſelves down on the ſhore, being weary and in want of reſt, after wading through much deep water. The weather from nine in the morning till five in the afternoon, was too warm to be pleaſant, yet not ſo hot as to give *Eaſt Indians* great reaſon to complain. Twelve at night, wind N. W. by N. and cold. Meſſrs. *Doidge* and *Alms*, who ſlept on the poop during the firſt watch, were glad to get into the cabbin in the middle and morning watches, on account of the cold; the ſharpneſs of the night air made me cough terribly, but this night being tolerably well, I began to watch. The *Pelicans*, which on riſing from the water make a great noiſe with flapping of their wings, before we were accuſtomed to them, gave our watchmen ſome little alarm.

We got about twenty miles to-day. There was no horizon for an obſervation at noon.—The boats which the *Arabs* uſe hereabouts differ from thoſe I deſcribed at *Baſſora* only in the ſhape; they are made like our *London* wherries, and are paddled on by two men, but if large, by four.

At five in the morning our *Trackers* aroſe from their ſleep, and began to track. Wind W. N. W. The river very crooked. At two in the afternoon, we had paſſed by ſeveral ſmall iſlands. At three we made our veſſels faſt to the ſhore, the *Sandal* being behind; at a quarter paſt four we began to track again. May 4.

Laſt night our *Chocarda* ſupped with us, and thereby deprived us, for awhile, of our bottle of claret. To-day he dined with us, and made us undergo

1758. undergo the ſame ſelf-denial. He courted us very much, but we gave him to underſtand, that works and not words diſplay the man: this obſervation ſilenced him, and we have no more repetitions of his being our devoted ſervant. We deſired Mr. *Hemet* (whom we had now taken on board the yacht) to beg the *Chocarda* to haſten on board the *Sandal*; and to tell him alſo, that as we had loſt ſo much time in the night, we ought not to loſe any in the day. He was not well pleaſed, and told Mr. *Hemet* in a vulgar phraſe of the *Turks* "That he *(Hemet)* had eaten T—d, and to him, all the diſturbances and miſunderſtandings, had been owing."

The road for our *Trackers*, is here in general very bad; they are obliged to work much in the water. The country about us, ſuch as we paſſed yeſterday. Great quantity of partridges and doves, are yet to be ſeen. The edges of the river abound in ſedge, the cypreſs-tree, a dry plant full of a thorny ſeed-veſſel, and the caper ſhrub. The *Muſchetos* are innumerable; their ſtrings and hummings are intolerable to us in the night, while the flies are extremely troubleſome in the day.

At ſix this evening, we paſſed by an iſland; and at eight we anchored in the ſtream: the *Sandal* was made faſt to the ſhore. We gained but twenty-two miles to-day. No horizon for obſervation.

May 5. At five in the morning weighed, and began to track. At nine paſſed two ſmall boats, one going down the river, the other up; this laſt had five men with three matchlocks; they looked ſuſpicious, and our *Chocarda* aſſured us they were rogues; but our *Knockaty* or pilot, told us he knew them, and that the chief of the boat lived in the next village; that he had come thus far as an eſcort to the other boat, and now offered his ſervice to us. We thought this the moſt probable ſtory of the two, yet kept a good look-out all the following night. At ten we anchored, our *Trackers* having left the rope; at eleven, weighed and tracked again: ſome rain fell, but in no great quantity; it thundered and lightned, as it did yeſterday.—At half paſt two, took the *Trackers* on board, and made ſail with a fine and fair breeze. By four we paſſed by an old ruined fort, and three rivers on the right, one of which we were told was a branch of the *Tygris*. At half paſt five, ſent aſhore the *Trackers*. At half paſt ten we anchored to wait for the *Sandal*.

Had it not been for the vexation, proceeding from the *Muſchetos*, this evening had paſſed very pleaſantly. On both ſides of the river are the willow, and poplar trees; a number of birds rooſt in them, which we diſturbed in our paſſage; the pidgeon, turtle, and variety of ſinging birds are here in great abundance. During the whole night one of the ſongſters chaunts the notes of the thruſh and nightingale. Large flocks of *Pelicans*, many ducks, partridges, king's-fiſhers and ſwallows, are around us.

I obſerved

I obſerved the river this evening, to be full of fiſh; many of them jumped out of the water, and were two feet long. We made thirty-nine miles to-day. No obſervation. 1758.

At four this morning weighed, and tacked. At five, fair weather and a pleaſant breeze. Some date-trees appear and a little corn. Paſſed an old fort on the left, and at half paſt eight we anchored abreaſt of *Semava*. May 6.

CHAP. II.

Occurrences on the river Euphrates *from* Semava *to* Lembloon, *and* Dewana *or* Haſca; *genteel reception from the Governor there.* — *Paſſage to* Hilla; *polite behaviour of the Governor of* Hilla.—*Account of the* Gereed, *a warlike* Turkiſh *exerciſe.*—*Arrival at* Baghdad.

1758. SEMAVA.

SEMAVA is a walled town, but the houſes are all built of mud. The place is governed by a *Sheick*, called *Iſmael*, (ſubordinate to *Aly Aga*) a very artful, complaiſant old gentleman. He came on board of us in a ſmall boat a little before we reached the town, and told us, that "having had advice of our coming by a boat which paſſed us yeſterday, he had gotten all things in readineſs for our reception, as twenty *Trackers*, and proviſions for them in plenty; and that he came in perſon to aſſure us, he was wholly devoted to our ſervice." He apologized much for his *Diſhabille*, and neglect in ſhaving his head and trimming his beard, which he ſaid was owing to his being in mourning for two near relations. He had a great facility of ſpeech, and his compliments were truly hyperbolical. He repeated often "how much he was our ſervant. Sick and weak as he found himſelf, yet he was ready to take his heart from his breaſt to do us good: his arms, his eyes, his head, the whole which he poſſeſſed, were all at our command." He ſoon added with a melancholy ſigh, that "he had for ſome time paſt been indiſpoſed, much owing to worldly difficulties; and at preſent was called on by the government for *thirty* purſes of money; but that he could, as yet, raiſe only five;" and not long after, we were given to underſtand, that whatever preſent we were willing to make him, he was ready to accept with thankfulneſs.

Flower, rice, and *Ghee* were brought on board for our new *Trackers*; cucumbers, milk, and two lambs for ourſelves. We ſaluted the *Sheick* with one gun, entertained him, his ſecretary, and a little ſlave boy who ſtood by him, firſt with coffee and then with ſugar by way of ſweet-meat; but left it to Mr. *Hemet* and the *Chocarda*, to recompenſe him for his preſents and trouble. They gave him twenty-five *Abaſſees*; and the old gentleman appearing not ſatisfied,

ſatisfied, the *Chocarda*, paſſionately, offered his hand to receive the money back, and the *Sheick* as haſtily returned it: thus things ſtood for a little time; at length the old fox took back the money, and delivered it to his ſecretary; his little ſlave kiſſed our hand, and the maſter recommending him to our favour, we preſented him with an *Abaſſee*. At half paſt eleven, the *Sheick* left us, *ſans ceremonie*, by which we concluded that he made leſs of us than he expected. 1758.

We bought here one frail or baſket of *Dates* as an addition to the *Trackers* food, and a few leeks, being all the proviſions we could purchaſe in the market.

At two in the afternoon, we paſſed a river going from the N. E; at half paſt three, got into a perfect level, which made all the country around appear like one watered marſh. This overflowing of the river we were told is not common ſo ſoon in the year *. We concluded there muſt have been great rains, or extraordinary meltings of ſnow on the mountains; and we pleaſe ourſelves with the hopes that the wells of water in the *Deſert*, will likewiſe be plentifully ſupplied. At a quarter after ſix, we ſtopped for the other boat, and were then abreaſt of two large *Arab* camps, in the wildeſt and moſt dreary country I ever beheld. Moſt of us took a ſhort walk on ſhore; but not beyond the protection of our little frigate. At ſeven we tracked again, and at eight were obliged to come to an anchor, it being very dark, and the proper channel difficult to find, by reaſon of the river overflowing it's banks for a long way into the *Deſert*. We continued to keep a good look-out, both night and day; and like watchful centinels called to each other, "*All is well.*"

Our *Chocarda* now altered his conduct much for the better, often telling us, "he is our ſervant, and our's only, and that he likes us ſo well, he ſhall be ready to accompany us to *Aleppo*;" we have not returned the compliment, but continue to treat him though civilly, yet at ſome diſtance. Our preſent *Arab Trackers*, like all their brethren of our acquaintance, already begin to grumble, notwithſtanding they have had an addition to their common food by our giving them the preſerved *Date* fruit, which theſe people are at all times very fond of, but more ſo now, as there is, and has been for ſome time paſt, a very great demand for *Dates* from *Baghdad*, *Moſul*, and *Diarbekir*, a dreadful famine having raged in the two laſt cities. *Baghdad* itſelf was alarmed, and twelve thouſand *Perſians* now reſiding there, received orders to quit the place, before the ſcarcity ſhould actually reach it. This order however was not carried into

* In the beginning of the ſummer, on the ſun's melting the ſnow upon the mountains of *Armenia*, there is a vaſt increaſe of waters, which running into the *Euphrates* in the months of *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, makes it overflow its banks, and occaſions ſuch another inundation as the *Nile* does in *Egypt*. ROLLIN's *Ancient Hiſtory*, *vol. 2d.*

1758. execution, and it is generally believed never will; owing as much to a proper application of ſome purſes given to the *Baſha* and his miniſters, as to the preſent appearance of a plentiful crop of grain. A preſent of buffalo ſteakes were ſent to us to-day, which we had for dinner, and reliſhed them very well; and in the evening we had a preſent of milk, for which we always pay dear by a pecuniary return.

It being *Saturday* night, according to our old ſea cuſtom, we allowed ourſelves an extraordinary bottle, devoting it to the remembrance of our wives, ſweethearts, parents, families and friends. The *Muſchetos* are leſs troubleſome than of late, owing to our having no buſhes about us. We advanced this day twenty-three miles. Had no obſervation.

May 7. This is the firſt day of the new moon, and the beginning of the great faſt, *Ramazan*. It continues till the ſixth of *June*. This faſt begins every year ten days ſooner than in the former year. At three quarters after four this morning, we began to track, wind at S. E; and we ſoon got into a very delightful meadow country, pretty well inhabited by *Arabs*, and their herds, and watered plentifully by the river: this green and watery proſpect extends as far as the eye can reach. On our right, the riſing ground is cultivated in ſome ſpots, producing radiſhes, *&c.* Here are the white and brown *Paddy* birds, ſo common in the *Eaſt Indies*, called by that name, becauſe they chiefly feed in the *Paddy* or rice fields. We ſaw alſo the painted diver, and black and white crow.

In the middle and morning watches the air was ſomewhat cold; the atmoſphere continued perfectly dry till laſt night, when we felt it damp. This morning at five o'clock, we ſaw our *Chocarda* leave the *Sandal*, and go down the river in a little boat we hired at *Semava*; a meſſage ſoon after came from him, that four of the *Trackers* had deſerted, and he was gone back to *Semava* after them, but deſiring us to go on, and he would follow. We ſaw a galley aſtern coming up the river. At ſeven, we paſſed a boat five days from *Hilla*; we underſtood from her people, that the *Caravan* ſet out from *Baghdad* five days before we ſailed from *Baſſora*; we are unwilling to believe ſuch bad news. About ten we paſſed another boat carrying a *Janizary* down the river, who gave us intelligence of one *Cojee-Simon*, an *Armenian* merchant, having been robbed and wounded in the river about three weeks ago; that he was ſtill with *Aly Aga*, but the governor had not been able, as yet, to recover a box of pearls valued at twenty thouſand rupees, which had been taken from him.

Aly Aga commands all the country between *Hilla* and the diſtrict of *Baſſora*. The head of the *Sheicks*, under his command, has been ordered to make a particular enquiry and ſearch for the *Armenian*'s effects. This *Sheick*, whoſe name is *Mahomed el Haamet*, and whoſe tents we paſſed laſt night, we were told, pays annually to the government of *Baghdad*, for the rents of this

this country, five hundred purſes of ſilver, each purſe containing five hundred rupees, or twenty-five toman; and he is in a great meaſure, accountable for the conduct of his *Tribes*. The *Armenian* was paſſing up the river in a defenceleſs condition, at the time he was robbed, and it is ſaid, his extraordinary care of his box, occaſioned its being diſcovered; and that his wounds were owing to the reſiſtance he made in parting with ſuch valuable effects. We paſſed to-day four or five *Arabs* with lances; theſe we apprehend are ſome of the *Banditti* who infeſt the banks of this great river, and ſtrike ſo much dread into the minds of travellers. A ſingle perſon, or a company of travellers unarmed, might (and I believe would) be in great danger from them; but we have nothing to apprehend, provided we keep a good look-out. 1758.

Our *Trackers* work much in the water, and are inceſſantly murmuring for more proviſion than we can afford them. At *Baſſora* we laid in ſo much rice and *Ghee*, as by the *Turks* about Mr. *Shaw*, was thought an ample ſtore to carry us to *Hilla*, but that has been a long time ſince expended, and more has been added from every place we have touched at, where there was a poſſibility of purchaſing; yet we are always in want. At *Semava*, a ſtock was put on board by the *Sheick* for twenty men, to which we added a frail of dates, weighing one hundred pounds; theſe are now greatly exhauſted, and we are apprehenſive of being in want. The truth is, theſe poor tracking fellows come to us half ſtarved, they work hard, and can eat five times as much as they uſually get at home, or are allowed, when they ſerve a *Turk*, or one of their own countrymen; but, whilſt they are in the ſervice of an *European*, of whoſe riches they entertain a moſt extravagant idea, they are ever diſcontented with a common portion, and even with a double allowance, and in ſpite of all his humanity and care, will grumble and give him diſturbance: all travellers therefore who come this way, ſhould be careful to lay in a very plentiful ſtock of proviſions at their firſt ſetting out from *Baſſora*; as they will find it a very difficult taſk to get any quantity afterwards. On the obſerving or neglecting of this particular, their future eaſe or diſquietude will in great meaſure depend. It is not poſſible to conceive, much leſs to deſcribe, the horrid noiſe and diſturbance, that is made by theſe *Arabian* male-contents upon ſuch occaſions: a ſtranger to their language and cuſtoms, could not but have his doubts, whether they were not about to ſeize him by the collar, and cut his throat. Their guttural language, fierce and ghaſtly looks, and threatening geſtures, added to the natural wildneſs of the country, muſt needs fill him with conſtant apprehenſions of violence, and therefore cannot fail of making his whole paſſage painful and diſpleaſing to a great degree.

About two in the afternoon, a boat went by us from *Baghdad*, by which we learned the *Caravan* was not gone. Soon afterwards a *Turkiſh* galley alſo paſſed us with ſome people of conſequence; they ſaluted us with one gun, which

1758. we returned. We have no proſpect now but of thick ſedge on each ſide of the river, which is here about 120 feet wide. At four, got a little out of the ruſhy into a more open and paſture country: here we ſtopped for our boat. Several *Arab* encampments are in ſight, pitched on the ſmall riſing ſpots, which are ſcattered here and there about this overflown, and flat country. The preſent *Arabs* are, like their forefathers, a moveable people; they travel eaſt, weſt, north and ſouth, and pitch their tents, or ruſh houſes, as the ſoil beſt ſerves for feeding their cattle, of which they ſeem to have great plenty. While here, we were viſited by one of their *Sheicks* accompanied by three or four men better dreſſed than common; we ſhewed them our arms, and gratified the *Sheick* with five or ſix charges of gunpowder, for his match-lock piſtol, and afterwards added a little ſnuff. Here we undreſſed and ſwam in the *Euphrates*. The ſame ſort of birds were ſeen by us to-day as yeſterday. This day has been much overcaſt, and hot, with thunder and lightening.

We were again terribly perplexed with *Muſchetos* this evening, but were relieved about twelve o'clock by a freſh gale: the *Turbans*, which we all wear, are the beſt defence for our heads againſt the ſun; and our whiſkers, that have been growing ever ſince we left *Bombay*, ſecure the upper lip from the vexatious ſting of theſe inſects. We made ſeventeen miles to-day. By obſervation at noon we were in the latitude of 31° 24′ north.

Monday, May 8. At one o'clock in the morning, cloudy weather, with thunder, lightning and an appearance of rain falling to the northward. At half after one a muſket was fired from our yacht towards a ſmall boat, which, from it's ſuſpicious conduct, our people believed to be a thief. At two the *Checarda* returned from *Semava* with the four deſerters. At three, the wind changed from the ſouth, to the north, and for a little time, blew very freſh: every now and then we heard the report of a muſket a little aſtern of us, and upon our left hand. At half paſt four, we began to track, as did the luggage-boat with the *Checarda*. About ſix, Meſſieurs *Alms* and *Pigot* ſaw two wild hogs not far from our *Trackers*; they fired four muſkets with balls, but the hogs eſcaped among the ruſhes. At ſeven, paſſed on the right, a plantation of cotton trees, in a very fertile ſoil, and more raiſed from the river, than any we have lately obſerved. At nine got again into an overflown meadow-country, with encampments of *Arabs*, their families, and cattle. Birds we ſaw as laſt mentioned, and ſome turtle; the inſect we call Ladycow every now and then is among us, alſo flies, moths, and horſe-ſtingers; the ſparrow is alſo to be found here, and in every other place that I have viſited in *Aſia*.

The greateſt part of this day we tracked thro' water, choaked up with ſedge, moſt of it breaſt high; the bottom, in ſome places, was out of a man's depth. At ſix in the evening, we reached the ſide of a little iſland, and not far from it was an *Arab* camp; we waited there for our luggage-boat,

boat, which did not get up to us, till nine o'clock. At ſeven, whilſt at anchor, a *Turkiſh* galley paſſed us, having the *Paſha Gange Mahomed Aga* on board; a general, commanding thirty thouſand troops: he had been down the *Euphrates*, directing at what places the river ſhould be let in, and where ſtopped. We hailed him, and ſome compliments paſſed; he told us he ſhould haul a little ahead, and lye by for the night; we anſwered that we would do the ſame. After he had juſt paſſed us, we ſaluted him with one gun, which he returned. 1758.

On this little iſland Meſſieurs *Alms*, *Pigot*, myſelf and two ſervants went aſhore with our guns, and had good diverſion, ſhooting at *Jackals*; they were the moſt hairy ones I ever ſaw, and which like ſpaniels took immediately to the water. We found ſeveral of their holes, fired into one where we ſuſpected a *Jackal* had kenneled, and made a fire before it, but without ſucceſs. We aimed ſeveral ſhot at an animal we took for the otter; it lay on the bank near the water, but ſlipt in, and ſwam from us, often diving, and when up, turning its head every now and then towards us, giving a melancholy yell: we found its dung as large as that of a dog, it conſiſted of the ſhells of crabs, with which the banks of the *Euphrates* abound, as alſo turtle egg ſhells, and the ſkins of many kind of inſects. We killed divers birds. By our *Chocarda*, we were told, that the dogs of an *Arab* camp behind us, had killed a large wild hog, which had been before wounded, probably by Meſſieurs *Alms* and *Pigot*. This afternoon Mr. *Alms* killed with a ſingle ball, at the diſtance of about two hundred and fifty yards, a beautiful pheaſant-coloured curlew; there were more in company.

This has been a windy fatiguing day for our *Trackers*; the middle part not very hot, the evening cold. The *Muſchetos* about this iſland put us to inſufferable pain, but we got rid of theſe tormentors in the night, as we reached to windward of the iſland. This afternoon we paſſed the very ſpot, where *Cojee-Simon*, the *Armenian*, was lately robbed; near to a place called *Monzaradub*. We ſaw here a great number of Pelicans. Got nineteen miles. Latitude by Meſſieurs *Doidge* and *Alms*'s obſervations 31° 33′ north.

The laſt night was very cold, and this morning the wind is high, foul and bleak. Our *Trackers* ſtate is ſuch, as calls aloud for pity, and plenty of food: they have worked ſeven hours in the ſedge and water, breaſt high; and at eleven o'clock in the morning no proſpect of a change for the better. Saw two otters on a little dry bank, and ſome turtle. We got this morning three quarts of fine rich milk, and wanted to purchaſe a calf, but the *Arabs* would not ſell it, nor have we been able to buy one ſince entring the river; not owing, as in *India*, to a religious ſcruple, but becauſe it would be a leſſening of the herd, on whoſe number the importance of the *Sheick* entirely depends. Our *Chocarda*, this cold morning, May 9.

1758. greatly exerted himſelf, by encouraging, puniſhing, and by his own example ſhewing the *Trackers* how they ought to work; he even ſtripped, and threw himſelf into the water, ſwam to the rope, and aſſiſted for a little while in the tracking. What a ſtrange alteration in the conduct of this man!

About noon we drew near to a high ſpot of ground, and paſſed a tomb on the right, raiſed to the memory of *Haleb Hoſſein*. Upon this riſing
LEMBLOON. ground, is a large town built of mats called *Lembloon*; it is on the left ſide of the river, oppoſite to which, on the right, is another tomb or monument raiſed to *Imaum Kzaai*. The river here is about three hundred feet broad. We ſent our ſervant to the village to buy proviſions; during his abſence, the *Turkiſh* galley paſſed us, which had been to-day behind us, and leſs expeditious than ourſelves. At four our *Sandal* went by likewiſe, and then our man returned with ſome rice and *Ghee*, and a bull-calf, which with great difficulty he had bought for us; they would by no means part with the female.

Since we left *Baſſora*, we have always had cool water in plenty, owing to it's preſervation in the earthen jars, which we there provided ourſelves with. The water is not perfectly clean, nor is it very foul; we fine it in the jars with a little alum, otherwiſe it would be very muddy. Upon the whole, at preſent we make no complaint of our water, but often declare, that if the wells of the *Deſert* are as propitious to us, as the *Euphrates* is now, we ſhall think ourſelves fortunate in this important article.

The fatigue of the morning occaſioned one of our *Trackers* to run away; another of them is ſick, and two more are, or pretend to be ſo. With pain, I obſerved this forenoon, that one of the *Trackers* to the *Turkiſh* galley from exceſſive wearineſs gave over work, and made towards the veſſel, endeavouring to get into her; he ſeemed to be almoſt exhauſted, and cried out for admittance, but inſtead of being ſuffered to enter the galley, he was ſeverely beaten with a large ſtick by one of the officers, and the poor creature was obliged to quit his hold, and to ſwim the river; he made for the ſedge on the left-hand ſide, into which he threw himſelf, and lay groaning as we paſſed by: it was debated whether we ought to take him in, but 'twas concluded, that this might give offence to the *Baſha*, and eſpecially as the man was not far now from an *Arabian* camp. Soon after we had paſſed him, he creeped aſhore, and made towards the encampment.

Our people fed well to-day; for to their rice and *Ghee*, we added the offals of the calf. How different the cuſtoms of theſe *Arabs*, from the *Gentoos* in *India*! none of the latter will eat of the moſt delicate food, even if but another *Gentoo*, unleſs of his own *Caſt*, has touched it: the former are

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ſo free of ſcruple, that they will feed on the guts and ſkins of beaſts, and eat every ſcrap left on our plates. 1758.

At nine at night we anchored in the ſtream, waiting for the *Sandal*, which joined us a little before eleven; preſently, the *Chocarda* gave an alarm by firing his muſket towards the ſhore, and calling out, that "rogues were very near us in boats." Our ſervant *Vertan* inſtantly fired another from the yacht, which obliged us all to arm and run to the deck. We demanded from the *Sandal*, the real cauſe of this manœuvre; were anſwered, that four or five boats had been near us, and though hailed, would make no anſwer. Mr. *Pye*, who had the watch, ſaw one ſmall boat paſs with two or three men, but no more; and was diſpleaſed at the ſervant's following the *Chocarda*'s example, as there was not the leaſt occaſion for the diſturbance: by the diſcharge of the muſkets, a village alſo was alarmed, which by the voices of men and women, the cry of children, and barking of dogs, we diſcovered to be very near. Soon after, there was a profound ſilence on board the luggage-boat, by which we judged that the *Chocarda* raiſed the alarm, with the view only to make us keep a good look-out, while he took a ſound ſleep. The *Turkiſh* galley was at this time about a quarter of a mile ahead, at anchor alſo in the ſtream.

Since we paſſed *Lembloon*, we have been again amidſt a low, wet country; the ſides of the river full of ſedge, and very diſtreſſing to our *Trackers*. The otters here are about the ſize of a cat. We ſaw but few birds to-day. A ſmall water-lilly grows among the flags all up this river.

At twelve at night, the air was warmer than uſual, and damp. By obſervation the latitude is 31° 40′ north. We advanced only 12 miles this day.

In Mr. *Alms*'s watch this morning, between the hours of two and five, ſome little noiſe was heard on board the *Sandal*, and our people underſtood, that a man had jumped from her into the water, and ſwam to the ſhore: about ſeven o'clock, we received a meſſage from the *Chocarda*, deſiring we would ſtop a little, for he wanted to ſpeak to us on an affair of conſequence: when he came, he told us, with a melancholy countenance, that, early in the morning he had been robbed of fifty *Venetian* Zechins and his outer veſt; that the thief had ſwam from the ſhore, ſtolen into the veſſel, gotten to the place where he ſlept, and taken the money from his trouſers pocket, and his coat by his ſide. We ſarcaſtically looked ſurprized, rallied, and told him his ſleeping was unlike an officer; that none of us (which was the truth) had taken our clothes off ſince we had been on the paſſage; and then expreſſed our fears about the ſafety of our own affairs under his protection. He would fain have perſuaded us to have given full credit to the ſtory; and to acquit himſelf of negligence, he laid the whole blame on the drowſineſs of a relation of his in the ſame veſſel, in whoſe watchfulneſs he ſaid he had May 10.

1758. placed great confidence, and brought him on that very account. We ſmiled, and appeared ſo incredulous on the occaſion, that contrary to his late ceremonious deportment, he left our veſſel without taking leave.

We began tracking this morning a little before five, and preſently after a boat went down the river, three days from *Hilla*, which told us that the *Caravan* was not yet gone. The land here is on the drain, it having been overflowed: in ſight were many comfortleſs huts, ſome placed on the very water, but almoſt all on exceeding damp ground, drained by a ſurrounding ditch of a foot and a half deep, dug within four or five feet of the hut itſelf. Such miſerable places of abode, as we have paſſed in great abundance of late, I never before beheld; in each, which conſiſts of one apartment only, are contained the man, wife or wives, children, dog, and now and then two or three fowls. One *Buffalo*-cow always belongs to this wretched ſpot, which every morning and evening is driven home to give ſuſtenance to the family. In theſe hovels, you ſee ſometimes a ſword, but always a lance of about nine feet in length, of the ſame kind, but not near ſo handſome, as thoſe at *Madagaſcar*; and from them, I imagine, iſſue out the petty robbers of this part of *Arabia*.

About four this afternoon we had on both ſides, a fine level paſture country, well inhabited with *Buffalos*, oxen, cows and ſheep; the latter we have not remarked in plenty for ſome days paſt. Saw however a great quantity of Pelicans, and other birds. The river here, is narrow, deep, rapid, and very muddy: the two laſt owing to the land on our right being on the drain, and the water falling with ſome velocity from a hanging level; the land to the left is rather lower than the river, but the water is prevented from overflowing, by a bank which has been thrown up by art, and conſtantly kept in repair.

We were frequently near the *Turkiſh* galley to-day, but could not get a ſight of the *Baſha*, he being in bed the whole or greateſt part of the day, and has been ſo ever ſince the commencement of the *Ramazan*; ſuch we are told is the uſage of the *Mahometans* in this long faſt of one moon: they ſuffer no food or drink to enter their lips during the whole day, but, it is ſaid, moſt of them feed heartily in the night. They are glad to ſpend that time in ſleep, which otherwiſe would be very tedious to them, and perhaps imagine that by this means they ſhall be leſs liable to thoſe ſolicitations of nature, which their religion teaches them, at this ſeaſon, entirely to relinquiſh *.

Our

* *Ramazan*, or *Ramadan*; a ſolemn ſeaſon of faſting among the *Mahometans*, kept in the ninth month of the *Arabic* year. This faſt conſiſts in abſtaining from meat and drink, and from lying with their wives each day, from the riſing of the ſun 'till the ſtars appear; and is of ſuch ſtrict obligation, that none are excuſed from it; for the ſick, and all others who cannot obſerve it in this month, are obliged to faſt another entire month inſtead of it. So ſuperſtitious are the *Mahometans* in the obſervance of this *Lent*, that they dare not waſh their mouths, or

Our *Chocarda* however is not of this ſcrupulous turn; the quantity of ſpirits and wine he daily drinks, too abundantly declares it. He was ſo much off his guard yeſterday as to ſay, that he would eat even pork or bacon with us; and yet this fellow, when in a paſſion, is always ſure to brand his *Trackers* with the infamous appellation of *Pork-Eaters*. 1758.

At ſeven o'clock in the evening, we drew near to *Dewana*, the capital of the government of *Haſca*, where reſides *Aly Aga*; his power commences at *Corna* (which ends that of the governor of *Baſſora*) and extends up the river, as far as *Hilla*. The river grows much broader now, and a little higher up, it appeared to be at leaſt a mile over. At eight, paſſed a large river to the left hand. All the country about us is neatly cultivated for paſturage, the river being with great care and judgment admitted, or ſhut out, agreeable to the neceſſity of the herdſman. HASCA.

At a little after twelve at night, we anchored at a ſmall diſtance from *Dewana*, commonly called (as is the province) *Haſca*. We got twenty-five miles to-day. At noon the latitude by obſervation was 31° 48′ north.

At ſun riſe, which was a quarter paſt five, we ſaluted the governor with ſix guns and eight bounces; and agreeable to Mr. *Shaw*'s direction, ſent aſhore his letter, and our compliments by Mr. *Hemet*, the *Chocarda*, and one of our *European* ſervants. In a little time we learnt, that the governor could not be ſpoken with till five o'clock in the evening, upon account of the *Ramazan*. May 11.

Cojee Pagooſe, an *Armenian* merchant of *Baſſora*, at preſent reſiding here, to whom Mr. *Shaw* wrote a letter in our favour, came on board of us early in the morning, to bid us welcome, and to offer his beſt ſervices with the governor. He told us, he was confident *Aly Aga* would give us an honourable reception, but that on account of the *Faſt* it would be impoſſible for any perſon to get acceſs to him before five in the evening; that he would put Mr. *Shaw*'s letter into the hands of one of the governor's attendants, who on his maſter's coming out of his room, would be ſure to deliver it. He added, that ſoon after five, he believed we might be ſupplied with *Trackers* and neceſſaries in order for our departure, provided we could not be induced to tarry longer; but that he himſelf ſhould be happy could he prevail on us to ſtay a little while, and receive the civilities the governor would be ready to ſhew to *Engliſhmen*. As he verily

or even ſwallow their ſpittle. The men are, indeed, allowed to bathe themſelves, on condition they do not plunge the head under water, leſt ſome drops enter by the mouth or ears, &c. But as for the women they are ſtrictly forbidden to bathe, &c. However, they frequently feaſt all night. The *Mahometans* call this month holy, and believe that as long as it laſts, the gates of *Paradiſe* are open, and thoſe of *Hell* ſhut.

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1758. believed the *Caravan* would not depart from *Baghdad* before the fifteenth of the *Moon*, we reſolved to wait, and it was agreed upon between *Cojee Pagooſe* and us, that at ſun-ſet, the time *Aly Aga* was to appear on his *Terrace*, we would, on the ſignal of the merchant's waving his hand that the *Aga* was there, ſalute him from our little yacht, which we accordingly did, repeating the ſalute of the morning.

The governor and his numerous attendants, appeared on the houſe-top, a little before the ſetting of the ſun; and when it was gotten to the horizon, I obſerved that he and all his train, proſtrated themſelves in prayer. Soon after they had ended, a meſſage came from *Aly Aga*, congratulating us upon our ſafe arrival at *Haſca*, with aſſurances of his doing all in his power to forward our paſſage up the river; and excuſes for having, on account of the ſtrict laws of the *Faſt*, kept us ſo long without his paying his compliments: concluding with an invitation, to drink coffee with him in the evening. To all this having made our proper acknowledgements, the meſſenger added, that the governor would be obliged to deprive himſelf of the pleaſure of our company till late in the evening; the reaſon aſſigned was, becauſe he intended to preſent one of us with a *Turkiſh* veſt, and as he had ordered that it ſhould be a very handſome one, it would require ſome hours to make it.

Monſieur *Hemet*, on this occaſion, was our interpreter; and as he had ſpent ſo much of his time in *Perſia*, about the court, he knew very well how to act for us. He prevailed upon *Aly Aga* to ſend us his great barge, at the time he wiſhed us to come, and told him, that we were unaccuſtomed to ſit on the ground though covered with a carpet; the governor replied, that "we ſhould have cuſhions, and was he maſter of chairs, we ſhould be welcome to them;" adding, that if we choſe to ſend our own ſeats, it would be altogether as agreeable to him. This was a matter of the utmoſt indifference to us, we had no public character to maintain, and ſhould have been as well pleaſed with the cuſhion, as the ſtool; but our old friend would not hear of what he called ſuch a conceſſion, aſſuring us, that the chair or the ſtool, "*voud be de more honorable:*" we ſubmitted, ſmiling at each other. An intimation had been given us, that three would be the proper number to wait on this great man; ſuch he really is, his government being the moſt important of any in this part of the world, the *Baſha* of *Baghdad* excepted. It was eleven o'clock before the officer of his houſehold came in the barge to attend us, though during this time, there had been ſent us more than one apology for the delay. As ſoon as we were landed, the barge ſaluted us with one gun: *Cojee Pagooſe*, with many officers, received us on the ſhore, attended with ſervants and a number of lights, and they all accompanied us to the governor. We were received on the *Terrace*; *Aly Aga* was ſeated, ſurrounded by his principal *Agas* to the number of fifty, dreſſed in green or red. At our coming to the carpet, on which the ſtools were placed, we put off our ſhoes, which we had ſlipped down for that purpoſe before

before we left the veſſel: we were dreſſed as *Europeans*, and on approaching him, we uncovered our heads, and bent our bodies, after our own manner; he returned our compliments ſitting, but gracefully bending his body forwards, putting his right hand upon his breaſt, and then immediately pointing to our ſeats, we ſat down, and covered our heads. We ſat fronting him; on each hand he had an ancient venerable perſon; farther to his right, were in four ranks other officers all ſitting, ſix or ſeven in each rank, and to his left were ſtill more. Many ſervants ſtood behind us, among them my man *Alexander* had intruded himſelf; our *Chocarda* too was obſerved to be at this entertainment. 1758.

Aly Aga addreſſed himſelf to us, by the mouth of *Cojee Pagooſe* and Mr. *Hemet*; *Pagooſe* ſpeaking to the latter in *Perſian*, and he to us in *French*, and ſometimes in broken *Engliſh*. Common compliments took place firſt, reſpecting our health, that of Mr. *Shaw*, &c. then he aſked us of the particular incidents of our voyage hitherto, of our intended route, and of our motives for undertaking ſo fatiguing and perilous a journey; he was greatly amazed to find they were not pecuniary ones, but proceeded chiefly from curioſity. He then changed his diſcourſe to our company's affairs at *Bengal*, and the revolutions which had lately happened there; talked of our fleet in *India*, of the ſeveral powers at war in *Europe*, and of the face of affairs there at preſent; and at laſt, of the navigation up the river *Euphrates*, of the latitude of *Baſſora*, *Dewana*, &c. During this converſation we were entertained, firſt, with a ſaucer of ſweetmeats, of which ſome of us eat four or five very ſmall ſpoonfuls, and intended to have finiſhed the whole, but Monſieur *Hemet* whiſpered to leave off, "*for dat one ſpoonful only, was de more polite*;" then a ſmall cup of coffee was brought, and after a ſhort interval a ſmall baſon of warm ſweet water ſcented with roſes; laſtly, our handkerchiefs were wetted with roſe-water, and our noſtrils fumigated with the ſmoke of *Ambergreaſe* and *Agala* wood. We had been given to underſtand, that ſoon after the ſerving of the ſweet water and odours, we ſhould be at liberty to take our leave; on our making a motion to do this, *Aly Aga* repeated to us, how ſorry he was the ſolemnity of the *Ramazan* deprived him of the pleaſure of our company by day; but that, if convenient to us, he ſhould be happy, would we continue here for a few days to recover from our fatigue, and he would endeavour to make us paſs the time as agreeably as was in his power. We excuſed ourſelves from accepting his kind invitation, by informing him of the neceſſity we were under to reach *Baghdad* as ſoon as poſſible; and that we had an additional motive to haſten our journey, which was the earneſt deſire of ſeeing our native country, and our families, from whom we had ſuffered a long and painful ſeparation. His anſwer implied, that he ſincerely wiſhed us a happy ſight of both, hoped our journey and voyage would be as pleaſant and ſpeedy as poſſible, and that the *Great God* would conduct us ſafe. We expreſſed in the beſt terms we were able, our ſenſe of his favors; to which he replied very ſenſibly and politely. As ſoon as we got from our ſeats,

Mr.

1758. Mr. *Doidge*, our elected chief, had a ſilk *Peliſe* or veſt put upon him, lined with *Ermine*, worth about ten pounds, for which he made one of his handſomeſt bows to *Aly Aga*.

Our viſit laſted about half an hour, when we all took leave, and repaired to the barge, and in her to the yacht: the barge fired another gun at our getting on board. *Pagooſe* and the ſame officer of the houſehold who had attended us before, now accompanied us to our cabbin. We drank before
May 12. them *Aly Aga*'s health, and fired a gun. Between twelve and one both theſe gentlemen left us, by whom we ſent on ſhore ten ſequins, or about five guineas, to the treaſurer, to be divided among the governor's ſervants. We detained them for a while, purpoſely to give Mr. *Doidge* an opportunity of finiſhing his letter to Mr. *Shaw*, to whom we were obliged to write, having this day, by the advice of *Cojee Pagooſe*, diſmiſſed Mr. *Chocarda*, for a repetition of his inſolence, without making him the leaſt preſent. We had painted his behaviour in its true colours in our letter to Mr. *Shaw*, but at *Aly Aga*'s requeſt we added a poſtcript by way of mitigation; this ſtrange inconſiſtent fellow having thrown himſelf at the feet of that governor, begging his interceſſion with us to write as little to his prejudice as poſſible.

Before *Cojee Pagooſe* left our veſſel, we deſired him to tell us, what was the occaſion of the hearty laugh, which we obſerved had taken place whilſt *Aly Aga* was making his enquiries; he acquainted us that the old gentleman who ſat on the governor's right hand, affected to be a judge of what Meſſrs. *Doidge* and *Alms* were telling *Aly Aga* regarding the latitude and longitude of places, and frequently threw in his approbation by ſaying "*Aye that's true:*" the laugh aroſe from the governor's merrily replying, "I do not doubt of the truth of what theſe gentlemen advance, and to be ſure you are an accurate judge of it; for the utmoſt of your erudition in this way, is I think confined to the latitude and longitude of my *Perſon*; that indeed, you are pretty well acquainted with." *Aly Aga* is a native of *Perſia*, and a man of a more inquiſitive turn than is commonly found (as we were told) among the *Turkiſh* governors.

Dewana, which by our obſervations lies in the latitude 31° 56′ north, is a conſiderable town, built with mud; the governor is obliged to pay into the treaſury of the *Baſha* of *Baghdad*, fifteen hundred purſes yearly, it being the ſtated royal rent of the diſtrict; but I am well informed that *Aly Aga* remits at leaſt three thouſand purſes: this additional ſum is acquired by mulcts on the *Arabs* for different crimes, eſpecially for robberies. The fines are commonly paid in cattle by the *Sheicks*, but the *Turks* ſoon turn them into caſh.

This conduct of *Aly Aga* in remitting more to the royal treaſury than is required from him, appears a very extraordinary circumſtance at firſt ſight; but

but it is truly a moſt refined ſtroke of policy: for knowing that immenſe riches in this country are the ſureſt means to ſhorten a man's days, he puts himſelf out of all danger by never preſuming to accumulate them for his own uſe. He is rather ſtudious to be thought the generous and diſintereſted, than the rich and opulent man. Doubtleſs, it is entirely owing to this, that he is ſo great a favourite with the *Baſha* of *Baghdad*, whoſe purſe he takes care to fill, though he finds it prudent to neglect his own. 1758.

Mr. *Shaw* told me at *Baſſora*, the particulars of a diſpute between him and *Aly Aga* when governor of that place, for which the latter was diſplaced, and but of late appointed to the command at *Haſca*. He has ſince acknowledged, that he injured Mr. *Shaw*, and made all proper conceſſions to him. They had now entered into a friendly correſpondence, and a new branch of trade; which it is hoped will prove advantageous to the company, and be of ſervice likewiſe to this generous, genteel, worthy man, whoſe common emoluments are judged inadequate to his ſpirit and deſerts.

At half paſt eight, we weighed, and took our laſt leave of *Aly Aga*, with the diſcharge of all our guns; our bounces being expended in the unexpected ſecond ſalute of yeſterday, we could not carry the compliment any farther: *Cojee Pagooſe* undertook to apologize for us on this head. Here, two of the *Laſcars* or ſeamen belonging to our *Sandal* ran away; *Vertan* got two perſons in their room, one of whom ſoon left us alſo: this ſervant had now the charge of that veſſel ſince the diſmiſſion of the *Chocarda* and his adherents, of whom we were now told there were three or four.

At eleven we croſſed the river, and began to track on the left hand ſide. The land in view is partly paſture, partly arable, the cattle continue the ſame as lately mentioned, but horſes are more numerous. We obſerved one of the latter ſwimming acroſs the river, with a ſervant. This horſe (by our information) was deſigned as a preſent to us, had not *Cojee Pagooſe* diſcovered that we had already a ſufficient number, and that a habit would be more acceptable.

At twelve we ſtopt for our luggage-boat, and at half paſt one began again to track: at ſix in the afternoon paſſed a fort to the right called *Monoly*. The wind is ſtill againſt us, and the ſtream runs down at the rate of five miles an hour, which, joined to our delays from the *Sandal*, prevent our making but a very ſlow progreſs. At half paſt eight, the *Trackers* called to leave off work, the bottom being now bad, the banks buſhy, and they themſelves in fear of lions, tygers, and other wild beaſts. We took the men on board, and ſtood off into the ſtream to avoid inſults from the people on ſhore, but were obliged to return to the bank on account of the rapidity of the river. If we could have lain at a diſtance from the ſhore, we ſhould have been more at eaſe in all reſpects; particularly from thoſe

1758. bitter enemies the *Muſchetos*, which peſtered us this evening, rather more than ever, and are inexpreſſibly tormenting, even to the degree of throwing us into a temporary fever. Happy for us! that with the return of the ſun and wind in the mornings, we are till the cloſe of the day relieved from them, and without this interval, I know not what might be the conſequence: the ſun is our great deliverer in this reſpect; but alas! the increaſing heat of that glorious body begins to make us lament, our being no farther advanced on our journey; but as we have no reaſon to charge ourſelves with the leaſt unneceſſary delay, we endeavour to be ſatisfied, and bear what may happen with becoming reſolution. We made but eight miles to-day; latitude by obſervation 31° 58′.

May 13. At half paſt four this morning we began to track; at five we croſſed to the right ſide of the river, in hopes that the footing and current would be more favourable; at eleven croſſed again, the current being ſo ſtrong, that we could not turn a point of land. At one in the afternoon, ſtopped for the luggage-boat. At half paſt two went on again, the *Sandal* being in ſight. At ſix anchored for the night at ſome diſtance from the ſhore. A little before ſeven, we were ſaluted to our great ſurprize with the thundering voice of our late *Chocarda*, who in a ſmall boat paſſed by us and commanded our ſervants to deliver us his compliments. We conclude that he is going on his own private affairs to *Baghdad*, or perhaps to execute there ſome orders from his governor.

The banks are now covered with a ſhrub of the cypreſs kind; bramble-buſhes and ſome other ſhrubs make a ſort of foreſt, well ſupplied with a variety of ſinging birds; ſome of them chaunt all the night: there are great quantities of wild ducks. Got eleven miles. Latitude by obſervation 32° 4′ north.

This night we took into ſerious conſideration, the very little progreſs we had made, and the ſmall portion of time we have to ſpare, as the *Caravan* by all accounts will ſet out the fifteenth of the *Moon*; and unanimouſly reſolved, for greater expedition to move ourſelves and all we have on board the yacht, into the *Sandal*, where are our horſes, *&c.* and with our ten *Trackers* to join her's, that by their united force, we may haſten her motion, which is at preſent very ſlow.

May 14. Agreeable to this reſolution, a little after four this morning, we dropped down with the ſtream, and joined her; by eight we diſmiſſed the yacht, with a letter for Mr. *Shaw*, telling him of the ſtep we had taken, and of our having borrowed her fore-topſail, to make us a cover in the *Sandal* from the ſun. At ſix in the evening, we paſſed the tomb of a religious perſon to the left: a little afterwards a human body floated by us, which probably had been drowned by the overſetting of a *Sandal*. This greatly alarmed our *Trackers*, who ſay, that accidents of this kind

have frequently happened, and positively declared, that they would not proceed any farther during the night, for fear of meeting with the like fate. At half past seven therefore, though a fine moon-light evening, we made our vessel fast to a stake fixed on the shore; we got our camp-table and stools out, and for the first time eat our morsels on the edge of the *Desert*. 1758.

We saw to-day many ducks and one pelican; the banks are very woody, or rather bushy; few people live hereabouts, only just as many as are necessary to take care of their buffaloes, which are numerous. This morning a woman swam across the river, which here was eight hundred yards wide, pushing a basket before her. Mr. *Alms* shot a turtle with a ball, but our servants told us, it would not be safe to eat of it. We kept all night a regular watch. Another small tracking boat rode near our vessel, bound to *Hilla*, with three or four women, and perhaps twenty men; they had two or three muskets among them, and as many brace of pistols: at their coming to the shore, they discharged two loaded muskets, in order to let the robbers know they were not unarmed, or off their guard.—Advanced 12 miles to-day. No observation.

At half after four in the morning, we began to track, the river very serpentine and rapid: continued working till nine at night, when we made fast to the shore, got our stools and table ashore, and kept a strict guard all night. Two or three *Arabs* with lances, came and made a great noise, and called in their cattle as if they were apprehensive of losing them; we let them know, they had nothing to fear from us, unless they should become troublesome themselves; and on ordering them to go away, they complied. Got twenty-one miles to-day. Latitude by observation 32° 16′ north. Monday, May 15.

At half past four in the morning, began to track. At eight passed a village called *Assca*, with mud houses, encompassed with a mud wall; many *Date* and other fruit trees about it. On the opposite side of the river is another village, and a pleasant garden, called *Issidea*. At eleven passed a village to the right called *Vena-haara*, where is always a guard of soldiers: soon after, passed another village on the same side, built of mud, named *Zada*; the river water here, is somewhat cleaner than heretofore. At one in the afternoon, went by two villages on the right, one called *Chili*, the other *Dulab*; and at two came in sight of *Hilla*. Soon after, we passed a river on our left called *Romya*, which at this place discharges itself into the *Euphrates*. May 16. Assca. Issidea. Vena-haara. Zada. Chili. Dulab.

A little before four o'clock we got up pretty near to the governor of *Hilla's* palace, situated in that part of the town which stands on the left, or south side of the river. Our *Sandal* carrying no guns, we could only salute with five bounces, their report however was equal to that of a four pounder. Hilla.

1758. We were ſoon ſurrounded by a very numerous company of people, of boys eſpecially; even the women, who came down to the river with their pitchers for water, ſatisfied their curioſity by looking at us; moſt of them had their faces half covered, many were comely, and of a pretty good complexion. The men in general were well made, ſome are white, but moſt of them tawny. We had been but a very little while near the ſhore, before one of the governor's officers came to bid us welcome; he ſat with us on a ſtool by the ſide of the river, and took care the crowd ſhould not preſs upon us. In the mean time we ſent by Mr. *Heinet*, and our man *Vertan*, Mr. *Shaw*'s letter, and another from *Aly Aga*; they ſoon returned with the governor's compliments, and an invitation for us to repair to the *Seraglio*; an officer with a ſilver *Battoon*, and high cap, came alſo to conduct us.

Notwithſtanding it was the faſt of the *Ramazan*, and before ſun-ſet, we found the governor, *Chouder Aga*, ſeated on a carpet in his porch, at the entrance of his palace, ready to receive us; (he was about forty years old, and of the genteeleſt deportment) he bade us heartily welcome, thrice; told us we ſhould do him honour by taking up our abode at his houſe, expreſſed his unfeigned ſorrow at the fatigues and difficulties we had paſſed through, of which he ſaid he had been informed three days ago, hoped we ſhould reſt well under his roof, and recover our loſt ſtrength, and that we might depend on every aſſiſtance in his power. At our firſt coming in, he obliged us immediately to ſeat ourſelves on the ſide of the porch, oppoſite to him, where had been placed a carpet and cuſhions. The rules of the faſt, were ſtill farther diſpenſed with, for coffee was brought to us, as ſoon as we were ſeated. In the courſe of the interview, he ſaid, as every people had their different manners, and he could not but be a ſtranger to our's, he muſt deſire the favour of us, while we continued with him, to purſue our own inclinations in all things, but eſpecially in what reſpected refreſhments; he ſhould therefore be glad if we would trouble ourſelves to direct his domeſtics what ſort of repaſt they ſhould provide for our ſupper. We replied to his civilities, but begged we might be admitted to be ſerved only with a plate of what was the uſual proviſions of his family: upon his repeating his wiſhes, we anſwered, "nothing could be more acceptable than a common *Pillaw*," (boiled fowl and rice). We begged indeed the favour of being accommodated with a warm *Bagnio*, which he immediately ordered to be got ready, and directed his attendants to be there in waiting with *Sherbet*, *&c.*; but before we went to the bath, he ordered his people to ſhow us the apartments that were provided for us above ſtairs. We then took our leave, each paying the other the moſt obliging compliments they could think of; but the *Turk* was very much our ſuperior in this ſort of converſation.

Our rooms were the beſt in the palace, lofty, with painted walls, and gothic arched roofs. We were accompanied to and from the *Bagnio*, by an officer carrying a ſilver-headed ſtaff. At our return to the *Seraglio*, we

we found ſix or eight diſhes placed upon our own table, with our ſtools ſet round it; and though the whole was dreſſed after the *Turkiſh* manner, it was by no means diſagreeable to an *Engliſh* palate. An intimation was alſo given to us, that the governor made it his particular requeſt, that in regard to our liquors, we would be quite free and unreſtrained. This was carrying his complaiſance to a great height, conſidering how very ſtrict the regular *Turks* are on this article: we doubted at firſt, whether we ſhould ſend for wine, but the governor having interrogated our domeſtics, and learned our common practice, repeated his requeſt by a meſſage ſent on purpoſe. 1758.

Chouder Aga whilſt we were at ſupper, ſat on a terrace at ſome diſtance with ſeveral of his principal officers: his treaſurer accompanied us the whole evening, who eat, and would have drank wine with us alſo (as he whiſpered to our interpreter) had he not been ſurrounded by many obſervers, who were aſſembled to remark our cuſtoms. At this repaſt, both before and after ſupper we were careful to ſay grace; the *Turks* thought it a very odd cuſtom, I believe, for they talked to one another about it a good deal. We ſat without hats while at our meal, and the treaſurer, who ſeemed to have ſome drollery, after we became a little familiar with one another, pulled off his *Turban* and ſat uncovered too; this afforded great merriment to the ſpectators, and they all ſeemed greatly pleaſed with our manner of eating, ſo different from their own, for they never make uſe of knives and forks, chairs or tables. Soon after the cloth was taken away, a meſſenger came for the treaſurer; he went, but preſently returned with the governor's reſpects and a meſſage, importing, that "as it was his real wiſh, we ſhould be gay, and uſe his houſe as our own, and as it was probable his preſence might be a reſtraint upon us; he therefore had taken the liberty (begging our pardon at the ſame time) to withdraw himſelf to the *Mufti*'s, merely to convince us, that what he had ſaid about our being free and unreſtrained, proceeded from the very bottom of his heart, and he flattered himſelf, that we would diſplay our belief of his ſincerity, by our actions." Upon receiving this meſſage, the bottle paſſed about very briſkly; the governor's health was drank, and a chorus ſong was ſung. Among the lookers on, were two young gentlemen, ſon and nephew to the governor, and for each of them a glaſs of wine was ſtolen, which they drank off in a private room. We had before this time, given in by an *Aga*, an inventory of ſuch things as were neceſſary for our journey to *Baghdad*; and the treaſurer at his taking leave this evening, told us, that our beaſts, proviſions, guards, &c. ſhould be ready for us as ſoon as poſſible in the morning; for though the governor had given us the moſt preſſing invitation to ſpend a few days with him, yet we excuſed ourſelves upon account of the hurry we were in, and the neceſſity there was for our getting forwards.

It was five in the afternoon before our beaſts were loaded, and we ready to begin our journey. We had very handſome proviſion made, both May 17.

1758. for our breakfaſt and dinner; and, in the morning, on the ſuppoſition we ſhould have gone earlier than we did, the governor again broke in on the rules of the *Faſt*, and ſeated himſelf in his porch, with a deſign of giving us an opportunity of taking our leave. Our whole party attended him, except myſelf who was greatly indiſpoſed; but I afterwards learnt from them, that they were as much outdone in hyperbole of compliment at this ſecond, as we all had been at our firſt interview. The whole of our hoſt's behaviour was ſuch, as greatly to prejudice us in his favour, and we wanted only a proper preſent to ſend him, as a grateful acknowledgement for his favours. We could not offer him money, conſiſtent with the inſtructions Mr. *Shaw* had given us, and of every thing elſe that was valuable we had ſtripped ourſelves at *Karec*. At laſt our good friend Mr. *Hemet* ſpared us a white *Shaul*, made of fine goats hair from *Carminia*, and worn much in habits by the *Turks* of faſhion; it's value was about ſixteen zechins or eight guineas: this, with an handſome apology, was ſent by one of his domeſtics, who ſoon returned with his maſter's compliments, and "That he hoped we were convinced, the trifling ſervices which he had "done us, proceeded altogether from the reſpect he had for our cha-"racters, and from his friendſhip to Mr. *Shaw*; theſe were his only mo-"tives, for endeavouring to become uſeful to us in our long and weari-"ſome journey: that he had done nothing with an intereſted view, and he "flattered himſelf we would do him the juſtice to believe it; that the "preſent which we had been ſo kind as to make him, with ſuch an obliging "apology, was the more acceptable to him, as it was greatly expreſſive "of our ſatisfaction in his conduct; that he made not the leaſt difficulty "therefore in accepting of, and was infinitely obliged to us for it." Such was the complaiſant and polite behaviour of this *Turkiſh* governor, which, to ſay the leaſt, did honour not only to himſelf, but to his country.

At five this afternoon, we croſſed the *Euphrates* on a bridge of about 38 boats, attended by five *Turkiſh* cavalry, taking our route for *Baghdad*. We made up a little *Caravan* of fifteen camels, thirteen horſemen well armed, ſix mules and aſſes, beſides our proper ſervants. Soon after leaving the town of *Hilla* (which is pretty large, but bad buildings, and ſituated on both ſides of the river) we came upon a ſandy plain, and travelled a north-weſt courſe, meeting in our way ſeveral hot blaſts from the *Deſert*: at ten o'clock we arrived at a poor village called *Maboul-Kaury*, about twelve miles from *Hilla*; but being told the houſes were dirty, and full of vermin, we ſpread our carpets and bedding on the ground; truſting to the clouded canopy of heaven, while the ſoldiers kept a good look-out. The wind blew freſh the greateſt part of the night, and as there were hills of ſand very near us, accumulated by the winds of the neighbouring *Deſert*, our bedding was well covered with it. When I roſe in the morning, I was greatly diſtreſſed with thirſt, pain in the bowels, and a bilious *Diarrhœa*; fortunately, we got here ſome good milk, both at night, and in the morning.

MAHOUL-KAURY.

1758. May 18. Eſcandreau Caravanſerah.

At half paſt five this morning, we reſumed our march, the wind blowing freſh and cold; we travelled at the rate of near three miles an hour, and at ten reached the *Caravanſerah* of *Eſcandreau*; a ſtructure erected for the convenience of all travellers *: but our guards would not let us enter, it was ſo filthy, they therefore ſpread carpets for us in a poor man's houſe juſt oppoſite to it, and there we lay down to reſt. Our camels, ſervants, and baggage, which had been hitherto behind, but with orders to go on, paſſed us about eleven; and at twelve at noon, we were called upon to follow them: but finding on enquiry, that they went no farther this evening than the next ſtage, where they would continue till midnight, and that we could eaſily overtake them, we determined to tarry here, until the heat of the day was over; and ſent all but one of our *Turkiſh* ſoldiers, as an eſcort to the baggage.

Horta Caravanſerah.

At a little before four in the afternoon, we mounted; a quarter after ſix, came up with our camels, which had been put into a large *Caravanſerah* at the entrance of *Horta*, a ſmall miſerable village, with only five or ſix poor families in it. This public place of reſt for travellers was in very good order, and large enough to receive five hundred men, beſides a great many beaſts. The man in waiting at the *Caravanſerah*, ſupplied us with ſtraw and water for our cattle; the water is not good, therefore travellers always bring ſome with them for their own uſe, as we did. I got ſome goats milk here, which was very acceptable, not having been able to eat any thing but milk, ſince the firſt evening we were at *Hilla*. I was much harraſſed to-day with a *Dyſentery*, attended with thirſt. Our courſe from *Eſcandreau* to this *Caravanſerah* has been about N. E. We paſſed many travellers; the road is broad and good, the country flat, and hath many paths or tracks of camels, *&c.* but no cultivation in ſight. This is ſaid, and ſuppoſed to be the plain in the land of *Shinar*, where *Babylon* once ſtood. We walked up to a little eminence, where we ſaw a vaſt quantity of broken bricks and ſome cement.

We met with an uncommon field-mouſe here of a very light-grey colour, its feet much longer than the feet of our mice, with a ſmall long tail, ending broad, and forked like a trident: ſeveral of our company endeavoured to catch it, but the creature was ſo fleet and quick in it's turnings, that it eſcaped them, and hid itſelf in a hole in the ground. This road indeed abounds in holes, and about them are a great many green birds, in ſize and make like a ſwallow: I firſt thought, that in theſe little burrows, thoſe

* "The eaſtern nations ſeem always to have had a peculiar diſpoſition to the offices of humanity. Their manner of keeping houſe was generally near a highway, purpoſely for the relieving of travellers; the patriarchs in the Old Teſtament ſit at their gates to ſee thoſe who paſs by, and entreat them to enter into their houſes. This cordial manner of invitation is particularly deſcribed in the 18th and 19th chapter of *Geneſis*. It is yet a piece of charity frequent with the *Turks* to erect *Caravanſerahs* or inns for the reception of travellers."

POPE's *Notes on* Homer's Iliad, *Book* vi.

birds.

1758. birds rooſted, or perhaps, built their neſts; but going farther on, I ſaw ſome land-crabs, which inclined me to think, that the holes belonged to the crabs, and that the birds hovered about them for food. There is a ſhrub here of about two feet high, the leaves of which in make and taſte are like the ſamphire; alſo a ſmaller ſhrub which produces cotton. We travelled about 20 miles to-day: courſe N. *b* E.

May 19. At one in the morning, we roſe, and began to pack up our bedding; the camels that carried the other baggage, had been loaded by our ſervants about midnight: At two, we ſet out in company with ſome additional *Arabs* and *Turks*, who with their loaded mules and aſſes, took up their lodging laſt night, within the ſame hoſpitable walls. At five we reached another *Caravanſerah* in the village of *Azaup*; here we got coffee, and two quarts of good milk warm from the goats: this morning, the air was ſo ſharp, that I was glad to exchange my *Camaline* with *Jenkins*, for his thick *Huſſar* cloak. At this place we found a fire ready to make our coffee, and were refreſhed by ſtanding before it. Here, one of my friends was greatly hurt, by ſeeing one or two pretty women employed like horſes or aſſes (as he in his tenderneſs expreſſed it) drawing water from a well; though even in *England*, we often ſee offices equally laborious and much more ſervile, performed by women. Beſides, the drawing of water in all ages, and over all *Aſia*, appears to have been the buſineſs of women; *Homer* ſpeaks of princeſſes drawing water from ſprings, and waſhing with their own hands, the linnen of their reſpective families. We know that the woman of *Samaria*, who met *Jeſus* at *Jacob*'s well, came upon this very errand, and we have not the leaſt intimation given us that it was deemed an hardſhip. But if the female is ſo bad off in this country, hard alſo is the deſtiny of the poor *Trackers!* who, excluſive of the continual fears they are under of being devoured by lions and other wild beaſts, muſt drag like horſes, through briars, buſhes, water, mud, ruſhes, *&c.* and this too in the coldeſt ſeaſon, and the darkeſt night. Such is really their caſe, and there is no poſſibility of avoiding it, eſpecially when they are in the ſervice of a *Turkiſh* galley.

Azaup Caravanſerah.

We did not tarry above half an hour at this *Caravanſerah*, but proceeded on after our camels; about this village the country is pleaſant, we ſaw a great deal of wheat growing, and large numbers of cattle grazing. About ſix we diſcovered the *Minarets* of the *Moſques* in *Baghdad*, whoſe ſtile of building is not much unlike the monument at *London*.

For a few miles, on both ſides of the road, were many flocks of ſheep, herds of goats, and other cattle, as well as large ſpots bearing wheat; the ſoil all along is good, and wants only a little induſtry to cultivate and improve it. The diſtance between the *Tygris* and *Euphrates* here, we were told, is not more than ſix or ſeven miles, conſequently by letting in the water from thoſe two rivers, the whole might be made extremely fruitful.

fruitful. For many miles back, a plain open country began, and ſtill continues gently to aſcend, forming a hanging level, the higheſt part being towards *Baghdad*. At ſeven we took notice of a building to our left; and having been before appriſed of it's ſituation, we had no difficulty in determining it to be, what here paſſes for the ruins of the tower of *Babel*. By the aſſiſtance of an interpreter, I queſtioned our *Turkiſh* ſoldiers on this ſubject, who anſwered it was *Nimrod*'s tower. They ſaid alſo, upon my pretending to know nothing of *Nimrod*, that he was once a king of the country, but long before their *Prophet* or our *Prophet*'s time; that he declared war againſt the *God* of heaven, and in his fooliſhneſs and pride, built this tower, with intention to get to heaven, and make war with the *Almighty*: but he found himſelf deceived, for *God* confounded him and his machinations, by rending the building with the breath of his mouth; and that this ruin had been permitted to remain as a laſting monument of the folly of *man*, and of the power of *God*. We queſtioned the ſoldiers alſo about the confuſion of languages, but of that they appeared to be totally ignorant; concluding however that we might have all our enquiries anſwered by thoſe who were acquainted with the old *Perſian* books, where all the particulars of this remarkable ſtory were fully related. 1758.

At about a league diſtance from the city we obſerved an handſome large green tent, with two ſmall ones; as we drew nigher to them, two *Turks* mounted on very handſome light grey horſes, richly capariſoned, rode towards us full ſpeed, ſhewing their dexterity in the *Gereed*. Upon their coming near us, they ſtopped, made their *Salaam*, and gave us to underſtand, that they came from thoſe tents, and were in the ſervice of Mr. *Garden* and *Cojee Raphael*, by whom they were ordered to wait there for our reception. We rode towards the tents, diſmounted, and entered the largeſt, the ground of which was covered with a carpet. An *Argile* or ſmoking tube, and coffee, were immediately brought us, and one of the *Turks* galloped towards the town to inform his maſters of our arrival, but both the gentlemen appeared very ſoon, and on their coming into the tent, were ſo obliging as to make many apologies for their abſence at our alighting, it having been entirely owing to an accident they met with upon the road.

It was lucky for us that Mr. *Doidge* diſpatched a letter to Mr. *Garden* from *Haſca*, otherwiſe he would before now have left *Baghdad*, and been on his way to *Baſſora*. He appears to be an accompliſhed young gentleman, and had been a writer in the company's ſervice at *Bombay*; was lately appointed ſecond at *Baſſora*, and is at preſent engaged in buſineſs of conſequence at *Baghdad*. *Cojee Raphael* is an *Armenian* merchant, a chriſtian, who with many others of his religion, and profeſſion, was obliged to retire from *Perſia* on account of it's troubles: in Mr. *Garden*'s abſence, this gentleman tranſacts all the buſineſs with the *Baſha* and the merchants here, on account of Mr. *Shaw*. Theſe two gentlemen, after having received us

in

1758. in the moſt hoſpitable manner, perſuaded us to ſpend the heat of the day in the tent, which was placed cloſe to the edge of the river *Tygris*: we did, and except myſelf (who was too ill to partake of any thing but milk) all were merry, and dined very comfortably on the carpet, where was placed an excellent cold entertainment.

By the advice of theſe gentlemen, our party ſtripped themſelves of their *Turbans*, and every part of their country dreſs, and put on hats and other *European* habits. Now a little of the finery ſent back to *Bombay* from *Karec*, was wiſhed for. I was apprehenſive of catching cold, and therefore rode towards the city with my *Huſſar*-cloak and *Turban*. Before we got to *Baghdad*, we paſſed over a creek on a ſtone bridge of four or five arches; very many were the ſpectators here, and much their ſurprize, on ſeeing ſo many *Frengees*, or *Franks*, (the general name throughout all *Turky* for *Europeans*) and by the pleaſure which appeared in the countenance of the boys, it ſeemed they had never been ſo agreeably entertained before. The hat, the hair differently dreſſed, wig, coat, and every part of our habits and accoutrements, even the horſe-whip and *European* ſaddles, were all matters of curioſity to men as well as boys; and yet not the leaſt kind of incivility paſſed from any one of them. Such a number were never ſeen here before in *European* dreſſes, for the few who tarry any length of time, put themſelves into the *Turkiſh* habit; but this would have been very imprudent in us, on account of our ſhort ſtay, and of the great expence; two complete and genteel ſuits would not have coſt leſs than near an hundred pounds. From the want of them however we are to be in a manner priſoners, for our polite countryman Mr. *Garden* would not have us degrade the *Engliſh* name (which is here in high repute) by going into the ſtreets on foot, and our horſe-furniture at preſent is much too mean to appear with; ſo that only one or two of us at moſt can go out *properly mounted* at a time, that is, with managed horſes, gayly capariſoned with trappings of gold or ſilver all over their heads and creſts, very rich laced or embroidered ſaddle cloths, gilt or ſilver ſtirrups, &c. &c. The *Turk* never rides with a whip, he either has a ſtick for *gereeding*, or ſpear for actual war *.

About

* The *Gereed* is an exerciſe, which conſiſts in a man's dextrouſly throwing a lance at an antagoniſt, and avoiding at the ſame time that thrown againſt himſelf. This is always done on horſe-back, and at full ſpeed, the rider throwing himſelf, when in danger, under the horſe's belly, or under the cover of his ſide, ever keeping himſelf from falling, by an expert uſe of the foot which is ſtill retained in one of the ſtirrups, and by taking hold with his hands of the horſe's mane, the girth, or ſome other part of the ſaddle furniture. As ſoon as he finds that he has eluded his adverſary's lance, he throws himſelf upon the horſe's back again, and rides after the weapon, which juſt before had been directed at him. This he contrives to ſnatch from off the ground, even while his horſe is in full career, and then in his turn purſues and attacks his enemy with it. Thus the combat continues, until one or other is ſtruck, and ſuppoſed to be killed, wounded, or taken priſoner. When this manœuvre is only performed in ſport, they make uſe of a ſtick, inſtead of a lance. It is the *Turks* principal martial exerciſe, and they greatly pride themſelves in doing it expertly. Their horſes are in common,

1758. BAGHDAD.

About five in the evening, we entered the old town, or that which lies weſt of the *Tygris*. We paſſed the river by a bridge of thirty-nine boats, floored with *Date* trees, flags, horſe-dung, and ſlime or mud; it is very badly railed. This bridge brought us to the new city, on the eaſt of the river. Both cities are built with bricks, and mud; this on the eaſt ſide is walled round. The public buildings are better than thoſe of *Baſſora*; but the beſt would be eſteemed unfit for a private gentleman of a thouſand pounds a year in *England*. The ſtreets are very narrow, the *Bazars* long, generally roofed in the gothic taſte, but ſome which have been lately repaired or rebuilt, are only clumſily covered with *Date* trees, and mud: holes are left in the roof at certain diſtances, for the admittance of light and air. At ſix we got to Mr. *Garden*'s houſe. Soon after, I drank ſome milk, and went to bed, not a little fatigued.

The following are the reſpective diſtances of the principal places, lying on the *Euphrates*, between *Baſſora* and *Baghdad*.

	Miles.
From *Baſſora* to *Corna* — — — —	75
From *Corna* to *Cota* — — — —	69
From *Cota* to *Semava* — — — —	147
From *Semava* to *Lembloon* — — —	65
From *Lembloon* to *Haſca* — — — —	31
From *Haſca* to *Hilla* — — — —	52
From *Hilla* to *Baghdad*. — — — —	50
Total —	489

mon, about fourteen hands, or fourteen and a half high, handſome, light, and ſpirited. They never dock their tails, and it is reckoned a diſgrace for a gentleman or ſoldier to mount a gelding or a mare.

CHAP. III.

Account of thoſe noxious blaſts called Samiels.—*Deſcription of a* Takht-Revan.—*Account of* Baghdad.—*Anecdotes of* Solyman *the governor, and of* Selim Baſha *of* Courdiſtan.—*Military ſtrength of* Baghdad.—*Obſervations on the* Turks.—*Deſcription of three ancient ruins called* Tauk Keſſera, Kurman Shah, and Nimrod's *Tower.*

1758. TO our great mortification the *Aleppo Caravan* had left *Baghdad* twenty days before our arrival. This was a melancholy piece of news to every one of us, but eſpecially to me, on account of my ill ſtate of health. The weather was already too warm, and the proſpect before us of waiting ſtill longer before we could begin our journey over the *Deſert*, could not fail to make us very uneaſy. Our old friend Mr. *Hemet* uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevail upon me not to leave this place till the month of *October*; he urged my preſent bad ſtate of health, the increaſing heat of the weather, but above all the danger of our meeting with thoſe noxious blaſts, called in the *Arabian* language *Samiels*; hot and ſudden guſts of wind, to which travellers are expoſed in paſſing the *Deſert* of *Arabia*; by ſome ſuppoſed to be the deſtructive *Eaſt Wind* mentioned in *Job*, and ſome of the *Prophets*. They ſometimes blow about the middle of *June*, but more frequently in the months of *July* and *Auguſt*, when they commonly bring inſtantaneous death to every man and beaſt that happens to ſtand with his face towards them. Providentially, a certain though ſhort warning of their approach is given, by a ſenſible alteration of the air. When this is perceived, all travellers, together with their horſes, camels, &c. muſt, as the only means of ſafety lie proſtrate with their faces to the ground, and their feet towards the *Samiel*, and thus continue till it is paſſed. This peſtilential vapour flies ſwift, and commonly does not expand itſelf far; it's ſtreams are of no great breadth, ſo that travellers at a few miles diſtance from each other are expoſed to different *Samiels*, and ſome are ſo fortunate as entirely to eſcape them *.

This

* This hot wind, peculiar to the *Deſert* of *Arabia*, is called in the *Arabian* language, *Samiel*: it blows over the *Deſert* in the months of *July* and *Auguſt*, from the N. W. quarter, and ſometimes it continues with all it's violence to the very gates of *Baghdad*, but never affects any

1758. May 20.

This morning we were viſited by many *Jew*, *Armenian* and *Italian* merchants; our future journey naturally became the ſubject of converſation, and there were as many different opinions as there were men; however, all agreed with Mr. *Hemet*, that unleſs we could ſet off at fartheſt, by the middle of *June*, we muſt find the *Deſert* extremely diſtreſſing, and very dangerous. One or two propoſed our going by the way of *Moſul* and *Diarbekir*; from which laſt place we might eaſily get either to *Aleppo* or *Conſtantinople*. They told us, it was almoſt certain, that at *Moſul* we ſhould join the great *Caravan*, which left *Baghdad* about three weeks ago for that city, *Diarbekir*, and *Tocat*, but would be obliged to wait at *Moſul* twenty days: they propoſed we ſhould make it known that we were to take that route, as the merchants would gladly embrace the opportunity, and fit out a *Caravan* to join us, and thereby we ſhould mutually ſtrengthen and aſſiſt each other. We objected, that this would be a tedious method; they replied, that we might travel by ourſelves, and with entire ſafety, provided we took the *Baſha*'s paſſport with us, and a proper officer to ſee that the orders contained in it were put in execution. The *Italian* merchant *Michael*, aſſured us that travelling thus, we might reach *Conſtantinople*, or, as the *Turks* all it, *Stamboul*, in thirty-five days. The thoughts of avoiding

any body within the walls. Some years it does not blow at all, and in others, it appears ſix, eight, or ten times, but ſeldom continues more than a few minutes at a time. It often paſſes with the apparent quickneſs of lightning.

The *Arabians* and *Perſians*, who are acquainted with the appearance of the ſky, at or near the time this wind ariſeth, have warning of it's approach by a thick haze, which appears like a cloud of duſt ariſing out of the horizon; and they immediately upon this appearance, throw themſelves, with their faces to the ground, and continue in that poſition till the wind is paſſed, which frequently happens almoſt inſtantaneous; but if, on the contrary, they are not careful or briſk enough to take this precaution, which is ſometimes the caſe, and they get the full force of the wind, it is inſtant death.

The above method is the only one which they take to avoid the effects of this fatal blaſt; and when it is over, they get up and look round them for their companions, and, if they ſee any one lying motionleſs, they take hold of an arm or leg, and pull and jerk it with ſome force; and if the limb thus agitated ſeparates from the body, it is a certain ſign that the wind has had it's full effect; but if, on the contrary, the arm or leg does not come away, it is a ſure ſign there is life remaining, although to every outward appearance the perſon is dead; and in that caſe, they immediately cover him or them with cloaths, and adminiſter ſome warm diluting liquor to cauſe a perſpiration, which is certainly, but ſlowly brought about.

The *Arabs* themſelves can ſay little or nothing about the nature of this wind, only that it always leaves behind it a very ſtrong ſulphureous ſmell, and that the air at theſe times is quite clear, except about the horizon, in the N. W. quarter, before obſerved, which gives warning of it's approach.

I have not been able to learn whether the dead bodies are ſcorched, or diſſolved into a kind of gelatinous ſubſtance; but from the ſtories I have heard, there has been frequent reaſon to believe the latter; and in that caſe, I ſhould attribute ſuch fatal effects rather to a noxious vapour, than to an abſolute and exceſſive heat. The ſtory of it's going to the gates of *Baghdad* and no farther, may be reaſonably enough accounted for, if the effects are attributed to a poiſonous vapour, and not an exceſſive heat.

The above-mentioned wind, *Samiel*, is ſo well known in the neighbourhood of *Baghdad* and *Baſſora*, that the very children ſpeak of it with dread.

Letter from an officer in the ſervice of the Eaſt India *company to a friend in* London, Annual Regiſter, 1766.

1758. the *Deſert*, and ſeeing the metropolis of the *Ottoman* empire, were circumſtances very flattering to us: with avidity we adopted the propoſal, but our pleaſure was of ſhort duration! others poſitively declaring, that the country through which we were to paſs, was ſtill in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions; that a fatal ſickneſs had taken place in conſequence of the famine; beſides which, there was at preſent a civil war in *Moſul*, and the whole country about it extremely infeſted with robbers from the *Sanjac* mountains, therefore it would be impracticable to travel without a large *Caravan*. After a calculation of time had been made, it appeared that it would take two months before we could reach *Stamboul*, ſo the ſcheme of *Michael* dropped.

Two reverend fathers, *Fidelle* an *Italian*, and *Ange* a *Frenchman*, paid us this morning alſo a viſit, with the compliments of *Emanuel* the *Roman* biſhop of *Babylon*, and of the *French* conſul at *Baghdad*; who congratulated us on our ſafe arrival, acknowledged the receipt of Monſ. *Perdria*'s letter, and aſſured us of his lordſhip being devoted to our ſervice. The fathers could determine nothing fully in reſpect to our future journey; all ways were ſtated, and each appeared to have great difficulties. We therefore haſtened to viſit the biſhop, in hopes he would be able to help us to fix on ſome deciſive method. We found him a lively, well-bred, ſenſible man, between fifty and ſixty years of age; very communicative, wiſhing to adviſe us for the beſt, but open enough to declare, he hardly knew how. He mentioned a common ſaying in *France*, *Be cautious how you give advice in what relates to marriages, or journies*, and then ſaid, notwithſtanding the prudence of the maxim in general, in the preſent caſe he would deliver his ſentiments with all freedom. He told us a piece of news juſt come to town, of a *Caravan* having been robbed between *Moſul* and *Diarbekir*; he expreſſed his apprehenſions of the riſk we ſhould run from the heat, and the peſtiferous wind of the *Deſert*, provided we did not ſet out by the tenth or twelfth of next month at fartheſt; but ſeemed to think, that if we could get away by that time, and would be at the expence of litters, or as they are called here *Takht Revans*, or *moving thrones*, we might perform our journey without any great degree of danger or fatigue.

As this was not a time for us to think much about ſaving money, we conſented to the propoſal; and as a *Jew* was then fitting out a ſmall *Caravan* for *Aleppo*, and ſaid it ſhould depart in eight or ten days without fail, and with it would go an *Arab* conductor of good character, well-known to Meſſrs. *Shaw* and *Garden*, we now ſeemed reſolved to accompany him. The biſhop promiſed us to look out for one of thoſe litters, recollecting that a *Turk* of his acquaintance ſome little time before purchaſed ſuch a thing for an intended religious journey.

May 21. The Biſhop returned our viſit this morning, accompanied by father *Fidelle*; he apologiſed for putting it off ſo long, ſaying, he was prevented from

from waiting upon us laſt night, having been on the look-out for the *Takht Revan*, but the *Turk* had parted with it, for a journey to *Mecca*. 1758.

The *Arab* conductor of the intended expedition, whoſe name is *Habil Swylem*, was alſo with us this morning, and promiſed to ſet off with his little *Caravan* in eight days at fartheſt, as the *Jew*'s goods were daily expected from *Baſſora*. We had a great deal of converſation, and at laſt, by the aſſiſtance of Mr. *Garden*, ſtruck a bargain with him on the following conditions.

Five *Camels* for the carriage of ſtores in twenty-one baſkets. Four *Camels* for fourteen portmanteaus, three of which are common *Engliſh* ones, the others are made of canvas, with our bedding, linen, and a tent. Six *Camels* for water for ourſelves and ſervants, who (including the two country *Chriſtians*) make up ten perſons. Three horſes, and two mules. One *Camel* for carrying corn for the beaſts. One *Camel* for carrying two covered cradles on its back, for the occaſional relief of our *European* ſervants. One *Camel* for carrying a claſp table, ſix claſp ſtools, a tent, eighteen poles, and pins, a neceſſary tent, and other little matters.

	Piaſtres.
For eighteen *Camels*, at 50 piaſtres each — — —	900
For as many *Camels* or *Mules* as ſhall be neceſſary to carry two *Takht Revans*, each to hold two perſons — —	500
Total —	1400

It was alſo agreed between us and our *Arab* conductor, that in conſideration of the above fourteen hundred piaſtres, he ſhall do his utmoſt to bring us ſafe to *Aleppo*; that he ſhall himſelf diſcharge all contingent expences to the ſeveral *Sheicks* of the *Arabs* whom we might chance to meet with; and we are not to be called on for money for ſoldiers, or on any other account whatſoever reſpecting the journey.—If at our arrival at *Aleppo*, *Habil Swylem* ſhall have deſerved it, then at our pleaſure, to preſent him with a dreſs or two. He is alſo to find ſervants for the care of our cattle, who are to pitch and ſtrike our tents, and do all other offices, except that of dreſſing our victuals; the ſaid *Arab* is alſo to provide us with fewel* and water.

Nothing particular happened. Monday, May 22.

Mr. *Doidge* was very buſy to-day in finiſhing a promiſed draught of the windings of the river *Euphrates* from *Baſſora* to *Hilla*, for *Aly Aga* governor of *Haſca*. May 23.

* The fewel to be met with on the *Deſert*, chiefly conſiſts of camels dung, and ſometimes a ſmall ſhrub.

We

1758. We were now very uneaſy at the *Jew*'s goods not being arrived, and the more ſo, as it was hinted to us, that his *Caravan* will not be ready to ſet out for at leaſt a month, which would render it unſafe for us to proceed.

In the afternoon we paid the biſhop a ſecond viſit, and prayed Mr. *Garden* to ſend to the *Jew* merchant, revoking an order before given him, to pay the *Arab* on our account, fourteen hundred piaſtres. About ſeven in the evening we heard from our *Terrace* the report of two ſmall cannon, and a little after eight the *Jew* came and acquainted us that his goods were arrived. We told him our apprehenſions; he declared that he ſhould have his merchandiſe all ready to put on the *Camels* in three or four days, and after that it would reſt with *Habil Swylem* to lade, diſpatch and depart: which he heartily wiſhed on his own account, as well as ours, could be the following day, as till then, the expence of keeping three hundred *Camels* would be a great drawback on the merchant's profit. We found he had already advanced the *Arab* eight hundred piaſtres on our account, but we deſired him to ſtop his hand.

May 24. *Habil Swylem* came to us this morning with the *Jew* merchant; the firſt promiſed to enter into a written agreement, that if he does not go hence in ten days, he will repay the fourteen hundred piaſtres on demand, and the contract at our pleaſure ſhall be void: we commiſſioned the *Jew* to get this agreement, and the whole of our former contract with the *Arab*, committed to paper in the *Arab*'s own language, and ſigned by him.

Cojee Raphael ordered a *Takht Revan* to be brought for our inſpection; we found it too ſhort, and too little in every reſpect for our purpoſe, but the biſhop ſent us carpenters to make new ones out of the wood that Mr. *Garden* had bought for the occaſion: each is to be large enough to hold two perſons, and is to be ſix feet long, four broad, and five in height, arched at the top with thin boards, over which we purpoſe to put hides, the better to ſhelter us from the ſun; the ſides are to be letticed for the convenience of admitting air; the inſide is to be lined with green linen, and the machines are to be fixed upon two poles, and carried by two mules.

The conveniences for travelling in *Turky* are confined to the *Takht Revan*, *Cage*, or *Cradle*, horſes, aſſes, and camels. *Takht Revans* we are informed, are only allowed to people of the firſt rank, unleſs on very particular occaſions, ſuch as a journey to *Mecca*, *&c.*—The *Kahier*, or prime miniſter's wife at *Baghdad*, had lately one made for her own uſe; but ſoon after it was finiſhed, ſhe received a meſſage with the *Haram*'s * compliments, deſiring to be informed what vehicle was now left by which it was poſſible

* *Haram* is uſed either for the *Baſha*'s chief wife, or for the place where his wives reſide. *Harram*, ſignifies prohibited, or unlawful in reſpect to men.

A Takht-Revan.





Scale of 6: one Foot to the half inch.

1758. May 26. Mr. *Alms* and I roſe at four this morning, and took a ride round both towns, accompanied by the biſhop and Mr. *Garden*. We were about an hour and three quarters in compaſſing the old town, which we judged to be near five miles in circumference; the other, which lies on the eaſt ſide of the *Tygris*, and is not quite ſo large, took us up an hour and fifteen minutes. The biſhop thinks they both contain about four hundred and fifty thouſand ſouls. He was not clear as to the preciſe time when they were built; but what is called the new town, is leſs ancient than the other *. When the emperor *Amurath* took *Baghdad* from the *Perſians*, he ſet about fortifying this part. It is ſurrounded with a good wall, with many turrets, and a parapet for muſketry; it has alſo, at certain diſtances, nine baſtions, each mounting eight braſs guns, but in bad order, and of irregular ſizes, procured from the *Portugueſe* ſettlements in the gulph of *Perſia*; ſome were caſt in *Germany*, ſome in *Perſia*, and others in *Holland*. His lordſhip told me, he believed there might be in the city, mounted, or on the ground, one hundred and fifty cannon. Before the wall is a good ditch, and an indifferent glacis; the ditch is dry, unleſs in a ſmall part, where ſome water remains from the laſt rains, in which we obſerved the *Turks* to be waſhing their linen: this accounts for the miſerable colour of our's waſhed at *Baghdad*. Through this ditch a conſtant run of water might eaſily be brought from the river, had the *Turks* the leaſt inclination to add to the ſtrength of the place, or rather were they not ſo extremely indolent, and inattentive to their own ſecurity; and yet, inconſiderable as the fortifications of *Baghdad* are, the famous *Nadir Shah*, or *Kuly Khan*,

* *Prideaux* in his connection of the Old and New Teſtament has ſatisfactorily cleared up this point.

" Perchance, ſays he, the giving of the name of *Babylon* to *Seleucia*, was that which gave riſe to the preſent vulgar error, that *Baghdad* is now ſituated in the very place, where formerly old *Babylon* ſtood. For when *Baghdad* was firſt built, it truly was upon the ſame plat of ground, where formerly *Seleucia*, or new *Babylon* ſtood. For as old *Babylon* was exhauſted by *Seleucia*, ſo afterwards was *Seleucia* by *Cteſiphon* and *Almadayen*, and theſe two again by *Baghdad*; it being the humour of the princes of thoſe ages, to build new cities to be monuments of their names, and to deſolate old ones in the neighbourhood for the peopling of them. By this means *Seleucia* being reduced to deſolation, as well as *Babylon*, at the time when *Abu Jaafar Almanſur*, *Caliph* or emperor of the *Saracens*, begun his reign (which was in the year of our Lord ſeven hundred and fifty-four) it had nothing upon it but the cell of a chriſtian monk, called *Dad*, and a garden joining to it. From whence it had the name of *Baghdad*, that is, in the language of that country, *the Garden of Dad*. And upon this place was the city firſt built, which hath ever ſince been called by this name of *Baghdad*. For the ſame *Almanſur* being reſolved, out of diſlike to *Haſhemia*, where his predeceſſor before reſided, to build him a new city, to be the capital ſeat of his empire, choſe that place for it where this garden lay, and there in the year of our Lord 762, erected this city upon the very foundations on which formerly *Seleucia* had ſtood, on the weſt ſide of the *Tygris*. But not long after it was tranſlated over to the other ſide, and there it at preſent ſtands, above the place where *Cteſiphon* was formerly ſituated on the ſame ſide of the river, that is, on the eaſtern ſide; and that which was firſt built on the weſtern ſide, is now no more than a ſuburb to it. This city, from the reign of *Almanſur*, was for many years the capital of the *Saracen* empire, and ſtill remains a place of great note in the eaſt. But they are much miſtaken, who think it the ſame with old *Babylon*. For that was upon the *Euphrates*, but *Baghdad* is upon the *Tygris*, at the diſtance of forty miles from the place, where that old city ſtood." PRIDEAUX, *Book* viii.

although

although he ſat down before it twice with a very numerous army, and threw ſeveral hundred ſhells into the city, could not maſter it. The wall all round is full of loop-holes for muſketry, and has in its inſide, little chambers or lodgments for the ſoldiers. From the bottom of the ditch to the top of the wall is about forty feet; the *Deſert* comes quite up to the foot of the glacis. 1758.

The biſhop remembers, that about twenty-five years ago, the rivers *Euphrates* and *Tygris* were ſo overflown, that the whole country between them appeared as one large ſea; and over all the plain between this city and *Hilla*, people could paſs only in boats: the water flowed quite up to the glacis, the ditch was full, the city alſo overflown, and the foundation of moſt of the buildings hurt; three hundred houſes were entirely deſtroyed. To prevent as much as poſſible ſuch a thing from happening again, the *Turks* take care now to face the foundation wall of their houſes, with a compoſition of charcoal, aſhes, and *Demar* (a ſort of bitumen.)

The land towards the *Deſert* is almoſt entirely barren, except two or three ſpots with corn, whoſe harveſt is now gathering in. Without the city were many hundred *Camels*, ſome preparing for *Damaſcus*, others for *Moſul*. In our ride, I obſerved every *Moſque* or church to be crouded with pigeons on the outſide, which breed in the *Domes* and *Minarets*; and you generally ſee on the *Minarets* the *Stork*, a large bird called by the *Arabs Leg-leg*, a deſtroyer of ſerpents; the *Turks* never offer to moleſt it, on the contrary a neſt of them is eſteemed by a bigoted *Turk* more than a field full of ſheep and camels. Thoſe who own a houſe where *Storks* have neſted, are ſuppoſed to receive great bleſſings from heaven; and if a *Chriſtian* ſhould happen to kill one of them, his life would be in danger. Upon the wall and glacis, were ſeveral large birds, not unlike a *Mallard*; but by the peculiarity of their cry, they muſt be of a different ſpecies.

After our ride, we breakfaſted with the biſhop, on coffee, bread, and country cheeſe, (which laſt is very indifferent) apples and mulberries: the mulberries are of the ſmall *Indian* ſort, not much reſembling ours in *Europe*. We finiſhed, with ſmoaking the *Argile*, and drinking a glaſs of *French* white wine, and came home about nine o'clock, when we found the carpenters, briſkly at work on our *Takht Revans*.

Baſha Solyman, is the chief commander at *Baghdad* under the *Grand Seignior*: in effect, he is the ſupreme lord himſelf of this part of the empire. He makes no remittances to the *Porte*, but rather, he yearly brings his maſter in debt for repairs, or pretended repairs of fortifications, ſupport of troops, *&c.* The *Grand Seignior* has more than once attempted to ſuperſede him; but the *Janizaries*, of whom he has at leaſt forty thouſand under his command, would admit of no other maſter; ſince that time three or four different meſſengers have been ſecretly ſent for his head, but

1758. as he has always been wary and apprized of their errand, inſtead of ſubmitting and reverently kiſſing the mandate, as is the common practice of thoſe who live within reach of the *Grand Seignior*'s authority, he has always made it a rule to ſend the heads of thoſe very meſſengers to *Conſtantinople* inſtead of his own. He keeps the province in good order, for all have a high opinion of his military ſkill and proweſs; but whenever he ſhall die, it is expected, the greateſt confuſion will enſue: *Chriſtians* in particular will not be in ſafety for their perſons or property; and therefore, it is apprehended, will take care to remove in time. The *Janizaries* here are in general diſpoſed to be rude to ſtrangers, but ſo reſtrained by the preſent *Baſha*'s power, that the ſubjects of *European* princes not only live in peace, but are alſo treated with the greateſt reſpect.

We found reſiding at *Baghdad*, *Azet Khan*, one of the competitors for the *Perſian* empire, who after his defeat by *Achmet Shah*, fled here for protection, with only twenty followers. The *Khan* has lately expreſſed a deſire of returning to *Perſia*: This requeſt of his in all probability will not be granted, the *Baſha* pretending that it is not in his power to accede to it, until he ſhall have received an order from the *Grand Seignior* for that purpoſe. *Cojee Raphael*, who frequently attends the *Baſha*'s and *Kahier*'s levees, aſſures me, that *Kerim Khan* has lately fought and defeated *Haſſein Khan*. *Achmet Shah* ſtill continues in his own, the *Afghan* or *Pytan* country; but in the year 1757, he marched an army into the empire of the *Great Mogul*, and plundered the capital city *Debli* of its jewels, monies, and valuable effects, though he did not think proper to dethrone the *Mogul*, following herein the example of the famous *Kuli Khan*. This *Achmet* is reported to have 300,000 ſoldiers under his command.

When we came from *Baſſora*, we left the ſon of the *Grand Seignior*'s *Teſterdar*, or chief treaſurer, a priſoner there; here we found the father himſelf in priſon. He is charged with having been guilty of many frauds, and his goods and chattles were a few days ago ſeized upon, and expoſed to ſale at a public auction. It is generally imagined that he will not be long-lived.

Two months ago, *Selim*, *Baſha* of the *Courdiſtan* province, was put to death in this *Seraglio*; during the government of *Achmet* the late *Baſha* of *Baghdad*, this *Selim* was a *Caun*, and governor of the *Perſian* province of *Courdiſtan*, and gave great trouble not only to the *Perſians* who were under his own immediate command, but alſo to the ſubjects of the *Grand Seignior* who lived in his neighbourhood. *Achmet Baſha* had often ſent troops againſt him, and a little before he died, put himſelf at the head of an army; but the *Perſian*, though oftentimes in great danger of falling into his hands, yet made a ſhift to eſcape, which ſo much mortified the *Baſha*, that it is univerſally believed, he died of a broken heart. The civil wars of *Perſia* having for ſome years ſubjected the *Courdiſtan* province to the authority of

of the *Baſha* of *Baghdad*; *Selim*, though much againſt his inclination, had been obliged to make his ſubmiſſion. *Solyman*, the reigning *Baſha*, not ſatisfied with this, had long wiſhed for an opportunity of getting *Selim* into his power, to gratify not only his own revenge, but that of his wife (daughter to the deceaſed *Achmet*) who, with many other *Turks* and *Perſians* whom he had injured, thirſted for his blood: *Selim* it ſeems had conducted himſelf with ſo much cruelty, that he was among the *Turks* become almoſt the object of as much terror, as ever was the famous *Nadir Shah*. *Solyman*, to effect his deſign, practiſed the moſt refined diſſimulation; the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of friendſhip on his part were repeatedly made, with aſſurances that the requeſt *Selim* had preſented of being appointed *Baſha* over the province of *Courdiſtan*, ſhould be moſt readily complied with. Accordingly, an invitation was ſent him to come to *Baghdad*, in order to his being inveſted with the honours annexed to the high office; *Selim* heſitated a long time, being doubtful of the event, but at length all his ſcruples were overcome by the perſuaſion and art of two falſe friends, who had been often ſent by him in confidence to *Baghdad*, but through mercenary views had now been brought over to the intereſt of *Solyman*. 1758.

The *Baſha* of *Baghdad* took care to be abſent at his country-ſeat, ſome diſtance from the capital, when *Selim* made his entrance with his two friends; but left ſtrict orders, that he ſhould be uſhered in with all the honours due to his rank. He was accordingly conducted to an handſome apartment in the *Baſha*'s palace, and treated with the greateſt reſpect. Previous to this however, doubts had again oppreſſed his mind, and on his drawing nigh to the city he was ſeized with an agony of fear; but as it was too late to think of retreating, he reſolved to make uſe of the only means that remained for ſecuring his future ſafety. Before he entered the walls, he paid a viſit of devotion to the tomb of the late *Baſha*, and there, agreeable to the *Mahometan* cuſtom, invoked the ſhrine of the departed ſpirit. He ſent alſo a ſupplicating embaſſy to the *Baſha* and his wife, deſiring ſome new marks of their favour and forgiveneſs: the embaſſador returned with an handkerchief from each, which is looked upon as the ſtrongeſt proof of friendſhip they could poſſibly have ſent. Thus comforted, all *Selim*'s fears vaniſhed, and with alacrity he repaired to the palace.

In about five days afterwards, *Baſha Solyman* returned to his capital; and the morning following was fixed upon for giving *Selim* an audience, and for inveſting him with the *Peliſe*, or veſt of ſilk lined with *Sameor*-fur, which in *Turky* and *Perſia* is preſented only to thoſe whom they deſign highly to honour. On the day and hour appointed, the unſuſpecting *Selim* was conducted by the proper officer into a grand apartment; then into another, leſs ſpacious; and laſt of all into a third, mean and obſcure to a great degree. He had not continued long here, before four or five fellows ruſhed in and rudely deprived him of his *Cuttari* or knives, and then of his *Shaul*, being the better part of his dreſs; ſoon after, they preſented him with ſhackles for

1758. his hands and feet; when they had put them on, they conducted him to a prison, where he lay eight or nine days, and then was ſtrangled; his head alſo was cut off, and ſent to *Conſtantinople*. Soon after the death of *Selim*, a ſchedule of the debts due from him to government was produced to his two falſe friends, and the diſcharge of them inſiſted upon as an indiſpenſable preliminary to the *Baſha*'s appointing one of them (*Abdallah*) to the government of *Courdiſtan*, and the other to another advantageous and honourable poſt. They both agreed to the terms ſtipulated for their advancement; and on this occaſion, the crafty *Solyman*, got in money or good ſecurity, twenty thouſand purſes, each containing five hundred *Piaſtres*, or one million two hundred and ſome odd thouſand pounds ſterling.

The forces kept up at *Baghdad* conſiſt of about 5000 horſe, 1000 *Aſſafs*, and 40,000 *Janizaries*, many of whom are tradeſmen. *Cojee Raphael* tells me, that out of all theſe, the *Baſha* cannot of a ſudden ſend into the field above 10,000 men, though in a little time perhaps he might make them up 30,000. In matters indeed where the *Grand Seignior*'s intereſt is materially concerned, reinforcements might be had in a few weeks from *Moſul* and *Diarbekir*; and the government alſo of *Baſſora* could ſend troops, ſhould the *Baſha* of *Baghdad* give his orders for them. *Solyman* is turned of ſixty; he was a ſlave to the preceding governor, hath only one wife, but, ſhocking to relate! we were informed that he kept upwards of 20 boys for his unnatural gratifications.

There are about 150 *Armenian Chriſtian* families in *Baghdad*, ſome of whom are *Papiſts*, but the greater number are under their own *Patriarch*, who reſides on the confines of *Turky* and *Perſia*. Here are three miniſters ordained by the *Patriarch*; their income is uncertain, as depending upon the voluntary ſubſcriptions of their people. *Cojee Raphael* ſays, that each of them may poſſibly get 2000 *Piaſtres* a year, or thereabouts.

A very intelligent gentleman gave us the following particulars concerning the *Turks*: That they are not allowed an unlimited number of wives, but are confined to four at the moſt; nor do they marry for a certain time, or at pleaſure (as Sir *John Chardin* relates) but for life. If their women exceed four, all above that number ſhould be of the huſband's ſlaves, for he has no property in his wive's ſlaves, and a criminal communication with them is deemed highly ſcandalous. She receives them from her own family on her marriage, and ever remains miſtreſs of them, independant of the authority of the huſband. Neither are the *Turks* cruel to their ſlaves, as has been commonly, but erroneouſly imagined; for excepting thoſe who work in their galleys, theſe people are the happieſt of any in the *Grand Seignior*'s dominions. A maſter, who has been faithfully ſerved by a ſlave for a twelvemonth or more, will not ſell him; on the contrary, ſhould that ſlave chance to behave ill afterwards, the maſter, though he has power over his life, yet ſeldom extends his ſeverity farther even for the greateſt fault, than to ſtrip

him of his clothes, diſmiſs him from his ſervice, and turn him out of the houſe. If a ſlave has at any time been put to death, it muſt have been by a drunken, diſſolute *Janizary*, and not by any maſter who bore the character of a gentleman or merchant. In general, the *Turks* ſo abominate cruelty in this reſpect, that ſhould a maſter treat a ſlave with too great ſeverity, his neighbours would not fail to reproach him, bidding him to reflect, that the ſlave is of the human ſpecies as well as himſelf, and ſhrewdly propoſe to him this intereſting queſtion, *How would you like to be ſo ſerved, in the ſame circumſtances?* 1758.

'Tis no uncommon thing with them to give their daughters in marriage to their ſlaves, and who are often made governors of places. There is one piece of reſpect however, which the maſter always requires when ſtrangers are in company, and that is, for the ſlave to ſtand in his preſence. This ceremony (which they take care deeply to imprint upon the minds of all) is ſtrictly obſerved during their whole lives; for though a ſlave, after having obtained his freedom, may by a lucky turn of fortune, riſe to ſome honourable ſtation, while the maſter continues in the ſame rank of life, or perhaps ſinks into a lower condition; yet the former, in this point of civility at leaſt, will never be unmindful of his primitive ſtation. It happened lately for the ſlave of a button-maker in *Baſſora*, to be raiſed to the government of that city; they never afterwards met, though in the *Seraglio*, but the governor paid this point of reſpect to his old maſter, who ſtill continued to carry on his trade.

A *Turk* will frequently diſinherit an undutiful ſon, and give his fortune to his ſlave, only leaving the ſon a ſcanty pittance for his ſupport. They always look upon a ſlave in a more reſpectable light than an hired ſervant; the one, they ſay, is a ſervant only by misfortune, the other often from choice. If a *Baſha* of three tails, or any other man of rank, ſends a ſlave to ſome diſtant place on buſineſs of importance, it is expected that he ſhall have greater civilities ſhewn him, than if he had never been in bondage; for you are to ſuppoſe that the ſlave ſent on ſuch an errand is in the ſecrets of his maſter, and conſequently one in whom he places the greateſt confidence. Upon the whole, it is ſound policy that directs the *Turk* to put ſuch truſt in his ſlave, rather than in any other perſon; ſince it is natural to believe, that he whoſe happineſs or miſery entirely depends on his maſter's pleaſure, will be leaſt liable to deceive him.

Our friend obſerved alſo, that the *Baſhas*, and other *Turkiſh* governors, are in general very diſſolute in their manners; they commonly purchaſe their offices with a ſum of money, but they never fail to reimburſe themſelves out of the pockets of thoſe who are ſo unhappy as to live under their juriſdiction. No Gentleman, or Merchant *Turk*, will ever attend the court of a *Baſha*, if he can poſſibly avoid it. Whenever any of them are ſent for, they always go with fear and trembling, leſt they ſhould be obliged to pay

1758. pay down a ſum of money, or forced into a ſcandalous aſſociation with the great, to the prejudice of ſome honeſt man. The *Janizaries* are generally enemies of the *Baſhas*, and they are the only people of whom theſe officers, and the *Grand Seignior* himſelf, are afraid. They enjoy many privileges above other ſubjects; occaſionally wear a cloak, and in the *Bazars* or markets, they have a right to purchaſe, duty free, as much of moſt commodities as their cloaks will cover. The *Salaam*, or ſalute which they make to their ſuperiors, is far leſs ſubmiſſive than that of any other perſon. They are never puniſhed for any crime in public, but are conducted into a private apartment, the doors of which are immediately ſhut; in the room are many other *Janizaries*, who forming a circle round the priſoner, hear and judge of the charge that is exhibited againſt him: if he is found guilty, and ſentenced by them to be corporally puniſhed, the puniſhment muſt be inflicted by one of their own order, who in doing it, is obliged to reſt his right knee on the ground, and not to carry the hand which holds the ſcourge higher than his own ear. And even the execution of this ſentence, may be prevented by any one of the attending *Janizaries* ſhewing his diſapprobation by a hem or cough, or by riſing from his ſeat; for if he does ſo, the others will immediately follow the example, and the priſoner is of courſe diſcharged. If a *Janizary* be condemned to die, he is ſtrangled by other *Janizaries*; the corpſe is interred at eight in the evening, and honoured with the diſcharge of one cannon, in the ſame manner as if he had died a natural death.

Our friend concluded his account, with obſerving, that it was morally impoſſible for a *Turk*, *Perſian*, *Arab*, or any other perſon profeſſing the *Mahometan* faith, ever to be converted to *Chriſtianity*, ſo long as any mention ſhall be made of the doctrine of the Trinity. For as their preſent grand article of faith is the unity of the Godhead, whenever they hear of one being three, and three, one, they are ſure to ſmile at the weakneſs of ſuch a belief. They acknowledge the divine miſſion of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and ſay that he was the greateſt of all the prophets before *Mahomet*, that he taught the truth relating to the Godhead, and the duties neceſſary for mankind; but that his followers abuſed the purity of his religion, committed blaſphemy by calling him God, and that *Jeſus Chriſt* will hereafter appear in judgment againſt them. They alſo deny that this prophet of God was ever crucified; for they ſay, God would never have permitted ſuch an indignity to be offered to ſo faithful a prophet; and aſſert that the identical *Jeſus Chriſt* was ſnatched away by God himſelf, and the *Jews* ignorantly put another to death in his ſtead *.

A gentleman *Turk*'s dreſs is very neat. On his head he hath a white or green *Turban*, made of linen or *ſhawl* †; or he wears a green, red, or black

* This was a very early opinion of ſome Chriſtian heretics, and no doubt *Mahomet* borrowed it from them.

† *Shawl* is a manufacture of *Camel*'s hair, or *Carminian* wool.

cloth

cloth cap, or bonnet, which is a foot or more high, very ſtiff, being thickly quilted, and flat at top: over that part of the cap which goes round the head, is twiſted a white or green linnen cloth, but his neck is always bare. Next to his body he wears a long ſhirt, ſhaped like our women's ſhifts; the tail of this ſhirt is put into a pair of linnen drawers, and over theſe drawers, is another large looſe pair of drawers made of ſhawl, and to each ancle part, is ſewed a yellow thin ſlipper, without an heel, the ſole of which is no thicker than the upper leather of the ſame ſlipper; theſe ſlippers are worn within another ſtronger pair of ſlippers, which alſo are without heels; the outer ſlippers, on coming into an houſe, the *Turk* leaves at the door. Next to the ſhirt, is a veſt that fits cloſe to the body and buttons on the breaſt, whoſe tail reaches to the calf of the leg: upon this firſt veſt, is another with lapels made of fine linen cloth, which buttons cloſe at the ſleeves near the wriſts; this veſt reaches to the ancles with an open petticoat-like tail, and over it, around the waiſt, is paſſed a fine ſaſh, with a border that is generally ornamented with gold or ſilver needle work. In the boſom, under the lapel of this ſecond veſt, is carried the watch and an handkerchief, which handkerchief is alſo ornamented with gold and ſilver embroidery: over all is worn a third veſt, looſe, made either of fine cloth, or of ſhawl; this has ſlit ſleeves which are lined with ſilk, and at pleaſure are either buttoned, or worn open; but this outer garment is uſually thrown off when the perſon is at home. This deſcription is applicable to their ſummer habit, the quality, though perhaps not the make of their dreſs, may differ in the winter. Beſides the cap deſcribed, we ſee a variety of other caps, ſome of which are a foot and a half high, of very great circumference, whoſe outſides are covered with fur. The cap-gentlemen, I believe, are always in office under the government. 1758.

The dreſs of the women, with whoſe ſight we have been favoured, but who indeed are only thoſe that are on foot in the ſtreets, and conſequently of the loweſt ſort, conſiſts of a ſhift, like the men's ſhirts; a veſt or two over that, and then a looſe cover or veil of linen from top to toe; their legs and feet are covered like the men's. On that part which goes over the head, is faſtened a black horſe-hair covering for the face, about fourteen or fifteen inches ſquare, which they ſometimes lifted up to look at us: their hands and arms are full of different marks made with gunpowder, their faces are ſpotted blue, and their lips often the ſame. The better ſort of women are admitted on the *Terraces* in the evenings, but their huſbands are extremely fearful leſt they ſhould be ſeen by men, from the houſes adjoining. We have difficulty to keep ourſelves within rule, not more from curioſity, than inattention. Mr. *Garden* and *Cojee Raphael* cautioned us on the ſubject; the former told us, that one of his neighbours had been very troubleſome on this head, and once ſwore to him aloud, that if he ſhould ever again catch his eye towards his territories, he was determined to throw himſelf inſtantly from the *Terrace*, and daſh out his brains, that his blood might reſt on Mr. *Garden*'s head. One of our caps or hats, was ſeen by

1758. another neighbour, who immediately, open mouthed, proteſted againſt the affront: in fact, we are in this great city, priſoners in a very ſtrict ſenſe; a circumſtance, ſomewhat mortifying to the free *Britiſh* ſpirit.

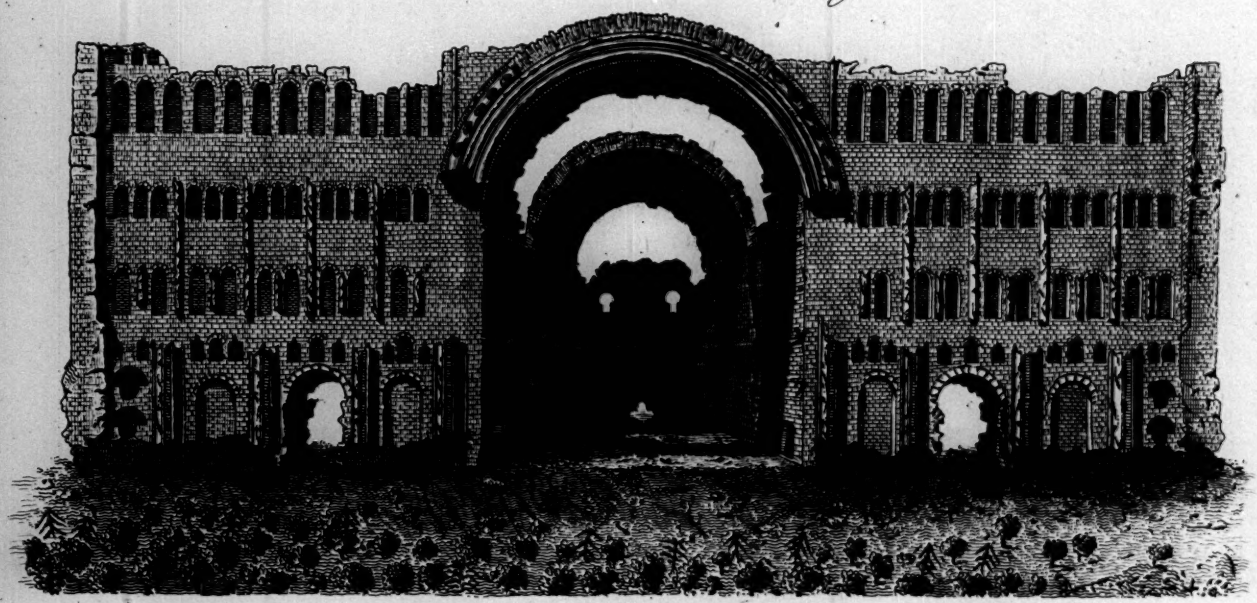
A little before we got here, a country *Chriſtian* merchant of ſubſtance, was diſcovered by the public officers in bed with his own *Turkiſh* ſervant's wife; 'twas believed that he had given the huſband a ſum of money for this liberty, and which he had enjoyed, for ſome time paſt. Death is the puniſhment which the law inflicts on offenders of this kind, or embracing the *Mahometan* faith; by intereſt and money however the ſentence was not executed in this caſe, but the following puniſhment in it's ſtead: the breeches or trouſers of the offender were taken off, and the petticoat, or that part of the apparel which is uſed by the *Turkiſh* women inſtead of it, put over his head, and thus ſhamefully attired, he was led over a great part of the city, publicly expoſed, and inſulted by the rabble.

Chriſtians, *Jews*, and all the other *Infidels* of this country, are publicly diſtinguiſhed from the *Muſſulmen*, by the colour of their *Turban*; the latter wearing them only of a white, or deep green, the others of different colours. None but true *Muſſulmen* likewiſe are allowed to wear a green dreſs; notwithſtanding this, Mr. *Garden*'s cloaths were made of a pea-green. This near approach to the *Muſſulman*'s colour, is permitted to ſtrangers in a reſpectable ſtation, but they cannot go farther without giving offence, or running a great riſk of being affronted.

May 27, At five this evening, our whole party (Mr. *Garden* alſo accompanying us) ſet off on horſes, and mules, for an ancient ruin called *Tauk-Keſſerah*, which means *Keſſerah*'s *Arch*; it lies to the ſouth-eaſt of *Baghdad*, diſtant about 20 miles, and within a mile of the *Tygris*. The journey by land is about ſix hours; we rode it in ſix, and returned in five, excluſive of the time ſpent in the village. Having been diſappointed in getting horſes and mules for carrying our baggage, we were obliged to ſend it in a *Sandal* down the *Tygris*, intending that our ſervants ſhould join us with the tent, *&c.* at the village *Yeallah* ten miles from *Baghdad*: we deſigned to have reſted there a few hours, and then have proceeded on to view the *Arch* early the next morning before the ſun ſhould be troubleſome; but our ſervants in the boat met with interruptions which prevented their joining us till the next morning, long after we had reached the ruins. We got to the village about a quarter paſt nine, having paſſed by a good deal of corn and garden ground, well ſupplied with water from the *Tygris*. Here we procured a little milk, others choſe a bit of bread and cheeſe, and drank a glaſs of the wine we carried with us; after which, each endeavoured to get a little ſleep, either in the open air, or under cover of a *Turkiſh* hovel; but all were diſappointed, from the perplexing muſchetos, lice, and fleas, which greatly abound in and near ſuch ſort of habitations.

At

The East-Face of Tauk Kefserah.



Scale of Feet.

5 10 15 20 25 50 75 100

J. Pope sculp.

At one o'clock we croſſed a large creek, in a boat which held twelve men, three horſes, four mules, and one aſs, and went on towards the *Arch*, which was ſeen by the help of the moon two or three miles off: the greateſt part of the way was through a thicket made up of the liquorice, caper, the low cotton and cypreſs ſhrubs; in this cover (called here a foreſt) are often ſeen *Lions* and *Wild Boars*, we met with neither, but got very quietly on to *Soliman Pack*'s tomb, or the tomb of *Soliman* the *Clean*, alias, *Smack Smooth*, who was barber to *Mahomet*. The traditional hiſtory of this perſon is, that he was much reverenced by his countrymen, and looked on as highly favoured of the *Prophet:* he lived to a great age, and was in the general eſtimation, a pious old man, but as he always was obliged to keep with him a female ſervant for the management of his domeſtic affairs, his moral conduct thereby became doubtful, and the ſubject of much diſputation: his revilers however (as the ſtory goes) at length ſuffered ſhame, for the *Prophet* himſelf, concerned at the injuſtice done the character of his faithful *Soliman*, miraculouſly cauſed the genital parts to fall off; thereby enabling the old man, in the moſt effectual manner to eſtabliſh his innocence, by ſhewing them the impoſſibility of his committing the crime of which he ſtood accuſed. 1758. May 28.

In this holy man's ſleeve, ſome of the moſt credulous *Mahometans* tell you, the cat made it's firſt appearance: having been ſupernaturally produced there, through his devout interceſſion, for the advantage of mankind. On the firſt diſcovery, the *Sage* ſo cheriſhed it, that in tenderneſs he cut off the ſleeve of his garment, and placed it as a carpet for the valuable ſtranger. So much for this fabulous ſtory: the outer wall of his tomb appears to be of modern brickwork, nor does the tomb itſelf look ſo ancient as the porch or entrance to it.

At a quarter of a mile diſtance, ſtand the ruins of that very conſiderable work of antiquity, we intended to viſit. Neither the *Turks* nor *Arabs* know any thing about it; they are at a loſs to determine, whether it was a temple or palace. The biſhop told us it was commonly ſuppoſed to have been a temple, dedicated to the ſun; probably people have been led to this conjecture, from obſerving very many openings yet remaining in the *Arch*, that paſs for lamps, and which they ſay, could have been all lighted in the twinkling of an eye; our opinion was, that theſe holes were ſo many funnels for the admiſſion of air. Mr. *Doidge* took with his *Quadrant*, the exact meaſurement of the *Arch*, and the front of the building, and drew a perſpective view of it with his pencil: the eaſt face of the whole is 300 feet in length, the breadth of the *Arch* 85 feet, height of the *Arch* 106 feet *, length of the *arched* roofed room from eaſt to weſt

* Our common journal contains theſe farther obſervations. "Part of the roof of this room is fallen in; the front on each ſide of the arch is full of niches like our cathedrals, in which there probably once ſtood ſome images: the whole fabric is built of bricks a foot ſquare, and three inches thick."

1758. is 150 feet: the niches, in the face or front of the building, reſemble the work of our old abbies. The front, of which Mr. *Doidge* has taken a view, ſtands due eaſt, in which are ſtill niches, and defaced pillars; the weſt and back front is very much deſtroyed, no view therefore was taken of that. In the *Arch* were pigeons, jays, ſparrows, and ſome other birds. Until the ſun got high, we had ſhelter from its rays, within the *Arch*; but after that we had recourſe to our tent, where we found it very hot indeed.

To the ſouthward, between this ruin and the *Tygris*, is a tomb and *Moſque*, named *Haud Eeffey:* and on the other ſide of the river, is a riſing ſpot on which ſtands a powder-mill, for the uſe of *Baghdad*, called *Purite Kaune*. For a very conſiderable way all around the *Arch*, the ruins of other vaſt buildings are to be found, though in ſuch deſolation, that not the ſmalleſt piece of a wall is now ſtanding. The bricks and mortar however are in ſuch abundance, that no doubt can poſſibly remain but that here once ſtood a city of ſeveral miles in circumference; and from the accounts given by hiſtorians of the extent and ſituation of *Cteſiphon* *, there is the greateſt reaſon to believe, that on this very ſpot, that magnificent and powerful city once ſtood.

One of our *Turkiſh* ſervants who ſpoke a little of the *Portugueſe* language, told my man *Mc Intoſh*, that the moſt general received opinion in this country, was, that *Tauk Keſſera*, was not built by a *Perſian*, *Parthian*, *Turk*, or any other *Aſiatic*, but by an *European* prince, who came into this part of the world with a large army, and ſubdued it. As we had not yet met with any edifice in *Aſia*, carrying with it ſo great a reſemblance of the ancient *European* architecture as this; it ſtruck me, that *Tauk Keſſera* might have been conſtructed, ſoon after the conqueſt of this part of the world, by *Alexander* the *Great*, or one of his captains †.

The *Turks* confeſs that they know nothing certain concerning this ruin; there is however a traditionary and fabulous account amongſt them, that it was built by one *Keſſera*, the ſon of *Shirwan*; that he was the king of the country and reſided in this palace; that he cauſed a chain to hang down

* *Cteſiphon*, according to the ancient accounts of it, was ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the *Tygris*, at ſome diſtance from *Seleucia*, and a little removed from the river. Theſe ruins are on the eaſt ſide of the *Tygris*, about 18 or 20 miles from *Baghdad* (the ancient *Seleucia*), and that part of them which is neareſt the river, is a mile diſtance from it.

† From the ſimilarity between the name of this ruin *Keſſera*, and the *Greek* word Καισαρα, a friend of the author ſuppoſes that this edifice might poſſibly have been built by one of the *Cæſars*, emperors of *Rome*, ſeveral of whom are known to have carried their arms into this part of *Aſia*; and then the *Tauk Keſſera* will ſignify *Cæſar's Arch*.

to

to the ground from the room in which he himſelf ſlept, ſo that whoever in his dominions had any grievance to complain of which they wiſhed the king to redreſs, they were ordered to pull at this chain. It once happened, that an aſs which had ſuffered much from the cruelty of his maſter, came and tugged at the end of it; and what was ſtill more ſurprizing, the power of ſpeech was ſo far miraculouſly given to him, as enabled him to make one of the king's attendants underſtand, that he the aſs had buſineſs with his majeſty. The creature accordingly got admittance, diſcovered its wounds, *&c.* The owner was ſent for, ſeverely rebuked, and told, that if in a certain number of days, he did not cure the aſs, he ſhould certainly be put to death. Fortunately for him, ſays the fable, the creature was made well exactly at the time limited, and ever afterwards the aſs, and all other uſeful cattle, were exempted from thoſe heavy ſufferings, to which before this incident, they had been accuſtomed from the ſeverity of their maſters, who intimidated by this ſurprizing ſtory became alſo more careful of the lives of their beaſts. The ſtory adds, that a great ſnake came afterwards to make a viſit, but his buſineſs was only to bring the king a water-melon-ſeed, as a reward for the faithful diſcharge of his kingly truſt: and from this ſingle ſeed have ſince been produced all the water-melons in the world. Such kind of allegorical ſtories are not uncommon in *Turky*. 1758.

About a mile and a half to the eaſtward of the *Arch*, ſtands an ancient mud-wall, three ſides of a ſquare, fronting eaſt, weſt, and north; the river is to the ſouth: the wall is about forty feet high, and thirty thick, and each ſide about a mile in length; we conclude it to have been a citadel to this once extenſive city. From the ruins hereabouts, are picked up ancient coins: not long ago, a poor fellow in digging, found a ſmall jar with one piece of gold, and ſeveral ſorts of ſilver and copper pieces of money. I could only learn that they are looked on as ancient *Perſian* or *Parthian* coins: the preſent *Baſha* has them, though neither he nor any of the *Turks* have a true taſte for ſuch remains. The biſhop's paſſion turns to medals; he has made a great collection, it is ſaid to the value of 50 or 60,000 piaſtres, or about 6 or 7000 *l.* ſterling.

From ſome poor *Arabs*, who live in a ſmall village near the *Arch*, we got milk, butter, and a lamb which our ſervant broiled; he ſhot alſo a young *Jackal*, which we preſented to an old *Arab* woman who was very thankful, and we were told would eat it.

At half paſt twelve at night, we ſent our baggage to the *Sandal*, to be carried to *Baghdad*, and mounted our cattle; we returned over the river to *Yeallah* about three in the morning, when we were entertained by the lark; reſted before the ferry-houſe for half an hour, ſaw eight *Pelicans* in our journey back, and arrived at Mr. *Garden*'s in the city, between ſix and ſeven, where Monday, May 29.

1758. where we got a comfortable breakfaſt on tea and clouted cream, ſung a ſong, and went merrily, but very weary to bed.—Slept till near noon.—In the evening we were viſited by the biſhop, and father *Fidelle*; his lordſhip had expreſſed a deſire that we would favour him with the out-lines, ſhould we make a ſketch of the *Arch*; Mr. *Doidge* ſhewed him what he had taken in his pocket-book, apologized for not being able now to compliment his lordſhip with a copy, but promiſed him one to be ſent from *England* when finiſhed: the biſhop appeared pleaſed and obliged, and invited us all to dine with him to-morrow.

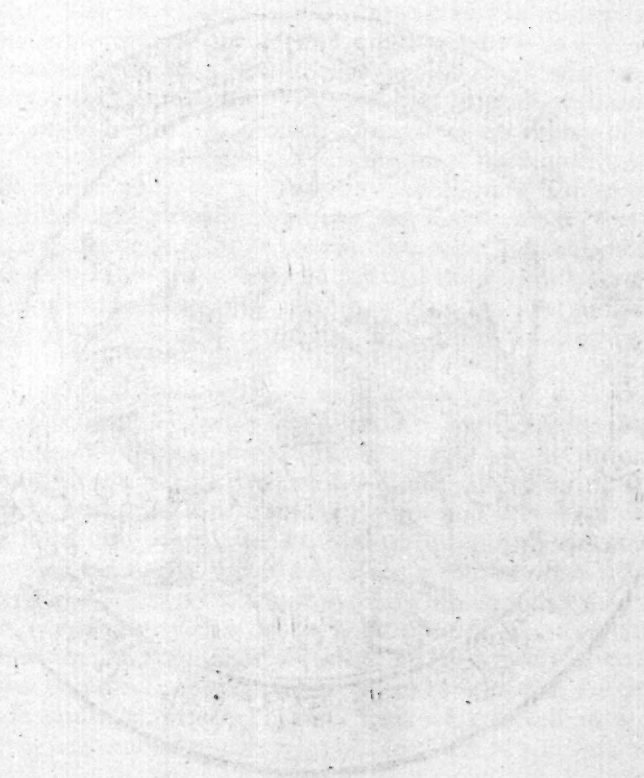
May 30. We were politely entertained to-day by the biſhop; two courſes of eight diſhes at dinner, a deſſert, punch, claret, *French*, and *Turkiſh* white wines. His lordſhip entertained us alſo with an account of an antique pile of buildings called *Kurman Shah**, ſtill to be ſeen at about twelve days journey between this place and *Iſpahan*; wherein is a great deal of ſculpture in marble, with *Baſſo* and *Alto Relievos*, repreſenting battles, trophies, arms, men, and camels; and one moſt remarkable horſe whoſe body ſeems quite detached from the wall, being joined only by the pedeſtal on which it ſtands. In the roof is a window repreſented, and a head crowned, with great earneſtneſs looking through it, but at what object, the obſerver is for a time at a loſs to gueſs, till caſting his eye in a particular direction, which he is led to do by the extatic gaze of the figure above, he diſcovers a bath, and in it a naked *Venus* †.

In another part of the building, there is a long inſcription in characters unknown to the biſhop, or any other of the *French* antiquarians. The letters are neither *Perſian*, *Parthian*, *Chaldean*, *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, *Greek*, *Coptic*, or any other type now known in this part of the world. His lordſhip had in his poſſeſſion two or three pieces of ſilver coin, one of which he preſented to Mr. *Doidge*, on which is a head exactly like that before deſcribed as looking with ſuch deſire on the *Venus* in the bath. The characters around its edge, his lordſhip ſays, are of the ſame ſort with thoſe of the inſcription in *Kurman Shah*, but whoſe head it is, he does not pretend to determine. He has compared it with the ſeveral impreſſions in his books of medals, but can find no ſimilitude. He ſhewed us indeed another coin, and upon comparing it with one in his book, we ſaw that it bore a ſtrong reſemblance of the

* *Kurman Shah*, ſignifies *Royal Kurman*; but whether it ſtands for the name of a country, city, building, or king, nobody here could inform us.

† Tis poſſible this piece of ſculpture might have been intended to repreſent the well-known ſtory of *David* and *Bathſheba*.

" And it came to paſs in the evening tide, that *David* aroſe from off his bed, and walked " upon the roof of the king's houſe; and from the roof he ſaw a woman waſhing herſelf; and " the woman was very beautiful to look upon." 2 *Samuel*, xi. *chap.* 2*d verſe*.







famous *Artaxerxes*, who reſtored the ancient grandeur of the *Perſian* kings. 1758.
The biſhop however is very confident that this coin, and the head in *Kurman Shah*, were both deſigned for the third or fourth king after *Artaxerxes*, for he thinks it was not till their reigns, that this new and unknown language was introduced.

Mr. *Doidge* borrowed of the biſhop a cover of an earthen veſſel, to take off an impreſſion. It was found near the ruins of *Tauk Keſſera*, and in it were many coins both gold and ſilver of ſeveral kings of *Parthia* and *Syria*, who reigned after *Alexander*. One of *Antiochus* the 4th, and another of *Antiochus* the 5th, of the moſt curious metal; the laſt is judged to be worth 500 crowns. The cover is four inches and a half in diameter, and thirteen and a half in circumference: It has an indented knob in the middle of the ſurface, through which is a hole, probably for a ring to hold it by. On each ſide of the knob is a *Sphinx* rampant, one with its back to the other. Between the hind and fore leg of each, is a ſprig with a flower. Their wings join at the top, and terminate in a flouriſhing ſprig over their heads. At the bottom, between their legs, is another ſprig, not much unlike a mitred cap. Around all, is an inſcription on the margin in large characters, unknown to every one here, but which the biſhop ſuſpects to be of the ſame kind with thoſe on Mr. *Doidge*'s medal, and the inſcription in the ruins of *Kurman Shah*.

This morning, our conducting *Arab* came to us, and brought the *Jew* May 31.
with him, who told us that all his goods were in the *Deſert*, and ready to be put on the camels backs; ſo that *Habil Swylem*'s ill health is now the only impediment to our ſetting out. We talked of paying a viſit this evening to *Nimrod*'s tower. People uſually ſet out early in the morning, ſtay there in a tent during the heat of the day, and return in the evening. But to avoid the inconvenience of continuing ſo long under a tent, as we before experienced in our excurſion to *Tauk Keſſera*, and to ſave ourſelves the trouble of carrying with us our ſervants and baggage, we propoſed ſetting off early enough to allow our being at the tower by break of day, and returning to *Baghdad* before breakfaſt. About nine o'clock this evening, the whole city was in an uproar, occaſioned by a fire breaking out in one of the *Bazars*. It was luckily extinguiſhed, after having conſumed three ſhops only.

We were aſſured this morning that there is great danger in going to June 1.
the tower of *Nimrod* by night, as the *Arabs* frequently make uſe of this favourable opportunity to attack travellers.

Laſt night arrived at the *Seraglio* a meſſenger from *Aleppo*; who brings June 2.
an account of the *Baſha* of that city being removed to the *Baſhalic* of *Moſul*, and of another's coming to *Aleppo* in his place.

Habil

1758. June 3. *Habil Swylem* called upon us this morning, and ſeemed to be in better health; he declares he will leave *Baghdad* next *Friday*, and proceed directly for *Aleppo*.

June 4. The biſhop and four reverend fathers ſupped with us this evening, and ſtaid till paſt eleven. His lordſhip deſired us not to forget, when we ſhall arrive at a certain place, (four days journey on this ſide of *Aleppo*) to ſtrike a little out of the road, in order to ſee the remains of an antient *Roman* canal. And in our journey from *Aleppo* to *Scanderoon*, he adviſed us to take that road which leads to *Antioch*, there being ſome old ruins well worth ſeeing in this laſt place.

Monday June 5. The biſhop and *Cojee Raphael* told me to-day, that they heard the *Arabs* about *Baſſora* had lately broken down the banks of the river, by which the *Deſert* near to the city is quite overflown. His lordſhip expreſſed great uneaſineſs about it, as the ſtanding water made putrid by the heat of the ſun, and by the great quantity of dead fiſh which are always floating in it, never fails to produce fatal fevers; by which, about fifteen years ago, 12 or 14,000 people died, and not above two or three of the *Europeans* who were then at *Baſſora*, eſcaped with their lives.

June 6. Our *Takht Revans* are now quite finiſhed; we begun to ſeaſon forty-ſix large, and twenty ſmall dog-ſkins, we bought here for the holding of our water. The furniſhing ourſelves with neceſſaries for our journey has been attended with great difficulties, the laws of the *Ramazan* forbidding the people to work. The *Bazar*-folks and artificers have been all hungry, thirſty, and out of temper; through the intereſt of Mr. *Garden*, and the promiſe of extraordinary pay, we are at laſt fitted for ſetting out. At nine this evening the *Ramazan* ended, the *Turks* having diſcovered the new moon. I obſerved they were attentively looking out for her at ſun-ſet. The government at nine o'clock made her appearance known to the people, by firing four guns from a baſtion.

June 7. This morning was uſhered in with a diſcharge of all the artillery of every baſtion, to the number of near ſixty: this is the uſual demonſtration of joy at the expiration of the *Ramazan*. The diſcharge was repeated in an hour afterwards, not, as at firſt, in regular ſucceſſive firings from each baſtion, but in a hurrying confuſed manner. The *Turks* are all dreſſed in their holy-day ſuits, and Meſſieurs *Garden* and *Raphael* went to make their congratulatory compliments to the grandees.

Yeſterday we delivered to *Habil Swylem*, for the uſe of himſelf, the *Takht Revan* men, and our other attendants, the following articles of proviſions; it being cuſtomary, either to furniſh them with their whole ſtock at once, or

or to ſupply them daily from your own tents on the journey: and as in coming up the *Euphrates* we had already experienced too much vexation on this head with our *Trackers*, we were determined on not riſking a repetition. 1758.

Rice	—	—	—	8 *Baghdad Maunds*,	or 120 lb
Ruſk or biſcuit	—	—	4	—	60 lb
Flour	—	—	4	—	60 lb
Ghee or butter	—	—	1	—	15 lb
Coffee	—	—	1	—	15 lb

At eleven o'clock in the morning, we received the mortifying news of our *Arab* conductor being again taken ill of a fever. At five in the evening, he with great difficulty crawled to our houſe, and we were all witneſſes of his being ill indeed. We deſired Mr. *Hemet*, who had ſome knowledge of medicine, to take care of him. Our friend Mr. *Pye* is likewiſe indiſpoſed with feveriſh ſymptoms; I took away a little blood from him about ſix o'clock in the evening: at eight I ordered an *Ipecacuna* vomit to be given him; but his fever continuing to increaſe, at ten he took the fourth part of a paper of Dr. *James*'s powder.

The biſhop came to ſee us this morning. Mr. *Pye*'s medicine operated properly: he ſleeps, and is tranquil. The good and friendly biſhop viſited Mr. *Pye* in the character of a phyſician. With the reſt of us he reaſoned as a divine, recommending patience, fortitude, and reſignation to the will of heaven; bidding us to be of good cheer, even though we ſhould be detained here till the month of *September*. June 8.

A purple fever now rages in the city; it is ſuppoſed, that an eighth part of the inhabitants are ill in it; but as yet it has not been very fatal. The very hot months, they ſay, are commonly moſt healthy. His lordſhip recommended it to us, not to think of ſetting out from hence over the great *Deſert*, with any other conductor beſides *Habil Swylem*, and prays us to be mindful of this maxim, that "in *Turky* an imprudent ſtep cannot be remedied as in *Europe*."

Mr. *Pye*'s fever is entirely gone, but has left him quite relaxed. *Cojee Raphael* is of opinion, that the *Arab* will not leave the village *Aet* for a long time, as the *Damaſcus Caravan* is ſtill there, not being able to purchaſe the neceſſary *Camels*. This, he apprehends will be our caſe. We are greatly alarmed at it, and have ſent a ſervant to inſpect into the real ſtate of the camels. June 9.

This morning the wind blew from the northward, and was agreeably cool. The holy-days following the *Ramazan*, end with this day. Tomorrow the ſeveral artificers will make no ſcruple of going to work.

We

1758. We were informed this evening by our *Arab*, that the *Camels* are not yet come, but he expects them ſoon, and will certainly ſet out this day ſen'night. Such ſhuffling and deceit have quite wearied us out; aad as it was clear, that we could not now leave *Baghdad* before the hotteſt weather would ſet in, we conſulted together, and reſolved, "that the riſk attending our travelling "over the *Deſert*, is too great, and cannot be encountered with prudence." Two *Chriſtians* who attempted to paſs it laſt ſummer exactly at this time of the year, died on the journey: ſo did fourteen or fifteen of the country-people, belonging to the Great *Caravan*. We concluded therefore to tarry here, though to our unſpeakable mortification, till *September* next.

June 10. The conductor of our *Takht Revans* uſed his utmoſt endeavours laſt night to perſuade us to proceed by the *Moſul* and *Diarbekir* roads. He ſaid, that he lately travelled that way from *Conſtantinople* to this place; and aſſured us, that the ſickneſs and troubles which prevailed in thoſe parts of the country are over; that in the way from hence to *Moſul*, not the leaſt danger can poſſibly happen; that every day we ſhall be in a village, where refreſhments may be had; that between *Diarbekir* and *Aleppo*, the *Deſert* we have to paſs, will only take us up ſeven days; that the *Samiel* winds may be avoided by travelling in the night only; and that a guard of ſoldiers, which might be procured from the *Baſha*, would ſecure us from all inſult. *Cojee Raphael* this morning joined in the propoſal, on which we reſolved to take this route, and commiſſioned *Cojee Raphael* to get the neceſſary *Phirmaunds* from government, and every other thing which may be uſeful to us on our journey.

In the evening, *Cojee Raphael*, after having conſulted his friends in the city, on the nature of our journey, returned, and gave us great encouragement. He confirmed the account before given us by the conductor of the *Takht Revans*, that by that route we ſhould avoid the great *Deſert* wholly, find ourſelves daily in towns or villages, and finiſh our journey in thirty-five or forty days. We give ourſelves up entirely to his directions; and notwithſtanding the many diſappointments we have met with ſince we left *Calcutta*, begin again to pleaſe ourſelves with the hope of being in a few months, in our native country, bleſſed with the happy ſight of our families and friends.

Habil Swylem returned us this morning 1200 *Piaſtres*; the remainder, he ſaid, had been laid out in neceſſaries for us, which he is to account for to-morrow. We now find, even was he in health, that it would be impoſſible for him as yet to proceed on his journey, through the want of a ſufficient number of camels. He ſent us a meſſage expreſſive of great ſorrow for our diſappointment, and with offers of waiting upon us, three months hence. This poor man, we think, has not dealt quite candidly with us; yet, believe, he was not without hope of being able to fulfil his contract much better than it has turned out. He has for the moſt part, gotten his livelihood

livelihood under the patronage of Mr. *Shaw*, and other *European* gentlemen, and they all give him a good character. Mr. *Hemet* thinks he will get the better of his fever. 1758.

June 11. I paid the biſhop a viſit in company with Meſſieurs *Garden* and *Doidge*. He ſhewed us a very large and valuable *Ruby*, ſome antique *Onyx* ſtones, very curiouſly cut, and ſome more medals. He has two collections of *Roman* coins; one of them is compleat, (which he does not intend to part with) in a regular ſucceſſion from *Julius Cæſar* down to *Conſtantine*. The other ſet (which has a chaſm of ſeven *Emperors*) his lordſhip propoſes to ſell *, and imagines that it may be worth 50,000 *Piaſtres*. He has alſo ſome medals of private *Roman* families, and a great number of the Kings of *Syria*, *Parthia*, and *Perſia*. Of the laſt he has many duplicates in gold, ſilver, and copper.

Monday June 12. Yeſterday returned a *Patamar* or expreſs to our *Jew* merchant from *Aleppo*, by the way of the *Deſert*, which he had diſpatched from this place about a month or five weeks ago. He was robbed three times by the *Arabs*, but knowing ſome of the tribe, he had the good fortune to preſerve the letter he had in charge. The *Jew* merchant, with 4 or 500 of his brethren, as alſo many *Mahometans*, are gone to pay their annual devotion to the tomb of *Ezekiel* the prophet, which by their account is at *Kuta* a village on the weſtern bank of the *Euphrates*, eight or nine miles above *Hilla*: where likewiſe they ſhew you, what they call the fiery furnace, into which *Shadrach*, *Meſhach*, and *Abed-nego* were thrown. Somewhere about *Corna*, are the remains of an ancient tomb, which is ſaid to be that of the prophet *Ezra*; and in the ruins of *Niniveh*, near *Moſul* (of which hereafter) is one reported to be the prophet *Jonah*'s. We are impatient for the return of the *Jew* hither to open his packet, being big with expectation of news from *Europe*. Our ſetting off for *Moſul* depends alſo on the return of theſe devotees, for we are to be ſerved with thirty of their mules.

June 13. At three this morning, all the party (except Mr. *Pye*, whoſe want of ſtrength would not admit of it) accompanied by Mr. *Garden*, and an *Italian* miſſionary named *Clementino*, with one of Mr. *Garden*'s ſervants, and an *Arab* to ſhew us the road, left *Baghdad* for *Nimrod*'s tower. It lies weſt by north, diſtant about nine miles. We paſſed the *Tygris* by the ſame bridge of boats before-mentioned, and rode through the old city of *Baghdad*; from whence, quite up to the tower, ruins of buildings either wholly above or ſomewhat under ground are ſtill to be ſeen, which can be no other than the remains of the ancient *Seleucia*. The ground began to riſe in a gentle aſcent, for half a quarter of a mile before we reached the tower, occaſioned, as we imagined, by the rubbiſh of the old buildings which once ſtood here.

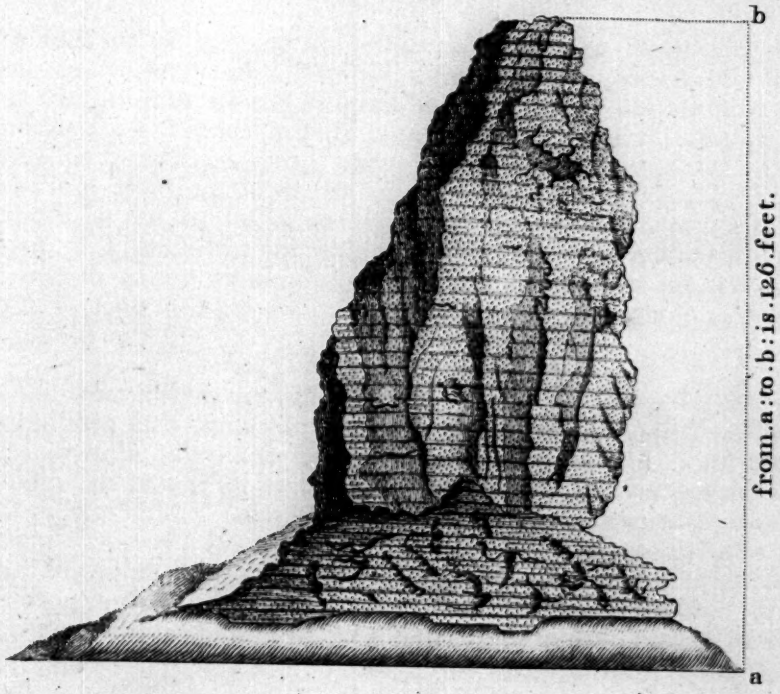
* He ſeemed to wiſh that we would give notice of this to our countrymen.

1758. Whether the tower was at firſt of a ſquare or round form, is now difficult to determine, though the former is moſt probable, becauſe all the remaining bricks are placed ſquare, and not in the leaſt circular. The bricks are all twelve inches ſquare, and four and an half thick. The cement is of mud or ſlime, mixed with broken reed as we mix hair with mortar; which ſlime might either have been had from one of the great rivers, or taken out of one of the ſwamps in the plain, with which the country hereabout very much abounds. We paſſed one of theſe ſwamps in our way, which was about an hundred yards broad, and four feet deep. Between *Baghdad* and *Kircoote*, according to the biſhop's intelligence, are two fountains of *Nuſt Demar*, or bituminous pitch. It comes out of the earth boiling hot; and this is what ſome writers have ſuppoſed the ſcriptures to mean by ſlime, in the building of the Tower of *Babel*. Betwixt every ſeventh or eighth brick in the tower, is a layer of reeds, of which I took a few for the ſake of curioſity, alſo ſome of the ſlime, and a piece of both ſorts of the brick, the harder and ſofter; for thoſe which lie in the rubbiſh are of a much harder ſubſtance, than what now remain in the tower.

The height of the ruin is 126 feet; the diameter of the largeſt and middle part about 100 feet. We judge it to be ſolid to the center; yet near the top there is a regular opening of an oval form, but as we could not climb up to, can determine nothing poſitive about it; it appears however from the preſent look to have been a window. The circumference of that part of the tower which remains, and is above the rubbiſh, is about 300 feet, but probably could the foundation be come at, it would be found of far greater extent. Mr. *Doidge*, from whoſe draught with a pencil, the copper-plate here inſerted, was taken, calculated the viſible ruins of the tower to contain about 100,000 cubic feet.

The preſent *Turks*, *Jews*, and *Arabians*, are fond of believing this to be the identical ruin of the ancient tower of *Babel*, for which they aſſign a variety of reaſons; but all, ſo void of the appearance of truth, that to ſet about confuting them would be loſing time in trifles. I am clearly of opinion, from its ſituation, and many other circumſtances, that it never could have been the tower of *Babel*; but rather ſuſpect it to have been a beacon or watch-tower to give notice of the approach of an enemy; or perhaps uſed as an obſervatory to inſpect the various motions of the heavenly bodies, which ſcience was ſo much cultivated among the ancient inhabitants of this country, that even the *Grecians*, though deſirous of being eſteemed the inventors of all arts and ſciences, could never deny the *Babylonians* the honour of having laid the foundations of aſtronomy. And indeed the advantageous ſituation of *Babylon*, which was built upon a wide, extended plain, where no mountain confined the proſpect; and the conſtant clearneſs and ſerenity of the air in that country, ſo favourable to the free contemplation of the heavens, were ſufficient

Tower of Babel, or Nimrods Tower.



ſufficient motives to engage this people in the purſuit of aſtronomical obſervations *. 1758.

In our excurſion to the tower, we met with no interruption, and ſaw but very few perſons; however, it would not be prudent for a man to go thither alone, or even for a large party unarmed. We all had our piſtols with us, and Mr. *Garden*'s ſervant carried a muſket. We tarried at the tower an hour and half, and by ten in the morning got back to Mr. *Garden*'s houſe. In our return through the old city, we paſſed cloſe by a decayed *Moſque*, upon whoſe dome we obſerved a ſtork, of the ſize of a gooſe, its breaſt white, its head black and white, as were its wings; it had a long beak, and legs not leſs than two feet in length. In its neſt on the top of the dome, were young ones, the head of one of them was viſible to us; the neſt was built of ſticks, and of an entire round form; we judged it to be four feet deep, and at leaſt two over.

I took notice this morning, that almoſt all the *Minarets* bend or incline to the ſouth-eaſt. Two of them lean very remarkably that way, but whether they were ſo deſigned by the builders I was not able to learn. Perhaps the inclination may be owing to the force of the north-weſt wind, or to the foundations giving way. From theſe, the people of the *Moſques*, five times in the 24 hours, (at ſun riſe, at noon, at three o'clock in the afternoon, at ſun ſet, and at midnight) call the inhabitants to prayers, crying aloud, "There is but one *God*, and *Mahomet* is his *Prophet*: it is the duty of man to remember his *God*. *Muſſulmen* are now by his ſervants called upon to come and pay their acknowledgments, and humbly to preſent their ſupplications." June 14.

We were informed to-day, that the *Baſha* was preparing for war, and would very ſoon put his army in march for the north-ward. The biſhop, who preſently afterwards paid us a viſit, ſaid he had heard the report, though not as a thing certain, but would make farther enquiry about it. He did not think it improbable, becauſe the *Arabs* had lately robbed a *Caravan* on the northern road, and even at this time, another between *Moſul* and *Diarbekir* is hindered from proceeding, through the apprehenſion of meeting with the ſame fate. The *Arabs* and malecontents it ſeems have taken advantage of the diſorderly ſtate of the government of *Moſul*, whoſe new *Baſha* is not yet arrived there from *Aleppo*; the accounts ſay, he was to leave *Aleppo* the day after the ending of the *Ramazan*.

Nothing particular: but Mr. *Pye* was ſo much recovered, as to take a ride round the walls of the city. *Baghdad*, by Meſſieurs *Alms* and *Doidge*'s obſervations, lies in latitude 33° 21′ north. June 15.

* A principio Aſſyrii propter planitiem magnitudinemque regionum quas incolabant, cum cœlum ex omni parte patens & apertum intuerentur, trajectiones motuſque ſtellarum obſervaverunt. Cic. *lib.* 1. *de Divin. n.* 2.

1758. June 16. The devotee *Jews*, and *Mahometans*, to the number of above a thouſand, returned to-day from the tomb of the prophet *Ezekiel*. — *Habil Swylem* returned alſo our neceſſaries and arrears of money. We delivered the firſt into the hands of the *Aga*, appointed by the *Baſha* for our leader and protector.—The *Aga* viſited us this morning, and as ſome days before we had paid for the hire of 30 mules, we agreed to leave *Baghdad* to-morrow in the afternoon. We ſettled things with him relating to our journey, and many civilities paſſed on each ſide. The route of our future journey, as received from *Cojee Raphael*, is as follows:

June 17.

	Hours.
Baghdad to *Yainkjah* — — —	7
Muſabah-Kaun — — — —	7
Dely-abaſs-couprie Kaun — — —	6
Karatapa — — — —	10
Aſkee-couprie — — — —	6
Dourcourmatee — — —	9
Tawook — — — —	7
Tazatcomatour — — — —	5
Kircoote (a city) — — —	5
Alton couprie — — —	10
Yengee Kaun — — —	5
Arvele (a little city) — — —	5
Zaave, where we paſs a river upon *Kellecks*, which river comes from *Perſia*, and joins the *Tygris*. —	8
Gawerkoe — — —	5
Moſul, a city, and ſeat of a *Baſha* of three tails —	5
Karamleſs — — —	6
Hezie — — — —	10
Another village, name unknown — —	6
Kirkhook — — — —	10
Jezira, where is a *Beg*, an officer of the people called *Courds*. — — —	10
Sheatikoi — — — —	10
Talſhebier — — —	6
Niſabin, an antient place, with bad water, and bad air. — — — —	5
Kazadera — — — —	7
Golweka — — — —	6
Coaſhaſſar — — — —	6
Meſkook — — — —	7
Haſſranchai — — —	7
Gawerourhee (*Merdin* city) — — —	8
Marchrean — — — —	8
Urfa, a large city, a *Baſha* of three tails, once an *Armenian* city — — —	6

Karaſecca	—	—	—	7	1758.
Chopchoplee	—	—	—	7	
Birjoup, here runs the river *Euphrates*, which we croſs to *Alazara*		—	—	6	
Sajuera	—	—	—	5	
Aktareena	—	—	—	10	
Aleppo.	—	—	—	8	
			Total	—	261 hours.

CHAP

CHAP. IV.

Occurrences on our journey from Baghdad *to* Karatapa, Aſkee-couprie, Dourcourmatee, Kircoote, Arvele, Zaave, Camaliſk-Gawerkoe, *and* Moſul, *with our method of travelling.—Obſervations on the face of the country.— Deſcription of a* Turkiſh Moſque. — *Account of their prieſts; and of a ſect called Worſhippers of the* Devil. — *State of Chriſtianity in* Turky.— *Tomb of* St. Barbara.

1758. June 18. AT five this afternoon we left the city of *Baghdad*, having ſent out our tents, *Takht Revans*, and other luggage before us. We found the tents pitched on the eaſtern bank of the *Tygris*, oppoſite to a country ſeat of the *Baſha*, about a mile to the northward of the walls of the city. We had the ſatisfaction here to meet with the biſhop and father *Fidelle*, who came to wiſh us a good journey, notwithſtanding we had mutually taken leave of each other in the city. His lordſhip gave us three recommendatory letters; one to *Padre Lanza* an *Italian* miſſionary at *Moſul*; a ſecond for *Pere Eugene* a *French* miſſionary at *Merdin*; and the other for Monſ. *Thomas*, conſul for the *French* nation at *Aleppo*. *Cojee Raphael* came alſo and delivered us our contract with the *Mulateer*. We had thirty mules for the following uſes.

For the two *Takht Revans* — — —	8
For two *Cages* for the uſe of ſervants. — —	2
Saddle-mules — — — —	4
For baggage — — — —	16

For each mule we are to give 45 piaſtres, and the *Mulateer* is to carry us and our baggage to *Aleppo*: he is to run all riſks; if any mule dies or becomes lame, he is to get another in its room. He has received 900 piaſtres, the other 450 are to be paid him at *Aleppo*. He is to find his mules in proviſions; and ſhould we make him and his people a preſent of a ſheep and a little rice now and then, it is what they may expect by way of encouragement only, not a matter of demand.

Our *Sice*, or groom, is to have 25 piaſtres, to be paid him at *Aleppo*. The *Takht Revan-gee*, or conductor, has already been paid 29 *Zirmaboobs*, and on our arrival at *Aleppo* he is to have 31 more to make up 60 for himſelf and his ſeven men. 1758.

Cojee Raphael now told us, that we muſt provide a tent for the *Aga*, who in general will chuſe to live by himſelf, and which will be much more convenient for us. Having given away one of our *India* made tents to Mr. *Robingſon* at *Karec*, and a ſecond to Mr. *Garden* at *Baghdad*, we commiſſioned *Raphael* to purchaſe another for our *Aga*. We continue on this ſpot till to-morrow evening, in order to recollect whatever may be wanting, and to get ourſelves well ſupplied before we advance too far.

We took a walk this morning in one of the *Baſha*'s gardens, and found black and white grapes quite ripe; mulberries of the *European* kind, which were originally brought from *Moſul*, peaches, nectarines, and apricots, (the two firſt were not ripe): almonds, apples, and plumbs come to perfection here in their proper ſeaſons. The quinces, figs, *Pomegranates*, and *Moſſungs* (a fruit not much unlike a very ſmall apple, but of a different ſpecies) were not ripe, though muſk-melons and cucumbers were. We obſerved alſo a very large ſort of ſervice-berry, and ſome olive trees. In the afternoon, ſeveral *Turkiſh* and *Armenian* merchants deſired leave to go in company with us, which we readily granted. Monday June 19.

Aga Mahomet or *Hamet*, whom they call *Aetch Aga*, carries with him orders from *Solyman Baſha*, for all governors and captains between this place and *Aleppo*; alſo four recommendatory letters from him to the *Baſhas* of *Moſul*, *Diarbekir*, *Urfa* and *Aleppo*: four others from *Abdulla* the *Kahier* or prime ſecretary, to the four *Kahiers* of thoſe *Baſhas*. The four letters for the *Baſhas* were put into white purſes, thoſe for the *Kahiers* into red ones. Mr. *Garden* and *Cojee Raphael* recommended it to us, to preſent the *Aga* with 500 piaſtres at parting, ſhould he behave properly. They likewiſe wiſh that the *Britiſh* conſul at *Aleppo* would write a letter by the return of the *Aga* to the *Baſha* of *Baghdad*, acknowledging his favours to us.

Had we been merchants inſtead of king's ſervants, we were told, we ſhould not have met with ſuch honours; or have been permitted to travel in *Takht Revans*, or have carried a gilt ball on the top of our tent, none but the *Baſha* himſelf being allowed this laſt privilege. While we continued on this ſpot, the *Baſha* diſcovered our gilt ball from his *Seraglio*, and immediately enquired whoſe it was: upon being told, that it belonged to the tent of the *Engliſh* travellers, he very obligingly replied, "*Take no notice of it.*" As ſoon as we were informed of his politeneſs, we immediately ordered the ball to be taken down.

1758. At ſeven o'clock in the evening we ſtruck our tents, took leave of our worthy friend Mr. *Garden*, and *Cojee Raphael*, and at nine got up to *Kuli Khan*'s towers and entrenchments, raiſed during his ſiege of *Baghdad*, to prevent the garriſon's receiving any relief from this ſide of the country. Theſe towers are eleven in number, and now ſomewhat decayed; they are built of brick, have holes for muſketry, and ſtand at about five hundred yards from each other.

June 20. At half paſt two this morning we got to *Tainkjah*, having paſſed over ſome fields of wheat-ſtubble; and in an hour after arrived at another town DOKEHALAH. called *Dokehalah*, where we continued till the evening. The latitude of *Dokehalah*, by obſervation, is 33° 43′ north. Around both theſe towns are plenty of gardens (incloſed with mud-walls) which ſupply the city of *Baghdad* with vegetables and fruit. We put up at a clean, mud-built houſe, one of the beſt the place afforded. Our *Aga*, who was not under the ſame roof with us, came and paid us his compliments. He appeared to be a ſenſible grave man, of few words, yet can handſomely expreſs himſelf on particular occaſions. We agreed before we ſet off, that he ſhould ſupply himſelf, as well as his own three horſemen and their cattle with proviſions, at our expence; and we now commiſſioned him to ſerve our *Takht Revan* men with their proviſions, being deſirous not to have any diſputes with them on that ſubject.

At half paſt ſix in the evening, we mounted our horſes and mules, but it was almoſt ſeven before we could ſet off with our little *Caravan*. We took an eaſtward courſe for about an hour and half, which brought us to a bridge, thrown over one of thoſe little rivulets, which run into the *Tygris*. We paſſed over the bridge, and then travelled north. Very many people were going the road to *Baghdad*. One party had a *Caravan*, which conſiſted of 2 or 300 beaſts, camels, mules, and aſſes, loaded with ſtraw-fodder for the *Baſha*'s ſtables. Until half paſt ten we marched over a dead level country, ſave here and there we met with a hill of ſand, blown together by the wind. We paſſed alſo ſeveral creeks which had ſmall bridges over them; theſe creeks are a kind of artificial rivulets, cut purpoſely to ſupply the adjacent villages with water from the *Tygris*. This great river is now to the left, or the weſt of us, and appears ſometimes two or three miles off, at others not more than half a mile. About eleven we came to a large hill, which in this level country might be juſtly called a mountain; it ſeemed by moon-light, to extend a great way to the eaſtward. To the right of the high road hereabouts, I was informed, there are ſeveral ſmall towns, that the land is cultivated around them, and the rivulets afore-mentioned ſerve them with water. Now I got into one of the *Takht Revan*'s for the firſt time, of whoſe untoward motion we had received a diſagreeable account from our *European* ſervants, but which was not ſo bad as to hinder me from taking a ſhort ſleep.

At

1758.

June 21. KAUN-MUSABAH.

At one in the morning we arrived at our ſecond ſtage *Kaun-Muſabah*, latitude 33° 58′ north, where we pitched our tents, and lay in them: The *Caravanſerah* here is old and not kept clean. Our *Aga* would have procured us a houſe in the village if we had choſen it. About nine o'clock, two parties with camels and aſſes came in from *Conſtantinople*, and put up at the *Caravanſerah*; they were accompanied by a few horſemen, who had been robbed and wounded to the northward of *Moſul*.

The evenings and nights are pleaſantly cool, but the days very hot. We get mutton, milk, and grapes. We ate pretty freely yeſterday of the laſt, but as ſome of us had ſymptoms of a *Diarrhœa*'s coming on, we denied ourſelves to-day, and fed on milk. Few of us have any appetite for meat, ſo that little is uſed. Yeſterday we allowed ourſelves one bottle of *Madeira* wine, and the ſame quantity at night.

CHIBA HARPSIE.

At ſeven o'clock this evening we ſet off, and travelled rather eaſterly for about two hours, when we croſſed a pretty good bridge over a creek of the *Tygris*, and then went north; paſſed through ſome fields of corn-ſtubble, and about eleven, over a good ſtone bridge built acroſs a river called (according to the ſound of the word as pronounced by our country ſervants) *Chiba Harpſie*, which they tell us, riſes in *Perſia*, and falls into the *Tygris*. At a quarter of a mile diſtance to the right of this river, is a handſome new *Kaun* or *Caravanſerah*, and the ruins of an old one. It is called *Soubah-Kaun*, or *Chibach Couprie*, that is, *Chibach Bridge*. The *Aga* obſerving that we were deſirous of ſeeing every thing that was remarkable, propoſed riding up to it, which we did.

The late *Baſha Hamet* performed a very gallant action near this ſpot, killing with his lance a lion which for three years had been the terror of the whole neighbourhood: they ſay, that his horſe in its violent exertions on the occaſion, burſt aſunder, he then mounted a mare, which as ſome relate, kicked the lyon on the head, and ſtunned him; by this lucky circumſtance the *Baſha* had an opportunity of plunging his lance into his belly, and laying him dead at his feet.

June 22. DELY-ABASS-COUPRIE KAUN.

At three this morning, we paſſed over another ſtone bridge of two arches, after travelling eight hours, and pitched our tents by the *Caravanſerah* of *Dely-abaſs-couprie*, which by an obſervation taken by Mr. *Doidge*, lies in latitude 34° 10′ north. This *Kaun* is but a ſorry one; we got to it a little after three in the morning, but found other travellers in poſſeſſion. We again repoſed under our tents, having experienced this day and yeſterday, to be violently hot; the hotteſt indeed I had ever felt, and to me almoſt inſupportable, taking away the appetite, and producing an exceſſive thirſt: my fellow travellers however could eat a bit of mutton, and ſup a little broth, which is more than I can attempt.

1758. At ſome diſtance up the river is a village, from whence we got good milk, but no fruit. In our journey for the two laſt ſtages, we obſerved locuſts in great abundance; the ſoil was well cultivated and fertile, by means of the river-water being let in. We paſſed many travellers, among others, the preſent *Baſha* of *Kircoote*, who for ſome miſdemeanour had fallen under the *Grand Seignior*'s diſpleaſure. He is going to *Baghdad* to get *Solyman Baſha* to intercede for him.

Kuſcadawrie Mountains. At ſeven in the evening, we mounted again, with our arms; it being thought expedient to be well on our guard, until we have paſſed ſome mountains in ſight, called *Kuſcadawrie*, often infeſted by robbers. Now we drew lots, and ſettled our turns in the *Takht Revans*; and as Meſſieurs *Pye* and *Pigot*, the two lighteſt men, ride together in one, we are alternately, on and off our horſes or mules, every two hours. The motion of theſe vehicles is uneaſy; yet, not to ſo great a degree as to prevent wearied travellers from getting a little ſleep, which, though broken and interrupted, we find to be of great benefit.

The heat of this day has been beyond meaſure fatiguing. I intended to have proceeded to, and paſſed over the mountains on horſe-back with my arms; but ſoon became ſo faint and weak, as to be obliged to diſmount, and betake myſelf to the *Takht Revan*, 'till nine o'clock, when I remounted at the foot of the hills with ſome degree of ſpirits, and ſo travelled on till eleven, amidſt romantic, craggy, flinty rocks, formed very advantageouſly for giving a few robbers an opportunity of attacking a great number of paſſengers: but fortunately none preſented themſelves. At twelve we got on the other ſide of the hills, into a well cultivated valley, where were corn-ſtubbles. This vale is flooded at the diſcretion of the Narin river. farmer, by a little river which we paſſed over, called *Narin*, whoſe water is very brackiſh, owing to the ſalt petre, with which the ſoil abounds.

June 23. About two in the morning, as we marched on, we diſcovered a ſmall village to the left, inhabited by the huſbandmen of the arable lands; we diſtinguiſhed it by the lights, and barking of dogs. At four, we got near the KARATAPA town *Karatapa*, lying, by Mr. *Doidge*'s obſervation, in 34° 30′ N. latitude; but our mulateers miſtaking the road, it was half paſt five before we reached it. The *Aga* advanced before, and at our entrance met us, enquiring whether it was our pleaſure to pitch our tents, or put up in an houſe: we choſe the latter, and were ſhewn to the chief's, wherein were prepared two or three well ſwept apartments, with carpets and cuſhions laid on the ground. This is a good looking *Turkiſh* country town, built with mud; it ſtands on an eminence, and the ſtreets are broader than any I have ſeen in *Turky*. The inhabitants were more ſwarthy than thoſe of *Baghdad*, owing, probably

to their working in the fields and gardens; here are many gardens, and yet we can get no fruit. 1758.

In this town of *Karatapa* are hundreds of *Storks*; you ſee them almoſt on every houſe, in every garden, and on the walls and trees. They ſeem to think themſelves in great ſecurity, are in no kind of fear at the ſight or approach of man or beaſt. They had three or more young ones in their neſts. The old birds make a very odd noiſe with their beaks, not unlike that of the *Negroes* muſical finger-cracker. When this is doing, the head is turned backward, and the upper bill placed on the rump, while the under is ſet into the quickeſt motion, and made to act upon the other: this bird's beak is eight or nine inches in length like that of the Pelican, and of the ſame ſhape; there is alſo a ſmall red bag hanging at the throat.

The houſe we reſide in belongs to the *Sheick* of the village, who cleared it of his women, and had it cleaned on our account. The walls are very thick, whereby the heat is much leſs diſtreſſing than in the two preceding days. The water here would have been good, had it been firſt fined, but this our ſervants careleſly neglected: we find by experience, that half an ounce of the powder of *Alum*, thrown into 12 or 14 gallons of muddy water, will in an hour and half make it perfectly clear; learning this before we left *Baſſora*, we there ſupplied ourſelves with a ſufficiency of *Alum* for theſe uſes. We found no inconvenience from the *Alum*, and I am inclined to think that it is not only an excellent purifier of thick muddy water, but that in hot climates, it cools the body and braces up the relaxed fibres.

At ſix this evening, the weather was cloudy, which we very ſeldom had an opportunity of noting before; the air ſince we left *Baſſora*, has been very dry, a few nights on the *Euphrates* excepted. The primings to our firelocks and piſtols were never damp. Our *Aga* here acquainted us, that he thought it proper to take with us the armed men of the place, and if we approved of it, he would ſpeak to the *Commandant* to be ready to march. (By virtue of his order from the *Baſha* he could command this; nevertheleſs a pecuniary ſatisfaction from us will be expected). We conſented, and at ſeven ſet out with our guard conſiſting of an officer and 12 horſemen equipped with piſtols and lances.

On our left were the ruins of ſome houſes; and at a quarter after ſeven a *Chocarda* who rode poſt, paſſed us, accompanied with two horſemen ſervants; they were from *Moſul* going to *Bagbdad*, and their news was, that the *Baſha* from *Aleppo* was expected at *Moſul* next *Monday*, and that two *Caravans* were ſtill detained there. At half paſt eight, there fell a ſhower of large drops of rain; a ſhort but acceptable refreſhment to ſuch thirſty, panting wretches as we are.

1758. June 24. ASKEE-COUPRIE.

At twelve we croſſed another river (which they called like the laſt, *Marin*) on a little paltry bridge. All this night we travelled over a hilly, ſtony, uncultivated country, until about half a mile before we reached *Aſkee couprie*, to which place we got at half paſt two in the morning. Here we found the *Sheick*'s houſe ready to receive us, the *Aga* having advanced before for that purpoſe.

This village lies by obſervation in 34° 50′ north latitude; is built on an hill, hath rivulets running by it, the water of which is very clear and good. We could get no fruit here unleſs the *Booberry*, but were told, that at the next ſtage we ſhall get fruit, as well as wine; both will be very acceptable. The want of the firſt we judge to have been the cauſe of our being all painfully conſtipated; and the ſtock of wines laid in at *Calcutta* and *Bombay*, is expended or deſtroyed to about three dozen of bottles. Our *Aga* indeed puts us to no expence for wine or ſtrong liquors; he drinks only coffee, ſherbet and water: a man every way different from our *Baſſora Chocarda*. Twenty *Piaſtres* were given to the *Commandant* for himſelf and the troop which eſcorted us hither; and as the *Caravan* for *Moſul* had been lately robbed between this ſpot and *Kircoote*, the *Aga* recommended our taking another guard; he behaves with great care and modeſty, and aſſured us, in a very pleaſing manner, that his only ſtudy is that of our eaſe and ſafety. We hope he is a *Turk* of honour, and ſo ſubmit ourſelves to his diſcretion.

We ſaw this morning in the air, a prodigious quantity of very ſmall bats, and about noon we obſerved thouſands of them clinging to the rafters of our houſe. We ſpent this day comfortably, compared with ſome that were paſt, chiefly owing to our being in a houſe. Our tents are made of canvas, well painted, lined with chintz, and have alſo a marquis; but a painted tent like our's, is better calculated to reſiſt the rain than the heat; and could we have foreſeen that we ſhould have come a road, where we hitherto have found plenty of water, a common canvas tent would have better anſwered our end; as in the heat of the day, we might have kept it conſtantly wetted with water, which is altogether impracticable with thoſe we now have. The wind blows generally freſh, but ſo loaded with burning particles of ſand, that we find it more for our refreſhment to follow the *Eaſt India* cuſtom of ſhutting it out, than admitting it to us.

A little before ſun-ſet, we began to march; our little *Caravan* is now increaſed, ſeveral travellers going our way having joined us for protection. It conſiſts of our own three horſes, and twenty five mules, there ought to have been thirty; in excuſe for the deficiency, the mulateer pretends that although we agreed for eight mules to our two *Takht Revans*, and two to our cages, yet from cuſtom, there ſhould be but four for the firſt, and one for the laſt, and that *Cojee Raphael* knew of this cuſtom, and agreed to the

the obſerving it: we have now no remedy, unleſs at *Aleppo*. To our *Caravan*, muſt be added our *Aga*'s, and his three ſervants horſes, eight horſeguards, and near 30 mules or aſſes. The moon not riſing till late, the *Takht Revans* were preceded by two great lights, placed in iron ſtoves, and carried by *Turkiſh* ſervants. 1758.

All this night, we travelled a W. N. W. courſe, having, not far to our right, a chain of high, rocky mountains, which are called *Courmaratida*, among which are ruins of ancient fortreſſes, but now without inhabitants; and on the top of three or four of the mountains are ſome decayed turrets built by *Kuli Khan*. Theſe mountains ſtand about N. W. and S. E. they continued near to us without any break, till three in the morning, when we arrived in the neighbourhood of *Douzcourmatee*. Here the mountains ceaſe for a while, and a valley begins, through which run many little rivers; we paſſed over five or ſix by bridges of one and two arches. To within a quarter of a mile of this town, the whole night's journey was barren and uncultivated, when we came upon ſome cornſtubble, in which were abundance of *Locuſts*: many thouſands of them muſt be deſtroyed by the trampling of our cattle; but their numbers notwithſtanding, fall vaſtly ſhort of what I ſaw in *Madagaſcar*, where the air hath been ſo full of them, that a man could not be diſtinguiſhed at the diſtance of a hundred yards. Courmaratida Mountains. June 25. DOUZCOURMATEE.

Douzcourmatee is compoſed of good mud houſes, the gardens are well walled, and yield dates, apricots, apples and grapes, the latter not ripe. The ſeverity of the laſt winter had ſpoiled many of the vines, but we were told, that commonly, good wine is to be found in this place. The *Aga*, as uſual, went before, and got a room ready for our reception. We procured ſome good milk, a lamb, very fine apples, and cucumbers. Laſt night the wind was high, and moſt diſagreeably hot and drying; I ſpoke to our hoſt of the ſuffocating effect which I experienced from it, and he told me to conſider it as a ſhort and ſlight viſit of the *Samiel*.

This morning, we obſerved many women of the village very buſy in ſupplying their families with water from the running ſtreams, at the foot of the hills, in earthen pitchers. Two men of conſiderable conſequence, viſited us; the governor of the place and country adjacent, was one of them, and who is a near relation of the *Baſha* of *Diarbekir*, a handſome man of thirty years of age; the other was the *Commandant* of a thouſand of *Baſha Solyman*'s forces, which are maintained here. Our *Aga* conſulted them on the ſtate of the country we are to paſs through the following night, and learned that it is not altogether peaceable, for very lately a courier of the *Baſha* of *Baghdad* accompanied with ſix or eight other horſemen, had been attacked by ſome *Arabs*: we therefore reſolved to take 15 foot ſoldiers, and that the

1758. the *Sheick* who lives at ſome diſtance in our road, ſhould join us with 15 *Arabs*, who would be of more ſervice to us than a greater number of any other kind, as *Arabs* do not uſually fight with *Arabs*; but this order is diſcretional, and left to the *Sheick* to decline executing, provided he ſhall be convinced that the road is not infeſted.

Monday June 26. We ſet off at ſeven in the evening as uſual, and without any moleſtation got to *Tawook*, in 35° 10′ north latitude, about half paſt two in the morning, having had for two thirds of the way, mountains at a ſmall diſtance on our right, but for the laſt part of our journey, they were farther from us, inclining more to the eaſtward of the north: when we were only about a mile from the village they were almoſt out of ſight, and a plain, or extenſive vale ſucceeded, through which paſſed many a rivulet of good water; over one of them was a water-mill at work.

This village is but a ſorry one, ſeated on a hill; we got to it over a very ſtony road: the adjacent country was rude and barren, if we except a very few ſtubble acres. The inhabitants of *Tawook* breed ſilk-worms, and weave a ſilk, which they ſend for ſale to the merchants of *Baghdad*, and other towns.

We were not ſo well off here for lodgings, as of late, yet thoſe we have are much leſs diſagreeable than a tent, and are the beſt the place affords: they belonged to a private man whoſe wives were obliged to move out; we ſaw them in the yard, nor did they ſeem to take much pains to conceal their faces. But this was not the firſt country village ſince we left *Baghdad*, where we noticed the women to be little ſcrupulous in this reſpect. Two or three females are our fellow-travellers; they ride aſtride their mules, but with the black horſe-hair covering over their faces; and as the cuſtom of the country forbids us even to look at, much leſs to ſpeak to them, we remain entire ſtrangers to each other, nor can we gratify our inclinations by complimenting them in any reſpect whatever. Mr. *Shaw*, who has reſided many years among the people of *Turky*, aſſured me, it was not only the higheſt affront you could poſſibly ſhew a *Turk* to enquire for the health of the female part of his family, but that it was eſteemed very rude even to mention the name of any of the fair ſex.

The laſt night was very pleaſant, the air cool and ſerene, which, thank God, continues even now, though twelve at noon. Five *Turks* with high caps on their heads, and armed, paſſed us juſt now on horſeback, and alſo a ſmall caravan with about 12 camels and 20 aſſes loaded with tobacco, which probably was under the protection of theſe high cap gentlemen.

With

With the ſame fellow-travellers as yeſterday, and about fifteen foot ſoldiers taken from hence, we began our march at ſeven in the evening, and continued advancing over barren ground for the village *Tazalcomatoor*, until we got oppoſite to it. We then ſtruck off to the right, travelling more north, directly for *Kircoote*, taking care not to touch at the firſt mentioned village. By this conduct, they ſay, we ſave a two hour's journey. Until we got within four or five miles of *Kircoote*, we paſſed nothing but uncultivated ſtony lands; but then all was arable to the city, and for ſome miles around was a fine plain. 1758.

We reached *Kircoote*, which lies in 35° 30′ of north latitude, at four in the morning, and paſſed by the town and citadel to a houſe which had been provided for us, at a little diſtance from the town. The fort is of an oblong figure, ſituated on a high artificial mount, which in the rainy ſeaſon is by the run of waters from the neighbouring mountains, made an iſland. About fifteen years ago, *Nadir Shah* took it after a ſiege of 24 days: an old *Turkiſh* gentleman of the place informed me, that the citadel was defended by the inhabitants unaſſiſted by the ſoldiery; about 5000 were in arms, nor did they ſurrender but on honourable terms; their properties were ſecured to them, only a grant of proviſions for the *Perſian* army was agreed to. *Kuli Khan* conformed himſelf to the letter of the capitulation, till he returned from his unſucceſsful expedition againſt *Moſul*, and no longer; for he then levied heavy contributions, and on the approach of the *Turkiſh* army, retired, taking with him as much money as he could get from the inhabitants, as well as goods and effects for the uſe of his army. A little to the ſouthward of the town he ſtored a magazine with corn and other proviſions; theſe, he could not conveniently take away, nor would he deſtroy them, but left them to fall into the hands of his enemy. During the ſiege of the citadel, near 500 of the defenders were killed, and the people in general were very much fatigued and diſtreſſed. To the eaſtward of the city mount, is the tomb of the *Turkiſh Baſha Hoſſein*, who was wounded in the battle of *Derbent* by a muſket ball from *Nadir Shah*'s army, and then put to death by the ſabre of a mercileſs *Perſian* ſoldier; for which diſhonourable and inhuman act, the *Shah* ordered him immediately to be executed, and ſent the body of the *Baſha* hither to be honourably interred; this incident happened a ſhort time before the capture of *Kircoote*. June 27. KIRCGOTE.

The inhabitants in general, are maintained by agriculture, the lands hereabouts being very fertile; large quantities of corn are ſent from hence to foreign markets: the mechanics, ſuch as taylors, ſhoemakers, &c. live as in other places, by their induſtry. But there is no manufacture carried on here of any conſequence.

We were ſupplied with pretty good mutton, eggs, grapes, apples, cucumbers, figs, ſugar-candy and bread.

The

1758. The houſe to which we were conducted was at the diſtance of a quarter of a mile from the town; it had a pretty garden, with a neat pond, graſs plats, roſe trees and running ſtreams, whoſe banks were agreeably ſhaded by the willow. This ſpot belongs to the chief of the *Mahometan* prieſts; our *Aga* had rode on before, and obtained permiſſion of the governor and prieſt for our admittance. We made a ſhort repaſt, and about five, threw ourſelves down on our cots. At nine in the morning, the governor, the *Muſſalem* or captain of the fort, and commanding *Janizary*, with two or three of the principal officers, came to viſit us; as we were not riſen, they ſtayed ſome little time with the prieſt, and our *Aga*, and then went away leaving their compliments. The real governor of *Kircoote* is a *Baſha* of two tails, who at preſent was in diſgrace, as juſt obſerved; the gentleman who acted in his abſence is only *pro tempore*.

At four in the afternoon, Mr. *Doidge* and I returned the viſit, accompanied by the *Aga*, an interpreter, and two other ſervants. We were received with high marks of reſpect; ſtools with cuſhions both for our ſeats, and feet, were placed on the right-hand ſide of the governor. The governor received us after the common cuſtom in *Turky*, ſitting on his carpet, but politely bending his body, and bringing his hand up to his breaſt; and after we were ſeated, he paſt ſome handſome compliments, and gave us an invitation to tarry four or five days for our refreſhment, aſſuring us that after having entertained us in the beſt manner in his power, he would take care that at our departure, we ſhould be very well eſcorted. We excuſed ourſelves from tarrying, but thanked him for his polite offer. On his left hand, ſat eight or ten of the principal *Turks* of the place; moſt of them were very perſonable, as indeed the *Turks* in general are, both as to ſtature and comelineſs, adorned with full, large, piercing black eyes, and arched eye-brows. Curioſity had brought about the court-yard where we were entertained, a great number of ſpectators, who had never before ſeen an *European* habit. We enquired among other things, concerning the preſent ſtate of affairs in *Perſia*, but could not find that they had any late accounts. It was obſerved during the converſation, that unhappy kingdom had not only been made miſerable for many years paſt through the ſword, but by the plague; whlch occaſioned me to ſay that theſe two were the greateſt of human curſes; on which the governor gravely replied, "they are not of *Man*, but of *God*."

In the evening, our party, in company with three or four prieſts, ſpent an hour or two on the ſide of the pond, into which continually flowed ſeveral pleaſant rivulets. The *Chief Prieſt*, who ſeemed to have an haughty ſpirit, informed me, that within the fort was preſerved the tomb of the *Chriſtian* St. *Dennis*, buried here at the time when *Chriſtians* had poſſeſſions in this country. No ſooner had he concluded, than, very abruptly, he by the interpreter, put to me the following queſtion: "Since we *Muſſulmen* have in

" the higheſt regard all the *Prophets*, whom *Chriſtians* revere; and ſince we 1758.
" even greatly honour and reſpect the name of *Jeſus Chriſt*, how comes it
" that you *Chriſtians*, pay no regard at all to our *Prophet?*" Deſirous of avoiding to enter on what I eſteemed a dangerous ſubject, I ſaid, " That as
" we were not prieſts, but men whoſe buſineſs was to ſerve their King and
" country by ſea, ſuch religious matters did not naturally fall under our
" conſideration." This anſwer did not prove ſatisfactory, for the prieſt repeated the queſtion with an uncommon earneſtneſs; to which I anſwered, " That there were not wanting among *Chriſtians*, men, who paid ſome at-
" tention to the memory of *Mahomet*, on account of the charitable maxims
" he inculcated; and the temperance and ſobriety which he ſo ſtrictly en-
" joined his followers." He muttered to himſelf, but ſaid no more. I afterwards bathed in the prieſt's rivulet, under the ſhade of the willows; which brought to my remembrance, the ſatisfaction I had formerly enjoyed of the ſame kind in the pleaſant ſtream of the *Avon*.

The *Aga* judged it proper to reſt this day here, both for the relief of June 28.
men and beaſts: the heat to-day and yeſterday, though great, hath yet been tolerable; the nights are agreeably cool, and have continued ſo during our whole journey. Agreeable to advice given us before we entered *Turky*, we all decline having the leaſt pretence to phyſical or chirurgical knowledge; for otherwiſe, our lodgings from morning to night would be crowded with patients: as it is, there are many who apply to us and aſk queſtions, but we do not forget to let them know, we ſpeak from hearſay only.

Storks are here in abundance. We have heard no ſinging birds, except the lark, ſince we left the *Euphrates*. Yeſterday, for the firſt time ſince I left *England*, I ſaw a magpye. We find here a troubleſome biting gnat, or *Muſcheto*, different from all others, in that it makes no buzzing noiſe upon its approach.

At ſix in the evening we mounted our beaſts, accompanied by the *Muſſelem* and our *Aga*; we ſet out earlier than uſual, in order to ſee the fort; three or 400 boys followed us, who were very rude, and proceeded even to throw ſtones at us, which behaviour gave the *Aga* and *Muſſelem* a great deal of vexation. We aſcended the hill on horſe-back, and ſo entered the citadel; rode through a *Bazar*, and ſeveral narrow ſtreets. The length of the fort was about 250 yards, breadth 120; the hill it is upon, together with the wall, is about 80 feet high: a work of great labour, conſiſting of earth and ſmall ſtones well rammed. We ſaw no cannon, nor any regular baſtions; the ſtrength of the place depends on its ſituation, and capability of being defended with ſtones and muſketry. Many common trades are carried on by the inhabitants within the fort. We ſaw ſeveral of their women, whoſe curioſity had led them to the tops of their houſes to view the *Franks*. We were conducted to a *Moſque* with a *Minaret*, and there were deſired to diſmount; which we did, following the example of our *Aga*; we were then bade to

1758. pull off our boots, before we entered the church to ſee the tomb of *St. Dennis:* as we had received no intimation that any ſuch honour as ſeeing a *Moſque* was intended us, and not knowing that *Chriſtians* were ever permitted to enter, we heſitated, and ordered it to be intimated to the *Caliph* who was there, that we had always underſtood that none but thoſe of the *Mahometan* faith were allowed to go into their churches, and that our curioſity was ſufficiently ſatisfied, deſiring that we might do nothing irregular. He replied, it was true that *Chriſtians*, inhabitants of the country, were not allowed to enter, but as we were travelling gentlemen, and *Chriſtian Saints* were depoſited here, they wiſhed to oblige us, and provided we left our boots without, there was nothing that hindred our admiſſion. We ſtill doubted of the propriety of the ſtep, and were the more uneaſy about it by an incident which had happened between Mr. *Pigot* and the *Chief Prieſt*. On this critical occaſion we looked round, but could not for the crowd diſcover our *Aga*; we then made the interpreter call aloud for him, and agreed he ſhould be aſked, if there was nothing improper in the thing propoſed, and whether we ran any riſk in complying: he, with great ſerioufneſs ſpoke to the prieſt and *Muſſelem*, and after receiving their anſwers, he told us, "No." We then deſired that he himſelf ſhould ſhew us the way; accordingly he pulled off his boots, and entered the *Moſque*; we did the ſame, and found it a neat little building without painting, or other ornaments: it had a ſmall pulpit ſomewhat raiſed, and two tombs railed round, in which they told us were the remains of two ancient holy *Chriſtians*; one of them they called *Saint Dennis*, the other we could not make out, they ſaid either *Hoſea* or *Iſaiah*. I aſked, if they were ſure it was not the tomb of a *Jew* inſtead of a *Chriſtian?* Was anſwered, no *Jew*, but a *Chriſtian*. Within the railing were the coffins of the dead, but as theſe were covered, our curioſity carried us no farther. The prieſt of the *Moſque* ſprinkled us with roſe-water, and threw ſome on our handkerchiefs; and then we withdrew to the porch, where he aſked us for a preſent, which we ordered our ſervant to give him. We put on our boots, mounted our horſes, and rode out of the fort to follow the *Caravan*, which had already began its march.

We had great reaſon to believe, that the prieſt had fixed his eye upon Mr. *Pigot*, a handſome youth of about twenty, to make a convert of him; for he took ſeveral occaſions to go to him, whilſt he lay on his cot in a ſhady retreat, and endeavoured this very afternoon to make him repeat after him ſome *Turkiſh* ſentences, which Mr. *Pigot*, unſuſpicious of danger, attempted to do: the prieſt took him by the hand, and directed him to ſtand (as Mr. *Pigot* underſtood rather by his motions than words) inſtead of continuing to lie at length on his cot: *Franciſco*, one of our country ſervants, a *Maronite Chriſtian*, and born at *Aleppo*, paſſing by and hearing him repeat the words "*Allah il Allah, Muhamed reſoul Allah*," which ſignified, a declaration of the exiſtence of one God, and of *Mahomet* being his true *Prophet*, called to Mr. *Pigot*, and deſired him not to repeat them: he then ran to me, deſiring with tears in his

his eyes, that I would enjoin the young gentleman not to ſuffer himſelf any more to be thus exerciſed, for the prieſt was attempting to convert him to *Mahometaniſm*; adding, he knew an inſtance of it at *Smyrna*, where an unwary perſon having been taught the like words, the meaning of which he did not underſtand, and enticed to repeat them before proper witneſſes, found himſelf under a neceſſity of undergoing the other ceremonies, as ablution, circumciſion, &c. which are always the appendages of converſion. This ſervant ſince aſſured me, that the *Chief Prieſt* did then and often afterwards highly abuſe him for having intermeddled; adding, that he was now grown old, muſt die ſoon, and would go to hell, unleſs he embraced the true faith. On our leaving the prieſt's houſe, we deſired his acceptance of ſome raw coffee, and half a dozen of china coffee-cups which our *Aga* had recommended as the moſt agreeable preſent we could make. We ſent it by *Franciſco*, with our thanks for his civilities; he received it with a conſequential air, but thanked us, and with a high ſounding voice, ſaid, "He hoped before long we ſhould all become true *Muſſulmen*." 1758.

We took with us from *Kircoote* 15 armed men, and travelled over a tract, rocky, and perfectly barren, till after four o'clock in the morning, when we met with ſome ground which had here and there a cultivated ſpot. At half paſt four, we rode by a miſerably looking village on our left; it extended to a new bridge of one high arch, which was of ſo difficult an aſcent, that we judged it ſafeſt to diſmount. This bridge was built at the expence of the reigning *Baſha* of *Baghdad*, the old one being in ruins; two arches of it ſtill remain at a little diſtance from the new bridge, which is about 45 feet high, and very narrrow. Having paſſed a little river by this bridge, we came to a ſmall town called *Alton-Couprie*. The river hath its ſource in the high *Courdiſtan* mountains, which we now ſaw to the right before us, whoſe tops are partly covered with ſnow, and empties itſelf into the *Tygris*. The old bridge here, they tell us was built by the ancient *Chriſtians*, to whom the town formerly belonged. The river abounds with fiſh, and we got ſome fine carp; there are ſome we were told which weigh 200 pounds. June 29. ALTON-COUPRIE.

We pitched our tents on an eminence, ſomewhat to the northward of the town, and for want of a houſe, continued in them the whole day. Here I again experienced the weather to be unſpeakably hot and diſtreſſing. We have to rejoice however that our good fortune brought us this way, and did not ſuffer us to go by that of the *Great Deſert*. Dreadful is the heat even here! but how much more muſt it have been in the other road, where we ſhould ever have been in want of a houſe and vegetables, and never have had a plenty of water. In our way hither, we ſaw a large ſtone bomb-ſhell, which our guard told us was one of *Kuli Khan*'s; we met alſo a little *Caravan*, four days from *Moſul*: they confirmed the account we before received of the *Baſha*'s being expected there in four or five days, and that the two great *Caravans* waited for an eſcort.

1758. To-day we got a fine water-melon, and two or three ordinary muſk-melons. This town has not any manufacture, the people live by what they get from paſſengers who go through it, and by the produce of their agriculture. The country in general is hilly, not to ſpeak of the before-mentioned *Gourdiſtan* mountains, which appear to me to run about N. N. W. and S. S. E. Theſe, and the *Sanjack* mountains oppoſite to them, are the retreating places of the common robbers of the country, who always attack ſuch parties of travellers, as they think are unable to reſiſt them. Here are many ſtorks; theſe birds feaſt on ſlugs, worms, *&c.* which they find in the corn-fields, and ſometimes on ſerpents; at leaſt we were credibly informed ſo.

At the common hour, (ſeven in the evening) we decamped from *Alton-Couprie*, and took with us 30 foot ſoldiers. We travelled the whole night in a pleaſant, cool air, and without the leaſt moleſtation; our guard, according to their uſual cuſtom, firing now and then a muſket, *in terrorem*. The country, like what we have ſo long travelled over, is ſtony and uncultivated, affording only wild ſhrubs and thiſtles; of the laſt there are great quantities, and a vaſt variety, from the ſize of a middling artichoke to that of the ſmalleſt roſe-bud. At one in the morning, we got to *Yengee Kaun*, which is a good building, ſtanding by itſelf, and well adapted for the reception of travellers. Here our *Takht Revan-gee* and *Mocah* or head mulateer would have put up, but were oppoſed by us and the *Aga:* they pleaded that both men and beaſts were tired, and that we were at too great diſtance to think of proceeding to *Arvele*. The debate continued for ſome time, till at length we prevailed; and purſuing our journey through the ſame kind of country, without any thing remarkable happening, we came in ſight of the high fort of *Arvele* about five in the morning *.

June 30. Yengee Kaun.

ARVELE. This fort is built like that at *Kircoote* on a high artificial mount, of difficult acceſs, and its form is circular. The preſent village is but a trifling one; that a larger town once ſtood here is manifeſt in a very ſtriking manner by the great extent of the old burial-ground, and by ſome ruins which are ſtill viſible. I take the fort to be half as large again, and the hill perhaps 20 feet higher than that of *Kircoote*. It was attacked and taken by *Nadir Shah* after a ſiege of five or ſix days. The village ſtands at the foot of the fort, towards the ſouth-weſt.

Before ſix we arrived at *Arvele Kaun*, at which, although a poor one, we put up, as being a better defence from the ſun than our tents. We got

* *Arvele*, probably the remains of the ancient *Arbela*. Hither *Darius*, after the battle of *Gaugameba*, retreated at midnight from the victorious *Alexander* of *Macedon*. He did not ſtay here long, but ſat out for *Media*, in order to recruit his army. Soon after his departure *Alexander* arrived at *Arbela*, which city ſurrendered to him, and in it he found a great quantity of furniture and equipage belonging to the crown, and 4000 talents, and all the riches of his army, which *Darius* had left there before the engagement. GUTHRIE'S *Hiſtory of the World*.

here good bread, eggs, milk, a lamb, and ſome red apples.——The *Perſian* mountains continue in ſight; the *Turkiſh* country is yet hilly. 1758.

At eight in the evening, we left *Arvele* with 30 ſoldiers, and continued a weſt-courſe almoſt all night, the ground affording wild ſhrubs only; amongſt which there was abundance of the wild marjoram in bloom, and the beautiful flowering oleanders. At half paſt four we ſaw a hare, and ſoon after got to a river called *Zarp*, which we paſſed on *Kellecks* *. We had but a little way to walk on the other ſide, before we arrived at a comfortable clean houſe, near a town called *Zaave*, in which we continued the whole day; and there heard by an *Aga* from *Moſul*, of the new *Baſha*'s arrival, and that the *Caravan* would ſet out next *Thurſday*, with 40 flags, or about 1000 ſoldiers. July 1. Zarp River. Zaave.

Our *Aga* had ſome trouble here to make the captain of the ſoldiery attend us with a guard to *Moſul*. He at firſt abſolutely refuſed, and even when he ſeemed to conſent, he made ſuch an exorbitant demand for his attendance, that our leader could not comply with it, but poſitively told him, that if he perſiſted in his conduct, he would immediately diſpatch a meſſenger to *Baſha Solyman*, and wait either here, or at *Moſul*, for his anſwer; aſſuring him moreover that he would oblige him to give his refuſal under his hand. The captain was greatly alarmed at this, and after ſome reflection, agreed to go with us, on the promiſe of 25 *Piaſtres* for himſelf and 12 men accoutred with lances and piſtols. This captain is ſuſpected of being privately concerned with the robbers in the neighbouring mountains, and that either for his actual aſſiſtance, or certain connivances, he ſhares with them in all the plunder they get between this place and *Moſul*: but this my informer ſaid, was no wonder, ſince this very man and all the inhabitants of the village, pay adoration to the *Devil*.

I did not give credit to this report at firſt, but afterwards was aſſured by *Padre Lanza* a miſſionary at *Moſul*, that it was very true, and that there are many more of the ſame religion in this country. The *Sanjacks* in particular are of the number. Theſe people once profeſſed *Chriſtianity*, then *Mahometaniſm*, and laſt of all *Deviliſm*. Yet even now, according to the *Padre*, they will in their greateſt diſtreſſes, call out *Jeſus*, *Jeſus!* Theſe people ſay, 'tis true that the *Devil* has at preſent a quarrel with *God*; but the time will come when the pride of his heart being ſubdued, he will make his ſubmiſſion to the Almighty; and as the Deity cannot be implacable, the *Devil* will receive a full pardon for all his paſt tranſgreſſions, and he, and all thoſe who paid him attention during his diſgrace, will be admitted into the bleſſed manſions. This is the foundation of their hope; and this chance for heaven they eſteem to be a better one, than that of truſting to their

* *Kellecks* are made of ſheep or goat-ſkins blown up; upon theſe, large ſticks are laid acroſs, which make a ſort of deck; they are moved along by two men with paddles.

OWE

1758. own merits, or the merits of the leader of any other religion whatſoever. The perſon of the *Devil* they look on as ſacred; and when they affirm any thing ſolemnly, they do it by his name. All diſreſpectful expreſſions of him, they would puniſh with death, did not the *Turkiſh* power prevent them. To ſhoe a horſe, in their language, is expreſſed by a word that has a double meaning, and may imply a malediction of the *Devil*. This expreſſion therefore they religiouſly avoid, and have conſtituted another for the purpoſe. Whenever they ſpeak of him, it is with the utmoſt reſpect; and they always put before his name a certain title, correſponding to that of his *Highneſs*, or *Lord*.

July 2. At twelve at night we reſumed our march, and travelling over the ſame ſort of country as of late, with nearly a weſt courſe, we paſſed about three in the morning a ſmall river, which takes its riſe alſo amongſt the *Perſian* mountains, and falls into the *Tygris*. About five o'clock we got to a poor town, inhabited by *Chriſtians*, called *Camaliſk Gawerkoe*, which, I was told, means *Chriſtian Gawerkoe*. The chief of it informed me, that it was once a city, the ſeat of a *Chaldean* biſhop, and larger than *Moſul* is at preſent, but that it ſuffered great perſecution, and was almoſt entirely deſtroyed when *Mahometaniſm* firſt took place in this part of the world.

CAMALISK GAWERKOE

The town has now only about thirty families, deſcendants of the original poſſeſſors. Theſe, with the other *Chriſtians* within the *Grand Seignior*'s dominions, are permitted to live in peace, and to enjoy their religion on condition that they pay extraordinary taxes, and do not attempt to make proſelites among the *Muſſulmen*; a breach of the law in this reſpect, being always puniſhed with death. Not a miſſionary or *Chriſtian* dares to write or ſpeak to a *Turk* about religion. Of what utility then can the miſſionaries of the church of *Rome* be in *Turky*, in propagating the *Chriſtian* faith, unleſs we can ſuppoſe that they are fond of embracing martyrdom? And it is aſſerted, that not a ſingle inſtance can be produced of the converſion of a *Mahometan* to any other religion, ſince the commencement of the *Hegira*.

The inhabitants ſubſiſt by the profits of agriculture, and a ſmall manufacture of coarſe linen cloth. They have a church, and four miniſters or *Papas*, who are allowed to marry; they live upon the voluntary contributions of their flock, and are appointed to their offices by the *Chaldean Patriarch*. Cloſe by the town, are the remains of an artificial mount, whereon once ſtood a citadel; and within the town, a fragment or two of a large church yet ſtand: heaps of rubbiſh are to be ſeen all around the village, as well as upon the hill. The preſent inhabitants (as we are informed) ſpeak the original *Chaldean* language, as well as the *Turkiſh* and *Arabian*.

At a little diſtance from the town, they ſhew you the tomb of St. *Barbara*, who, according to the *Papas* account, died a martyr by the hand of her own father, a *Pagan*, becauſe ſhe perſiſted to believe in *Jeſus Chriſt*. They tell you, that the father's ſword fell to pieces in his hand at the firſt

بك الجنة.
فاجعل لنا فيها
نصيبا يا رب
العالمين وأدخلنا
مع عبادك الصالحين
في جنتك جنة
النعيم ولا تدخلنا
مع الذين كفروا
في النار يا
عزيز يا غفار

attempt on his daughter's life, that he then burnt her with red-hot pincers, and at laſt cut her into pieces. They likewiſe tell you, that St. *Thomas* preached the goſpel both at *Nineveh*, and at this place, in his way to the *Eaſt Indies*. 1758.

The air this morning was rather ſharp, and not ſo ſerene as uſual. In the evening, our hoſt, who is the head-man of the village, led us to the tomb of St. *Barbara*, which had been alſo her priſon. It is placed at the foot of the hill, whereon had ſtood the citadel, and the King's palace. Her father, as our conductor told us, was prime-miniſter to the King, and made uſe of the royal authority, as well as his own, to bring his daughter back from *Chriſtianity* to the worſhip of the *Gentile* deities; but all in vain, and ſo ſhe ſuffered martyrdom on the account. Her aſhes, it is ſaid, ſtill remain depoſited in the wall of the priſon, on which is a tablet of marble with an inſcription in *Chaldean* characters, within a circle. The diameter of the circle is about a foot. The inſcription was quite perfect till the time of *Nadir Shah*, who viſiting the tomb, and apprehending that money was hidden there, ordered the wall to be pulled down, by which ſome of the characters were defaced. In the ſeveral corners of the priſon we obſerved other inſcriptions in the ſame characters; they too are cut in marble, and relate to the father's treatment of his daughter. Her figure is wretchedly executed in coarſe marble, with a croſs on her breaſt. Several other croſſes are alſo drawn and placed about the walls.

We were afterwards conducted to the church of the preſent *Chriſtians*; the face of it affords a ſtriking impreſſion of its antiquity: it was built, according to the accounts given us, in the earlieſt ages of *Chriſtianity:* it is without painting, has two ailes and a nave. The door of the altar was ſhut, but we were told that within was contained the repreſentation of a crucified *Jeſus:* on the right of the altar is the veſtry; to the left, the font for baptiſm by immerſion: at the weſt end of the church are books, and among them the Old and New Teſtament, with the church's daily ſervice, all in manuſcripts of the *Syriac* and *Chaldean* characters.

Mr. *Doidge* bought of one of the inhabitants, the *Old Teſtament* as he ſuppoſed, for the ſeller called it an hiſtory of the *Prophets*. And one of the Deacons ſold me an old manuſcript, which on the word of a *Chriſtian* he declared to be the *Goſpel:* of the truth of theſe aſſertions neither of us was in the leaſt able to judge, we only intended them as curioſities for our learned friends in *England* *.

The church ſtands eaſt and weſt, and is about 400 yards from the ſaint's tomb. At ſome little diſtance to the ſouthward of the town, are the ruins

* A ſpecimen of the MS. purchaſed by the author, having been ſince laid before Doctor *Morton* and Mr. *Ridley* of the Royal Society, they both deciſively pronounced it to be the old or ſimplex *Syriac* verſion of the *New Teſtament*. An extract hereof is in the annexed plate.

of

1758. of a conſiderable church, dedicated to St. *John* the *Evangeliſt*: in the church which they now make uſe of, is a ſmall crucifix, brought, ſay the *Papas*, from *Jeruſalem*.

This place, as well as *Moſul*, and many others, ſuffered extremely laſt year through the ſcarcity of proviſions, but not to ſo great a degree as *Diarbekir*.

Monday July 3. We ſtaid at this village till twelve at night, and then travelled W. *b* N. without any thing happening worthy of notice till half paſt four, when we got upon arable land, which continued quite to the *Tygris*. About a little after five, we paſſed a village on our left, ſtanding cloſe to ſome ruins, which are reputed to be thoſe of ancient *Nineveh*. Nigh the high road, is an old building held in great veneration by the *Turks* and *Jews*, who verily believe it to be the tomb of the Prophet *Jonah*.

We croſſed part of the *Tygris* on horſe-back, and the other part by a bridge of 19 boats: a little higher up the river, are the decayed arches of an antient ſtone bridge. The water of the *Tygris* is very low here, and far from being rapid. A few days journey farther up, I was told it is much more ſhallow, and continues to diminiſh until it becomes very ſmall, from whence probably its head cannot be far off.

Mosul. At half paſt five in the morning, we entered *Moſul* through the gateway facing the river; then turned to the left, and rode quite through the city, encamping a little to the ſouthward, without the walls.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Occurrences at Moſul.—*Situation of ancient* Nineveh.—*Account of the* Sanjacks.—*Journey from* Moſul *to* Eſche-Moſul, Niſibin, *and* Merdin; *with obſervations on thoſe places, their productions, manufactures, &c. &c.*

OUR tents were pitched by the ſide of the river, and very near to the ruins of a once handſome *Chriſtian* church, adorned with curious figured ſtone architecture in front; this was afterwards converted into a *Moſque*, and *Nadir Shah* raiſed a battery upon its walls to play againſt the city. 1758.

While our *Aga* was viſiting at the palace, we diſpatched the biſhop of *Babylon*'s letter to *Padre Lanza*, and then repoſed ourſelves on our cots. About nine in the morning, the *Padre* paid us a viſit, bade us welcome, acknowledged the receipt of his lordſhip's letter, and aſſured us of his readineſs to contribute all in his power, to our eaſe and convenience. He told us, that he was obliged from duty as well as inclination, ſo to do; not only in obedience to the biſhop's requeſt, but through gratitude for the many favours which he and his brethren had received in this country, from Mr. *Porter*, the *Engliſh* ambaſſador at the *Porte*, Conſul *Drummond*, and other gentlemen of our nation. He invited us to take up our abode at his houſe in the city; we promiſed to be with him ſometimes in the day, but begged leave to ſleep in our tents, becauſe of the ſhortneſs of our time.

The *Caravans* for *Diarbekir* and *Aleppo*, had but a few hours before our arrival, left the very ſpot on which we pitched our tents; they marched only an half hour's journey, when they again encamped, and there tarry in order to diſcharge the cuſtoms due to the government on their merchandiſes. *Friday* next it is expected they will proceed, with an eſcort both of horſe and foot.

In the evening we were viſited by *Padre Franciſco* another *Carmelite*, lately from *Aleppo* in the *Baſha*'s train. He is the *Baſha*'s body phyſician, a poſt of honour, which beſides protecting him and his brethren, makes him of ſome conſequence in the country, but produces very little pecuniary

1758. profit. His houſe indeed is partly ſupplied with proviſions by the *Baſha*; and now and then, though very ſeldom, he gets a preſent of fifty *Piaſtres*: *Hoſſein*, like the reſt of the great men in *Turky*, being not only very covetous, but alſo is of opinion, that any perſon is amply rewarded by having the honour of admittance into his preſence, without receiving any other emolument for his ſervices.

He is at preſent indiſpoſed, ſo that our *Aga* has not kiſſed his ſleeve. His *Kabier* hath promiſed us all protection; and on his deſiring to know our wants, and being told by the *Aga* that we deſired only his charge to the *Caravan-Baſhi*, and commander of the troops which accompany the *Caravan*, to behave properly to us in our march, he aſſured the *Aga* they ſhould, and that with the greateſt reſpect, on forfeiture of their heads.

*Moſul** (which by an obſervation taken by us lies in 36° 30′ north) is the beſt built city in *Turky* that I have yet ſeen, but ſtill has nothing in it worthy the notice of an *European*: its walls and baſtions are pretty much out of repair, and have but a bad dry ditch around them; yet *Nadir Shah*, although he beſieged the place near ſix months, could not take it. The preſent *Baſha*, at that time commanded, and the city was full of brave inhabitants, who one and all reſolved to die rather than give it up to the enemy. The latter aſſaulted the walls three ſeveral days ſucceſſively, but were as often repulſed; the breaches they made in the day were repaired in the night; an uncommon ardor poſſeſſed the breaſts of the beſieged, even their women and children with the greateſt chearfulneſs aſſiſted in the defence of the city. The *Chriſtians* (who amounted to 10 or 12000 within the walls) behaved ſo well, as to gain the eſteem and admiration of the other inhabitants. Some of their churches being much damaged during the ſiege, were afterwards repaired at the expence of the government. The reigning *Baſha* indeed leans towards the *Chriſtians*, his grandfather being one, and a prieſt; and he often calls them his relations. He is now 68 years of age, and very infirm. During the ſiege, the *Turks* declared publicly, that ſhould the place be forced to ſurrender, they were determined to put all their wives

* "*Mouſul*, the capital of a *Beglerbegat*, ſtands on the weſt bank of the river *Tygris*, in latitude 36 degrees. It is a large city ſurrounded with ſtone walls, and has many fair ſtreets, but withal a great many lying waſte. *Tavernier* ſpeaks of it as a ruined place, that there are only two blind markets, and a ſorry caſtle, and yet he ſays it is much frequented by merchants, and that its *Baſſa* commands 3000 men. Here is a bridge of boats over the *Tygris*, and the city is a thoroughfare from *Perſia* to *Syria*, which makes it a place of trade, and which is more augmented by a conſtant traffic from this place to *Baghdad*. The country on this ſide the river is ſandy and barren, but over-againſt it is exceeding fruitful, and yields them very good crops of corn and divers fruits. This town although ſubject to the *Turks*, and the ſeat of a *Baſha*, is moſtly inhabited by *Neſtorian Chriſtians*, a people (ſays *Rauwolf*) who though they pretend to be *Chriſtians*, are worſe than *Turks*, for they practiſe many villanies, and ordinarily rob on the highway. This place is commonly called the ſucceſſor of *Nineveh*; it may indeed have been built out of its ruins, but the ſituation is different, for that city ſtood on the other ſide of the river in *Aſſyria*." MOLL's *Geography*.

and daughters to death firſt, for that they ſhould never fall into the vile hands of the abhorred *Perſians*. 1758.

About 400 yards without the walls of the city, and for two thirds of its circuit, is the burial ground. There ſeems to be but very little difference in the method of the *Turks* interment and our own: the corpſe is carried (as I had an opportunity of obſerving) on a bier, attended by a prieſt and the friends of the deceaſed; it is afterwards put into the ground, and a ſtone or tomb put over it, agreeable to his circumſtances and profeſſion. A ſoldier's tomb has always trophies and military implements placed upon it.

The learned world has been much at a loſs to determine the ſpot whereon ſtood antient *Nineveh* *; ſome ſay near *Jonah*'s tomb juſt oppoſite to *Moſul*; others, at another place ſome hours journey up the river. Is it not probable that both theſe opinions may be right, and that antient *Nineveh* took in the whole of this ground? Geographers deſcribe it, as a place of prodigious magnitude and extent, of one hundred and fifty *Stadia* (or eighteen miles three quarters) in length, and ninety *Stadia* (or eleven miles and a quarter) in breadth. Its circumference was four hundred and eighty *Stadia*, or ſixty miles. Beſides this account of heathen writers, the ſcripture expreſly tells us, that it was a city of three days journey; and in whatever manner we explain the expreſſion, whether it would take up ſo much time to walk round the walls, or to make a regular perambulation through every ſtreet, it will at leaſt ſhew that it was a place of vaſt extent. It ſeems therefore probable, that all the cultivated lands which now lie between theſe two ruined places, were once contained within the limits of *Nineveh*: what confirms me in this conjecture, is, that much of this ground is now hilly, owing no doubt to the rubbiſh of the antient buildings. There is one mount of 2 or 300 yards ſquare, which ſtands ſome yards N. E. of *Jonah*'s tomb, whereon, it is likely, a fortification once ſtood. It ſeems to have

* Antient *Nineveh*, built by *Ninus*, or by *Nimrod*, and named in honour of *Ninus* his ſon or nephew, ſtood on the eaſt bank of the *Tygris*, over againſt where *Moſul* now ſtands. So enlarged by its kings, that it became bigger than *Babylon*, namely, 480 furlongs, or 60 miles in compaſs: the wall 100 feet high, and ſo thick as to admit of three chariots to go on it abreaſt, and adorned with 1150 towers of 200 feet high, which were ſo ſtrong as to be thought impregnable: neither had *Arbaces* after three years ſiege taken it, if the river by overflowing had not become its enemy, and broken down 20 furlongs of the wall, thereby fulfilling an old prophecy, and giving the victor entrance.

To this city the *Prophet Jonah* was ſent to denounce God's judgment, but upon repentance, it was ſpared.

Deſtroyed afterwards by *Aſtyages*, the eighth *Median* king from *Arbaces*, becauſe of it's frequent rebellions: and laid ſo low in time, that St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, in the middle of the fifth century, in his comments upon the *Prophets* ſays, the place where it ſtood was hardly to be diſcerned: and at this time nothing of it appears except a heap of rubbiſh a league in length.

On a hill not far from *Monſul*, the people ſhew the monument of *Jonah*, which is in great veneration, and has a moſque built over it." MOLL's *Geography*.

1758. been made by nature, or perhaps by both nature and art, for ſuch an uſe.

In ſo large a city there are of courſe many *Moſques*; one near the palace is the largeſt and moſt modern: its top on the outſide, is ornamented with green tiles. At the door of the *Moſques* are uſually inſcriptions in gilt letters, declaring the awfulneſs of the building, as being the houſe of God. One of the *Moſques* hath a *Minaret* which bends as thoſe at *Baghdad*; ſome of the moſt bigotted of the *Turks* ſay, *Mahomet* ſaluted it as he paſſed, and that the *Minaret* bent in reverence to the *Prophet*.

This city's manufacture is *Muſſolen* (a cotton cloth) which they make very ſtrong, and pretty fine, and ſell for the *European*, as well as other markets: agriculture and trade maintain the reſt of the inhabitants.

We can get no other fruit here than poor water-melons and cucumbers: The laſt winter's froſt killed their trees. There is not one garden on either ſide of the river, that produces any thing valuable. What little fruit the *Baſha* gets is ſent him from *Courdiſtan*, whoſe mountains to the N. E. of the city yet ſhew their ſnowy heads. The bread is good here, and we think not dear, it being about five farthings *per* pound, but this may be a very high price for a poor *Turk*. Dreadful, and even incredible are the accounts we daily hear of the calamities of the province of *Diarbekir*. The country, comparatively ſpeaking, is now depopulated. The inhabitants, during the famine, ate dogs, their own dead children, and every other thing which mankind abhor at another ſeaſon. The bodies of the dead lay in the ſtreets for want of people to bury them. This terrible news makes us wiſh that we may be able to avoid ſeeing the metropolis of that province! the effects of this dearth reached, and in ſome meaſure ſtill continue in, and to the ſouthward of *Moſul*.

The hire of a mule hence to *Aleppo*, is from 30 to 35 piaſtres; laſt year it was no more than 12: this is one of the ill conſequences of the late dreadful famine; almoſt every ſpecies of the brute creation having been killed for the ſupport of man. This calamitous viſitation is ſaid to have been entirely owing to a preceding hard winter, and to an innumerable army of locuſts that deſtroyed the fruits of the earth. The inhabitants of *Moſul* were ſuppoſed, before the famine, to have been 300,000, but, ſay the fathers, ſo many died or quitted the place during that time, that they now do not amount to near that number. They reckon here are about one thouſand *Roman Chriſtians*, and four thouſand *Neſtorians*, *Jacobines* and *Maronites*; in the villages around are many more.

July 4. To-day we were viſited by the chief *Chriſtian* of the city, whoſe office is that of *Haram Baſhi*, chief officer of the *Haram*, or female apartments of

the *Baſha*. His manners are grave, like the *Turks*, and his compliments of the ſame ſtamp. 1758.

This morning, accompanied by our *Aga* and *Padre Lanza*, we went into the city, and ſpent the day at the father's houſe, very agreeably; I learned from *Padre Franciſco*, who acts the phyſician, that the diſeaſes common here, are ardent fevers, and bloody fluxes in the ſummer; intermittents in the wet weather and winter; and that bilious obſtructions, and tumid livers are frequent, as in *India*. July 5.

The neighbouring mountains afford ſilver mines; and they would yield much quickſilver, had the *Turks* either ſkill or inclination to work them to advantage: *Lanza* ſays, that an *Engliſhman* ſome time ago got two or three bottles of it in his way home, and preſented it to the *Baſha*, as a ſpecimen of what might be done in that way; but no farther attempts have been made in conſequence of the diſcovery. In this country alſo are lead mines, which produce as much of that metal, as furniſhes them with bullets, and ſome neceſſary utenſils.

Theſe gentlemen gave us no pleaſing account, either of the integrity or valour of the ſoldiers who guard the *Caravans*; as that upon an attack, theſe very men are frequently the firſt who abandon the charge and fly; nor is it uncommon for the conductor to be in league with the chief of the robbers: upon my aſking, whether ſuch conduct would not be puniſhed with certain death by the *Baſha*, whoſe own honour and intereſt, as well as that of the *Grand Seignior*, were concerned? I was anſwered with a ſhrug of the ſhoulders, and a hint that even this great man might poſſibly receive *Huſh-money* from the leaders of thoſe very *Banditti*: but the robbers themſelves have no true courage, for they tell us of a large *Caravan* having been ſaved by the valour of a ſingle *European*, who happened to be travelling with it, when the *Sanjacks* made an attack.

I told *Lanza* of our adventures at *Kircoote*, particularly of our ſcruple about entering the *Moſque*: he replied, that himſelf had been drawn into converſations on the ſame ſubject; once in particular at a great *Turk*'s houſe, who was a man of ſenſe, and a reader of the *Prophets*, and with whom were four or five other *Turks*. The maſter of the houſe took occaſion, amidſt an agreeable converſation, very gravely to aſk the father, what was his opinion of their *Prophet*. On his anſwering, that as *Mahomet* was not one of the prophets whom his religion acknowledged, it was not for him to ſpeak on the ſubject: the *Turk* with a leſs ſerious air, replied, "But come, my friend," clapping his hand familiarly on his ſhoulder, "tell me what your books ſay of *Mahomet*." *Lanza* tried to avoid an anſwer; but the queſtion being repeated with ſtill more freedom and good humour, and with the word *Mahomet*, inſtead of *Prophet*—"And is it your real deſire," ſaid *Lanza*, "that I ſhould tell you what they declare?" Yes, truly," rejoined the *Muſſulman*. "Why then,

1758. then, ſaid *Lanza*, they prove that he was an *Arab*; ſuch a one as thoſe who inhabit *Arabia* at preſent." The whole company appeared thunder-ſtruck, for the *Arabs* are looked on by the *Turks*, as exceedingly perfidious and wicked; the maſter of the houſe was gravely ſilent, while the others ſoftly converſed with one another. At length one of them uttered the following ſentence: "*Were there not political reaſons which prevent the execution of juſtice at preſent, for the blaſphemy you have uttered, Mr. Chriſtian! that head of yours ſhould in a few minutes fly from its ſhoulders.*" The *Padre* added to me, "I ſeek not occaſions, but if theſe people will oblige me, I will ſpeak the truth without fearing what may be the conſequences." I could not but applaud him as a man of courage, but adviſed him not to let his zeal get the better of his diſcretion. He informed us, that at *Aleppo* and *Conſtantinople*, it is not permitted for *Chriſtians* to enter their *Moſques*; but in this part of the country, it is not much objected to on particular occaſions. He is of opinion, the prieſt was trying to make a convert of Mr. *Pigot*.

July 6. Our *Aga* ſaw *Hoſſein Baſha* this morning, whoſe diſcourſe, relating to us and our journey, was much the ſame as that of the *Kabier*, and ſo were his promiſes of ſervice. As the *Caravan* waits the return of the ſcouts, who are ſent out to *reconnoitre* the country, the *Baſha* aſked our *Aga*, if we choſe to travel poſt, or with the *Caravan?* and being told the latter way, ſhould it meet with his approbation; he ſaid it did, and that he would take care to give proper inſtructions to the chief conductor to inſure our future eaſe and ſafety.

We are to take with us from hence proviſions of all kinds, except water, as we can get no ſupply till we arrive at *Niſibin*; and there, as far as I can find, but a poor one. Our head mulateer demands of us a camel to be hired in this place for carrying proviſions, not only for ourſelves, but alſo for every one of our attendants. Great diſputes this day aroſe between us and him on this ſubject; by his poſitive aſſertions, we have too much reaſon to ſuſpect that we were deceived by *Cojee Raphael*, by whom (as before obſerved at *Baghdad*) we were informed, that we had nothing to do in reſpect to proviſions for him, or his people. This is now poſitively denied, and we are threatened that they will proceed no farther, unleſs we continue conſtantly to ſupply them with every article of their diet, in the ſame manner, (which to our ſurprize, we find) our *Aga* hath hitherto done, he not knowing or ſo much as ſuſpecting that our contract did not make it neceſſary. The *Aga* declares, that *Cojee Raphael* never hinted that the mulateers were on a different footing from the takht-revan men.

We learned this evening, that a *Caravan* from *Aleppo* and *Urfa*, is within a day's journey of this city, and had met with little or no obſtruction from the *Sanjacks*. It ſent hither for an eſcort, and part of the troops which are to convoy our *Caravan* are gone for that purpoſe.

The

The *Sanjacks* are a people who inhabit the mountains oppoſite to the *Courdiſtan* or *Perſian* mountains: they ſubſiſt chiefly by plunder, and the ſcanty produce their own hilly country affords. The late *Baſha Achmet* of *Baghdad* reduced their power; he purſued them in perſon to their ſubterranean retreats, ſuffocated a great many, killed 7 or 800 who attempted to make their way out from the holes, and carried off ſome hundreds of both ſexes, and ſold them for ſlaves. This ſtroke put the country for a while into a more peaceable ſtate, than it had enjoyed for many years, but of late their numbers ſeem to have increaſed, and they are again become very troubleſome. Our *Caravan Baſhi* aſſured us that they have attacked *Caravans* of 200 to 700 men, and ſometimes carried all off: he himſelf, with 200 armed men, was ſet upon laſt year by 600 of the mountaineers; but exerting himſelf to the utmoſt, he made a ſhift to ſave about half the *Caravan*. His ſon who conducted another, being of leſs experience was taken priſoner, and the whole merchandiſe ſpoiled and carried off; he ſays, that ſometimes when the robbers diſcover a ſtronger force than they chuſe to encounter, they will parley, and profeſs friendſhip, and ſeem contented to receive a ſmall preſent for their chief. They have ſuffered much lately by the famine, which probably has occaſioned their being more daring. A few days ago, a party of twenty perſons, among whom was a *Chriſtian* merchant with 6000 *Sequins*, was ſet upon and overcome by a company of theſe robbers, and all they had taken from them. The *Sanjacks* are moſtly to be dreaded hereabouts, becauſe they always make their attack in great bodies; but after the next ſtage, though they continue infeſting the roads even to *Niſibin*, yet their ſtrength leſſens, and a well guarded *Caravan* hath not ſo much to apprehend from them. 1758.

I paſſed the whole of this day with my fellow-travellers in the tent, but felt the afternoon ſo exceedingly hot as to throw me into a fever, and deprive me of all appetite. There were brought to us as very great rarities, a ſmall plate of apricots, two or three tolerable muſk-melons, and ſome young cucumbers. Neither the city nor neighbouring villages could furniſh us with wine, ſpirits, orange-juice, or verjuice; *European* lump and powder ſugar is very dear and ſcarce here, but candy is more plenty, and rather reaſonable. We have ſeen but few buffaloes, oxen, or cows here, or at any other place ſince we left *Baghdad*. The milk we have at any time been ſupplied with, was of the goat or ſheep. Storks are here in great plenty, and ſo are locuſts; people are employed with broad flails to keep the laſt away from the riſing plants. July 7.

In the evening Mr. *Doidge* in his little walk, caſt his eye on a country houſe of the *Baſha* at a ſmall diſtance from our tents, and this day the chief gardener gave us poſſeſſion of it. It ſtands pleaſantly on the ſide of the *Tygris*, oppoſite the ruins of *Jonah*'s tomb, in one of the *Baſha*'s gardens; it has but two rooms; the dimenſions of the largeſt are 40 feet by 20, with a vaulted roof, and arched front; the top of the arch is 30 feet from the ground.

1758. ground. Through the room goes a waterduct from a reſervoir at the back of the building, to a fountain in the front: the works of the fountain are out of repair, which is a very unlucky circumſtance for us in this ſultry ſeaſon. This, as well as moſt of the chief houſes in the city are ornamented with marble brought from a quarry in the neighbourhood.

Padre Lanza viſited us laſt night, when I propoſed being at his houſe as to-day, but cannot think of giving up even for a moment the tranquility I enjoy in this agreeable retreat. The ſtreets too are ſo ſteep in many places, and badly paved, that there is great difficulty in riding through them; in the evening alſo we are always followed by an army of boys, who are ſcarcely to be reſtrained from throwing ſtones at us. Our preſent ſituation is a very agreeable one, being quite cloſe to the river in the middle of a cucumber and melon garden, and having in view all the gardens and villas, with which the banks of the river are ornamented; beſides that venerable piece of antiquity, called *Jonah*'s tomb. We intended to have reſided entirely in this houſe, but having been told it would not be prudent to ſleep in it at night, we then repair to our tent. Laſt night our watchman diſcovered, more than once, ſuſpicious perſons lurking around us; and about one this morning, we were awakened by the diſcharge of a firelock, and the moſt viſible confuſion amongſt our people; owing to an attempt having been made by a pilferer, on the ſervants arms as they lay on the ground in the tent: our guard fired powder only, and then grappled with the thief, but luckily for him he made his eſcape.

Yeſterday afternoon, the wind was high; it blew from the ſouthward of the weſt, and brought with it a deal of heat and duſt: as I kept under cover of the garden houſe, I did not feel it quite ſo diſtreſſing as otherwiſe I ſhould have done, but even with that advantage, it was truly troubleſome: I was very hot and reſtleſs, nor did I breathe ſo freely as uſual. Meſſrs. *Pye* and *Pigot*, complained much as well as myſelf, and the latter very often ſhifted from one place to another in hope of finding relief. Our *Turkiſh* ſervants, and the people of the country inform us, that the wind was a real *Samiel*; and they adviſe our *European* ſervants not to think of buying for us any poultry or pigeons; declaring, that neither of theſe can live long even in the city, much leſs in the *Deſert* over which we are to paſs; and this afternoon an account was brought us, that out of eight fowls (our whole ſtock) ſix of them were dead.

July 8. Our *Aga* waited on the *Kahier* this morning for intelligence, and before he left him, came in the commander of the troops who is to eſcort the *Caravan*; the *Kahier* took the opportunity to recommend us and our concerns, very warmly to him. The *Aga* told this miniſter, where, and in what manner we paſſed yeſterday, and deſired leave that while we remained here, we might be indulged with the free uſe of the *Baſha*'s garden and houſe, and that we might be permitted to lodge in it: the *Kahier* replied, we were very welcome

welcome to uſe it as we pleaſed, but that in conſideration of the very many wretched, half-ſtarved people who filled the country, he would not recommend our being there in the night time, not knowing what attempts might be made on us in ſo lonely a place. However, Mr. *Pigot* and I determined to riſk it; the reſt of our fellow-travellers, as they ſuffer not ſo much from the heat of the climate, choſe to tarry in the tent rather than occaſion the trouble of carrying our moveables backwards and forwards every morning and evening. Since we left *Baghdad*, I have not eaten more than twice with any degree of appetite, and have for the laſt three days, been entirely without one; I have lived wholly on bread and milk, and very little of the firſt ſuffices. 1758.

We were to-day viſited by two conſiderable *Chriſtian Diarbekir* merchants, who have goods in, and are themſelves going with, our *Caravan:* we ſaw them once before at *Padre Lanza*'s houſe. The wind this morning was not ſo high, nor ſo hot as yeſterday; but the afternoon was ſtill more intemperate, being diſtreſſingly ſultry, and the air loaded with duſt from the *Deſert*.

Horſe ſoldiers viſit us in the garden every evening, who regale themſelves on cucumbers, each eating ſix or eight very large ones without either bread or ſalt: among them this day was a renegade *Frenchman*, but he did not chuſe to talk to us in *French*; he eyed the books I had by me, but only ſpoke to his comrades, and in the *Turkiſh* language. As our ſtock of wine was nearly expended, we were obliged (agreeable to our invariable naval practice) to drink *Saturday night* in water only, from the bountiful *Tygris*.

This day I paſſed alone in the garden houſe; the heat has been ſufferable. *Padre Lanza* had a complaint exhibited againſt him to the *Baſha*, by the *Chaldean Patriarch*, (the head of the *Neſtorians*) for having enticed to the *Roman* communion a large party of the *Patriarch*'s flock: the *Baſha*, with whom *Lanza* has an intereſt through *Franciſco* the phyſician, ſent for *Lanza*, and as a friend adviſed him "*to direct the loſt ſheep to return and kiſs their ſhepherd's ſleeve.*" Theſe bickerings, thefts and diſputes, I have been told are frequent in this country, amongſt the many different *Chriſtian* miniſters: *Tantæne animi cæleſtibus iræ.*——At five in the afternoon the kind *Padres* came to bid us farewell, having heard of the *Caravan*'s ſetting out this night; they brought us a preſent of three or four bottles of ſpirits, and ſome preſerves. We put ourſelves in readineſs for marching, and in the evening threw ourſelves on our cots in our cloaths, expecting to have been called upon ſoon after midnight, but they ſuffered us to ſleep till five in the morning. July 9.

At ſix o'clock we mounted, and with our attendants and baggage ſet off from *Moſul*; ſoon afterwards we paſſed by ſome marble quarries, Monday. July 10.

1758. and at half paſt nine, joined the great *Caravan* upon a riſing ground, near a river called *Baduce*. For the firſt four miles to the northward of *Moſul*, Baduce River. we paſſed over corn lands; the reſt was a deſert affording only ſhrubs and thiſtles. We got ſome milk this morning from an *Arab* village. The day was very ſultry and fatiguing, although the wind was near north-weſt. In the evening the troops appointed for our eſcort came up to us, and at ſun-ſet all the tents amounting to near forty were ſtruck, in order to our being in readineſs for marching at the word of command. Our *Aga* ſtaid behind a little, to make our compliments, and to take his leave of the *Kahier*. He was again witneſs to a ſecond warm recommendation, which that miniſter delivered in our favour to the commander of the troops, as well as to the *Caravan Baſhi*. Our live ſtock, which conſiſted of five lambs, was through the forgetfulneſs of our ſervants, left behind. We were told however that we ſhall have an opportunity of purchaſing more at old *Moſul* to-morrow. All the country about is very hilly, and the *Courdiſtan* mountains are not far from us.

July 11. At one this morning, notice was given by a loud voice, "*To charge.*" At two the camels had ceaſed their melancholy groans (which they always utter when loading) and were all in motion, taking a courſe to the eaſtward of the north ſome little time; but on the whole we travelled about N. W. over the ſame kind of ſterile land as yeſterday. About half paſt four we ſaw twenty *Antelopes* near the foot of the hills. Half an hour after, we paſſed a ruined village to the left. At five our horſe-guards went a-head between ſome high hills of chalk and ſtone. At the entrance of this paſs on the left hand, is the ruin of a ſmall fortreſs, and farther on we ſaw more ruins. This road was ſo rugged for about half an hour's journey, that we could not with any ſort of ſatisfaction keep in our *Takht Revans*; it brought us at ſix o'clock to the banks of the *Tygris*, where were numbers of ſheep feeding, a few oxen, and ſome calves. Here we made up our late loſs, buying of the *Arabs* five or ſix ſheep. Eagles and pigeons are here in great plenty; *Locuſts* alſo in abundance, with blue, purple, variegated wings, and which I obſerved did not fly near ſo high as the common *Locuſts*.

The *Arab* women were hard at work in pitching their tents. We took poſſeſſion of them for a while, at which they were much out of humour, but we at length appeaſed them, by giving them good words and a little Eschr Mosul. money. At ſeven we raiſed our own tents upon a ſpot belonging to *Eſche Moſul*, or old *Moſul*; which probably was part of the ſpot on which ancient *Nineveh* once ſtood. Our *Aga* here made us a preſent of a young *Antelope* juſt killed.

The heat to-day has been exceſſive. To leſſen it as much as poſſible, I cauſed one of the *Takht Revans* to be placed under a tent, and the top of

of the tent to be as well wetted with water, as the paint would admit of, and likewiſe the ground for ſeveral yards round, by which means I ſuffered rather leſs than I ſhould otherwiſe have done. In the evening we took a walk about the ruins, which appeared to have been thoſe of a conſiderable city. I enquired of the *Turks* how long it had been deſerted, but they could not tell, only believed it was before the time of *Chriſtianity:* they are bad chronologers, ſo no dependance is to be put upon their account. The houſes were built of ſtone, and the ſtreets paved with the ſame. 1758.

At two in the morning, we ſet off with our great *Caravan*, which now conſiſts of nine hundred camels, principally laden with coffee-ſkins, *Muſſolen* cloth, and gauls, 150 horſe-guards and 100 foot ſoldiers, beſides our own party, and 120 armed merchants with their ſervants. We were more than an hour getting through the ſtreets of the ruined city; and in leaving it paſſed through what had been a gate-way, joining to a rampart or high wall. The land, for an hour after we left the ruins, was near level; we then paſſed through a long ſtreet of *Arab* tents, whoſe inhabitants appeared to poſſeſs large flocks of ſheep; but before we reached them, we forded a piece of ſtanding water about two feet deep, and twenty yards over. Our courſe, through the old city, was N. *b.* E. then we travelled N. N. W. which brought us to hills and dales; and a quarter before ſeven we reſted, and pitched our tents upon a hill called *Talmaſh* or *Talmouſe*; having in ſight the *Sanjack* mountains on the left. Here is plenty of water, but not reckoned good, therefore called *Ajeſew*, or *Bitter Water*. We taſted it, but could not eſteem it very bad, and obſerved many people drinking of it. About the hill on which we are now encamped, are the ruins of buildings; we are told that formerly here was a town, but the inhabitants could not continue in it, on account of their troubleſome neighbours the *Sanjacks*. We ſaw a great many birds like pigeons, but they have the cry of rooks. July 12. TALMASH.

All my brother travellers have fallen off their appetites lately, and though not to ſo great a degree as myſelf, feel much trouble from the heat of the day; Mr. *Pye* complained much, Mr. *Alms* had a troubleſome diarrhœa. Mr. *Pigot* looks very much fatigued, and we all have loſt ſome inches in waiſt ſince we left *Bagbdad:* my ſervant *Alexander* has a bloody flux. I paſſed this day better than any one of our company, owing to the care I took in having my tent again wetted with water; was able to eat a morſel of ham, the firſt meat I had taſted for a great while paſt.

The people of the *Caravan*, I here obſerved, dreſs their victuals by a fire made of camel, horſe, or mule's dung; ſometimes the ground affords a dry ſhrub for that purpoſe.

At eleven in the night we decamped, and took our march over a tolerable plain country; our courſe for ſome time was N. then N. N. W.

1758. July 13. and yet farther to the weſt; upon the whole about N. W. It brought us, about two in the morning, nearer to the *Perſian* mountains than we have been yet. We paſſed over ſome hills and vales, but in general a ſmoother road than of late. The land by nature very fertile, though it now produces only wild graſs, flowering ſhrubs and thiſtles, which are almoſt all in the ſeed. At ſeven we encamped upon a riſing ground, having at its foot, a run of good water, with an innumerable quantity of birds of the kind I mentioned yeſterday: this ſpot is called *Sefaya*.

SEFAYA.

The *Caravan Baſhi* here paid us a viſit, and before he left us whiſpered *Franciſco* our ſervant, that "*it was cuſtomary for gentlemen like us to make him a preſent*. The ſervant gave him to underſtand, he muſt not expect it, at leaſt until we ſhould be on taking our leave of the *Caravan*. He ſmoked his pipe, drank coffee with us, and parted,——Every *Turk* we have yet had to deal with, (except *Aly Aga*, and the governor of *Hilla*) has been rather indelicate in regard to money matters. Even their greateſt *Baſha*'s will be ſcandalouſly guilty of the loweſt meanneſſes in this reſpect; for which reaſon we have always cautiouſly avoided making viſits to them, or their miniſters, knowing it could not be done but at a very conſiderable expence.

Our *Aga* told us, that the *Caravan Baſhi* behaved very unpolitely, in not having waited upon us while we were in our tents before *Moſul*; and therefore he deſired, we would not think of making him any preſent without his advice. He told us alſo, that the *Aga*, general of the ſoldiers eſcorting the *Caravan*, had begged of him to prevail upon us, particularly this night, to keep together, and as near to the *Takht Revans* as poſſible; as well on account of the danger we were in of an attack from the *Sanjacks*, as to prevent our being inſulted by any of his own troops, who might do it through miſtake and ignorance. He added, that he hoped they would not do it through wantonneſs.

At nine in the evening we marched, went N. *b*. W. the firſt four hours, then N. W. *b*. W. for two more, afterwards about W. and W. *b*. S. upon the whole a N. W. or N. W. *b*. W. courſe, over the ſame kind of ſoil, luxuriant in graſs and ſeedy flowering ſhrubs; all which are very thick, and as high as the horſe's middle. The *Courdiſtan* mountains are in ſight to the right, the *Sanjacks* to the left; diſtant from each other ſometimes 12, 20 and 30 miles: the country between them a mixture of hills, dales and plains, moſt of the latter covered with a deep rich mould.

This night I obſerved ſeveral of thoſe curious inſects, which ſo abound in *India*, and are by us called *Fire-flies*: they are not quite ſo long as the *Spaniſh* fly, are of a brown colour, and carry under their bellies a luminous bag which is opened and ſhut by two active lips: by this, (their own light) they are guided in the evening and night, when like the owl they are always buſy. In the *Eaſt Indies* I very often ſaw the air almoſt full of theſe little

1758.

July 14.

Demir-Rapee.

little flying luminaries; the trees, in which they lodge, have a pretty and agreeable appearance: The few inſects which appeared to-night, are the firſt I have ſeen out of *India*. Here are plenty of partridges; we ſprung the old ones, and our cattle almoſt trod on their young and eggs. About five in the morning an *Antelope* croſſed the road with ſurprizing ſwiftneſs. At ſeven we got to a ſmall run of water from the *Perſian* mountains, and encamped on a hill cloſe by the ſtream called *Demir-Rapee*.

The firſt part of the laſt night was agreeably temperate, the middle cool. This morning was ſharp and a little hazy, and what is a rare thing to us, the air was a little damp. We all breakfaſted with tolerable good appetites. Yeſterday and to-day, we obſerved on the ſides of the rivulets ſome green ſedge, the only verdure in ſight. About the water to-day, we had many larks, and likewiſe vaſt multitudes of thoſe birds which reſemble pigeons, but croak like rooks. Mr. *Alms* brought in a graſhopper (if it may be ranked in that claſs of inſects) which meaſured from head to tail five inches, its horn four, circumference of the belly three: it had ſix legs, three on each ſide; two little claws on each ſide of its mouth, no wings, and ſeemed, though very ſtrong, very inactive. Its head and joints had a reſemblance of the craw-fiſh. Yeſterday were brought us half a dozen land-crabs of the ſize of a common ſmall ſea-crab. Out of the little river near us, we got a diſh of mullets and dace, of which I eat a few, but either they, or the ſherbet I drank after them, made of the juice of green grapes, diſagreed with me. Mr. *Doidge* has the rheumatiſm in the ſhoulders; Meſſieurs *Pye* and *Pigot* look thin and harraſſed: I bore this day's heat pretty well in the *Takht Revan* under the tent, and eat my bread and cheeſe with more ſatisfaction than for a good while paſt.

In our *Caravan* we now obſerved ſome hundreds of men, women, and children, who are really very miſerable objects; moſt of them have hardly wherewithal to cover thir nakedneſs: it is piercing to hear the cry of the infants at their mothers back; and thoſe of four and five years of age are forced to walk with the *Caravan*, ſending forth the moſt piteous lamentations, until overcome with fatigue, they either fall down on the ground, or are taken up into the lap, or behind ſome compaſſionate rider. Inſtances of this ſort of charity, are frequent among the *Turks*. Theſe poor people are returning to their abandoned houſes, which they were obliged to leave on account of the famine. This evening came into our camp, from a village at the foot of the *Courdiſtan* mountains, twelve *Courds* well mounted, not meanly dreſſed, and armed with lances and piſtols; they, in appearance, live in peace with the government, and pay theſe ceremonial viſits to *Caravans*, to give information of the ſtate of the road; or rather with a view of getting a preſent: they received ten *Hookers* of coffee, equal to 25 pounds, from the *Caravan-Baſhi*. They ſay, a body of the

Sanjacks

1758. *Sanjacks* were a few days ago hereabouts, and bent their courſe to the ſouthward, the very road we have paſſed.

About half paſt eleven at night, agreeable to cuſtom, orders were given aloud, throughout the camp, "*To charge.*" This, and every other command, relative to our motions and reſt, is from the *Caravan-Baſhi*. A thief being detected, was ſtripped, bound, and ſeverely flogged: they talk of hanging him to-morrow, and the *Caravan-Baſhi*'s power, though ſo mean
July 15. and inſignificant a perſon, during the journey is abſolute. At twelve at night we ſet off, and travelled the greateſt part of the night over a very fine plain, lying between the eaſt and weſtern mountains. The ſoil here is remarkably good, and capable of producing great crops of grain and fruit, were it but in the hands of induſtrious perſons to cultivate and improve it.

There was a time when a ſpirit of induſtry prevailed among the inhabitants of this country, and when the improvement of agriculture was one of the main things that engaged their care and attention. Even their greateſt princes did not think it an employment any way beneath them, to look into every thing that related to huſbandry; and for that purpoſe, cauſed an exact account to be given them how every province and canton was cultivated, that they might know whether each country brought forth ſuch fruits as it was capable of producing. They deſcended ſo far into thoſe particulars, as to inform themſelves whether the private gardens of their ſubjects were well kept, and yielded plenty of fruit: they rewarded the ſuperintendants and overſeers, whoſe provinces or cantons were the beſt cultivated, and puniſhed the lazineſs and negligence of thoſe idle perſons, who did not labour and improve their grounds *.

Such is the account given us by hiſtorians of the ancient inhabitants of theſe provinces. But alas! how is the face of things now changed! for in all that part of *Chaldea*, *Babylonia*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Aſſyria*, which we have paſſed over, no other care ſeems to be taken of the land, but that it ſhall be capable of producing ſuch a quantity of corn, as barely to ſatisfy the wants of the inhabitants for the enſuing year. So that ſhould any extraordinary inclemency of the ſeaſon, or their common enemy the *Locuſt* chance to prevail, a dreadful famine muſt inevitably be the conſequence, as was ſadly experienced by the whole country round *Diarbekir* the laſt year.

It was pleaſant travelling to-night by the moon, and afterwards by the ſtars. The air, except its being more or leſs filled with duſt, occaſioned by the march of the *Caravan*, was ſerene and agreeable. Not a cloud hath

* Xenoph. Oecon. p. 827—830.

there

there been in the ſky by day or night for a long time. Welcome, beyond expreſſion, would be a plentiful ſhower of rain! At ſix we ſaw the ſpot we were to reſt upon, called *Geraza*, being a riſing ground on the other ſide of a rivulet of good water, which takes its riſe in the *Perſian* mountains. 1758.

To the left, juſt before you reach the ſtream, is a ſmall mount, containing the tomb of *Geraza*, an ancient ſage. Some ruins alſo are obſervable in a plain near to it lying between the *Courdiſtan* and *Sanjack* mountains. I took notice here of eight or ten mounts (in ſhape like thoſe of *Kircoote* and *Arvele*) which appeared to be artificial; they were placed at about a mile diſtance from each other, probably they have been places of defence, or boundaries of a kingdom. By this day's obſervation, we found we were in the latitude of 37° 8′ north.

It was near ſeven before we pitched our tents; this work was delayed by the obſtinacy, or rather inſolence of our *Takht Revan-gee*, who behaved ſo very ill to the *Aga*, that he was obliged to ſtrike him. This was ſo much reſented by him, that he put his hand to the dagger in his ſaſh, and menaced the *Aga*. This officer was very grave upon it, and threatened to leave us, if we did not turn him away. We gave him up to the *Aga* to do what he pleaſed with him; not caring to give the leaſt umbrage to a man, who during our whole journey, had ſhewn himſelf ſo extremely careful of us and our concerns.——I was aſſured, that were our *Takht Revan-gee* within the reach of *Solyman Baſha*, he certainly would be put to death for his inſolent behaviour to his *Aga*. This laſt ſtage we travelled a weſt courſe. In the evening we allowed ourſelves a bottle of Madeira to the remembrance of our friends. Geraza.

A quarter before twelve, we ſtruck our tents, and immediately went on, advancing all night over one of the fineſt plains in the world; at leaſt what nature intended ſhould have been ſuch, the ſoil being rich, and of the moſt luxuriant kind. We every now and then obſerved mounts, ſuch as thoſe we met with yeſterday. Our courſe upon the whole of this ſtage was W. *b.* N. At ſix o'clock, we diſcovered the *Minaret* of a *Moſque* in *Niſibin*. Several little rivers ran through the plain near to this place, coming from the high hills to the eaſt. As we drew nearer, we were raviſhed with the ſight of verdure, and ploughed lands, at a little diſtance from us. The green we afterwards found to be a ſeed plant, which the poorer people make into bread; they call the ſeed *Natchile*, which is the ſame as what with us is called *Indian* corn. There was a plough at work, drawn by two yoked oxen, followed by a man who guided it; the ſhare was caſed with iron, the ſoil was a fine deep rich mould, but neither the man nor beaſts ſeemed to labour much. July 16.

1758. At ſeven in the morning, we got to *Niſibin**. It looked pretty at a diſtance, being ſeated on a conſiderable eminence, at the foot of which runs a river formerly called the *Mygdonius*, with a ſtone-bridge of eleven arches built over it. Juſt by the river, at the foot of the hill or hills (for the town is ſeated upon two) begin the ruins of a once more flouriſhing place, which reach quite up to the preſent town. From every part of this place, the moſt delightful proſpects would appear, were but the ſoil properly cultivated and planted; but inſtead of thoſe extenſive woods of fruit-trees, which *Rauwolf* ſpeaks of as growing near the place in his time, we could not diſcover above thirty or forty ſtraggling ones of any kind; and inſtead of that great extent of arable land, on which he dwells ſo much, a very inconſiderable number of acres are now remaining.

This is one of the many towns which ſo ſeverely ſuffered by the late famine. It loſt almoſt all its inhabitants, either by death or deſertion. Of thoſe who left it, and ſurvived, ſome begin to return. The ſtreets preſented us with many wretches, miſerably poor, and more than half-ſtarved; they now greedily devour the rind of cucumbers, and every other refuſe of food thrown out into the highway. We purchaſed at this place, bread, milk, cucumbers, and pretty good mutton. The firſt article, according to our ſervant *Franciſco*'s information, (who was here about fourteen years ago) has riſen in price near four thouſand *per cent*; at that time, forty cakes were ſold for one *Para*, the price of a ſingle one at preſent.

The town itſelf is deſpicable, the ſtreets extremely narrow, and the houſes, even thoſe which are of ſtone, are mean. Our *Aga* ſecured us a good room in one of the *Kauns*. The late *Muſſelem* or governor of *Niſibin* is now in irons, by order of *Solyman*, *Baſha* of *Baghdad*, for not having taken proper care in eſcorting a meſſenger from *Stamboul* to *Baghdad*, who in conſequence of the governor's neglect, was rifled by the *Sanjacks*.

It was agreed between us to diſpatch a letter from this place to Mr. *Drummond*, our conſul at *Aleppo*. Accordingly Mr. *Doidge* wrote one, and ſent it by a ſpecial meſſenger, who upon delivering it in ſeven days is to be paid 14 piaſtres; but if he fails one day only, he is then to have but

* "*Niſibis*, now *Niſibin*, a midland town 35 miles from the *Tygris* towards *Charræ*, (or *Harran*) was heretofore a very conſiderable city called *Antonia Mygdonia*, from the river *Mygdonius* which runs through it: under the *Romans* it was the capital of *Meſopotamia proper*, well defended by its biſhop in *Conſtantius*'s time againſt the *Perſians*, but taken by them afterwards in the time of *Jovinian*. In its preſent ſtate, it is the ſeat of a *Turkiſh Sangiack*, ſtands on two ſmall hills, and makes a handſome view at a diſtance, but though a pretty large town, has but a ſorry appearance, when you come into it, being pitifully built. The land about it is very fruitful and well cultivated, the buſineſs of the place being altogether agriculture, which the good ſoil renders very profitable to them. Their orchards and corn-fields, eſpecially the former, affording great profit from the pomegranates, figs, cubebs, &c. which they ſend to foreign parts; and ſo numerous are their fruit-trees, that you would take them for woods of wild ones." RAUWOLF.

five. He travels on foot, and goes through the *Sanjack* territories, which is a much ſhorter way than that we ſhall take. This ſtep of ſending a letter by expreſs, we judged a probable means of ſecuring us an early paſſage in ſome ſhip from *Scandaroon* to *England*. 1758.

The *Tahkt-revan-gee* was this morning impriſoned by the governor for his inſolent behaviour to the *Aga* yeſterday, but was releaſed again before night; the *Aga* contented himſelf with barely convincing him of the power he had over him.—A rare inſtance of clemency in a *Turkiſh* officer.

While in the *Kaun* I ordered our interpreter *Franciſco* to enter into a converſation with a poor *Turk*, relative to the late famine; and the account he gave of it was dreadful even in retroſpection. This poor creature in his turn aſked many queſtions reſpecting the probability of ſuch an event happening in our country: He appeared ſurprized to hear, that a famine had not been known for more than a century, or hardly heard of by us; and was in the utmoſt amazement to find, that by the laws of *England* a poor man could not ſtarve, ſo long as there were any rich to provide him with food and raiment. This point, relating to the poors laws, ſo ſtruck the *Turk*, that with clinched hands, and eyes fixed towards heaven, he for awhile ſeemed employed in ejaculatory prayer: at laſt, he gravely, but with confidence replied, "*The happineſs of this world is yours: Our's, in* "*a future ſtate.*"

The great *Caravan* will ſtay here three or four days, in order to pay the duties due to government. Twelve of the principal inhabitants came from *Geraza* yeſterday, and after continuing with the *Caravan* a ſhort time, went back again. Theſe were officers of the cuſtoms, to prevent ſmuggling.

This morning an expreſs arrived, which confirmed an account we received yeſterday from ſome poor women who were in the rear of the *Caravan*; that "early the *Sunday* morning, being ſome miles behind, they ſaw about 500 armed men both horſe and foot, from the *Sanjack* country, who on coming up demanded of them a faithful account, whether the *Caravan* was before or behind? on being told before, they were greatly enraged, and rode off." As we had often met with alarms of this kind, which turned out to be nothing more than bugbears, at firſt we gave no manner of credit to it. The expreſs was ſent by an *Arab Sheick*, on good terms with the government, who adviſed, that the *Sanjacks* diſappointed at the eſcape of the *Caravan*, had turned their fury on him, alledging that their unſucceſsful expedition had been owing to the falſe information which he had given them: the *Sheick* prayed the government to ſend him immediate help for the recovery of his flock, and 300 cavalry are this moment ſet off for that purpoſe. Monday July 17.

1758. I learned laſt night, that at the foot of one of the *Courdiſtan* mountains, were ſtill a few gardens in ſome ſort of order, particularly one which is called an hermitage, and belonged once to a *Chriſtian Patriarch*; the houſe is in ruins, but ſome of the trees remain. Upon hearing this, I ordered a perſon to be ſent to the ſpot; but he returned with only a plate of walnuts, and they not quite ripe.

Saturday night laſt, about eleven o'clock, I was taken with a ſmall ſhivering and yawning, which ſoon went off; but the next evening about ſeven o'clock I found a tightneſs on the abdomen, with ſome bilious twitchings about the ducts of the gall bladder: all my joints ſo ached that I was not able to ſtand, or walk, but with pain and difficulty. I laid myſelf down in hopes of ſleep, and found that poſture the moſt agreeable; but the perplexity from the *Muſchetos* (which are now again become troubleſome) and from a flie, which though ſo ſmall as ſcarcely to be perceived, yet leaves a ſting behind not much leſs painful than that of the *Muſcheto*, added to the fatigue of my complaint, made the night paſs very uncomfortably. This morning I was in ſome meaſure relieved by a diſcharge of bile; and in the evening took an *Ipecacuana* vomit, which was of great ſervice.

As I could not on this account accompany my brethren about the town and its ruins, I muſt therefore inſert here ſome notes made by the other gentlemen, in our common journal. "Here is a building that has ſome-"what of the appearance of a caſtle, but we ſaw no guns mounted on it. "There is alſo a ſtone *Moſque* with a *Minaret*; and a little way to the "eaſtward of the town, is an old *Chriſtian* church, which muſt once have "been a very large and noble building by the remains: two capitals of "pillars, which ſupported an handſome arch, are to be ſeen above ground, "and a ſmall part of the arch is ſtill remaining; but the pillars are buried "under the ruins. About 100 yards from the church are five large co-"lumns of the *Corinthian* order, the greateſt part of which are alſo buried; "theſe they tell you were once part of the building, and it is not "improbable but in the time of the *Romans* it might have been a "temple."

SERKA KAUN. July 18. At half paſt eight in the evening, we left *Niſibin* and the great *Caravan*, taking with us twenty foot ſoldiers; two companies of cavalry joined us likewiſe, who are going to *Merdin*. At ten we paſſed a ruin on the right, called *Serka Kaun*, and at five in the morning, another to the left. The country hath the ſame face as what we lately paſſed. Near *Niſibin* we paſſed ſeveral runs of water.

This night, a falſe alarm was given to our little *Caravan* of robbers being in ſight, which put us all on our guard; but there ſeemed to be no foundation for it, it was rather a piece of pleaſantry by our *Turkiſh* ſoldiers.

A little before day-light, the mountain on which *Merdin* ſtands, was ſhewn to ſuch of our party as were not in the *Takht Revans*, and at the morning dawn the buildings appeared. The city looked large, and of difficult acceſs, diſtant from us about five miles. At ſix we put up at a very ſorry village called *Arin*, having travelled near nine hours, about a W. *b.* N. courſe. 1758. ARIN.

In this village we ſaw a thouſand marks of poverty, deſolation, and diſtreſs. At the very entrance of it, two human ſkeletons almoſt entire, preſented themſelves to our view; the bodies muſt either have been thrown, or perhaps dropt down dead here during the famine, and the fleſh devoured by the beaſts of the field, or the birds of the air. Two other villages are in ſight: one lies N. N. W. four or five miles; the other weſt ſix miles. This laſt is called *Cojaſur*. — A fine plain for many miles is in ſight, pretty well cultivated, and this year has given to it a tolerable crop of corn.

Our *Aga* took no reſt after this ſtage, but rode on to *Merdin* to ſolicit the governor for a guard to eſcort us to *Urfa*. He returned in the evening, with *Franciſco*, whom we had ſent to *Pere Eugene* with a letter from our friend the biſhop of *Babylon*, and another from Mr. *Garden*. The former brought back the compliments of the governor, with many aſſurances of veneration and eſteem. Our ſervant delivered us three letters in *French* from *Pere Eugene*, the purport of which, and a meſſage that attended them, was, "That he had waited upon the governor, who was very ready to grant us forty or fifty ſoldiers, the whole that he could ſpare; but that he was very diffident, whether ſo ſmall a number was ſufficient to enſure our ſafety, as he had certain information that four tribes of *Arabs* having heard of our coming this way, and that we were very richly laden, were lying in wait on purpoſe to intercept us. He therefore adviſed us by all means either to wait for the coming up of the great *Caravan* from *Moſul*, or to ſet out for *Diarbekir* this very night, as by much the ſafeſt road; and as we carried with us a letter of recommendation to the *Baſha* of this laſt place, who was going for *Aleppo* next *Friday*, he ſtrongly recommended us to put ourſelves under his protection." * Such were the principal contents of

* The following is a copy of the father's third letter.

"MONSIEUR,

"Le governeur repond que volontier il donnera quarente ou cinquante ſoldats, mais qu'il "ne repond pas des inconveniens qui peuvent arriver en chemin; que ſi vous voulez attendre "la *Caravane* ou prendre le chemin de *Diarbekir* il ſeroit plus ſure et vous faiſoit conduire "a *Diarbekir* ſans crainte, de la vous partez par *Orfa*, d'*Orfa* à *Alep*. Voyez Monſr. a quoi "vous vous determinez. Je conte qu'il ſeroit plus ſur de vous porter a *Mardin* et nous "determinerons le tout.

P. EUGENE."

1758. of father *Eugene*'s three letters, from whence we plainly perceived the neceſſity of our going at laſt by *Diarbekir*, which place we had always reſolved to avoid.

MERDIN. I was informed here, that a linen and ſilk manufactory is carried on at *Merdin*; and that the inhabitants make and ſell great quantities of turbans, and many other parts of dreſs. The ſoil about the place is very rich, and yields good wheat, part of which is ſent to other markets. We got from the city pretty good beef, bread, milk, a little butter, a few fowls, ſome grape-juice, apples, cherries, and plumbs; theſe are now in ſeaſon: The environs abound in gardens of good fruit, though perhaps leſs now than formerly. It is remarkable that from *Hilla* to *Baghdad*, and from *Baghdad* to *Merdin*, not ſix trees are to be ſeen, but what are in private gardens, or on the tops of high mountains. Both *Merdin* and *Niſibin*, although in the *Baſhalic* of *Moſul*, are under the juriſdiction of the *Baſha* of *Baghdad*, and their reſpective governors are appointed by him. On four neighbouring mounts, the ruins of as many *Chriſtian* monaſteries are ſtill viſible. The caſtle at *Merdin* was built by *Chriſtians*: The famous *Tamerlane* beſieged it ſeven years before he took it, nor would it then have ſurrendered, had not the beſieged been in want of proviſions. We are told, excellent water is to be had here. *Merdin*, by an obſervation taken by Mr. *Alms*, lies in 37° 18′ north latitude.

Alexander Mc Intoſh all the laſt night, though better of his flux, was very ill with a fever, thirſt, pain in his bowels, difficulty in making water, and bloody ſtools. He was bled twice yeſterday, fomented, and had nitrous powders, *&c.* He had not carefully obſerved that regimen which was recommended to him, but indeed a very irregular kind of life we all are forced to lead at preſent. Our appetites are gone, though the air (particularly while we are under cover) is not ſo violently hot as we have

P. S. " Nous avons parlé avec le gouverneur, il m'a repondu, que volontier il donera " tous les ſoldats que vous deſirez: mais qu'il vous conſeille de prendre le chemin de *Diar-* " *bekir* qui eſt le plus ſur: que vous avez le *Bujurdi* pour le *Pacha* de *Diarbekir*, qui part pour " *Alep* vendredi prochain: que d'ici, il vous donnera tous les ſoldats neceſſaires pour cela " juſque de *Moſol*. —— Monſr. notre gouverneur apres avoir ſoupé enſemble, m'a dit de vous " ecrire, de vous prier, et vous exhorter de partir ce ſoir pour *Diarbekir*, qu'il n'y a point " de voie plus ſur, et comme il doit repondre de vos perſonnes, il vous fait des nouvelles in- " ſtantes. Attendu que vendredi prochain le *Pacha* doit parter de *Diarbekir* pour *Alep*, ou " il eſt *Pacha*. De cœur

Votre Devoüé Serviteur,

P. EUGENE.

The verbal meſſage was conveyed in theſe words

" The governor's anxiety for your departing immediately, is owing to certain intelligence " which he has juſt received, that four tribes of *Arabs* are lying in wait purpoſely to intercept " you; they having received an information that you and your party are richly laden."

before

before found it. The laſt night was cloudy, with thunder, lightning, and rain: The effects of the laſt, were unſpeakably comfortable to us. 1758.

We long earneſtly for the ſight of our countrymen at *Aleppo*, where we hope to find good wine, and well-dreſſed food, and to recover our loſt appetites.—Poor Mr. *Pigot* declares, that were he to be made emperor of all the countries we have paſſed through, with the addition of both the *Indies* as a reward, he would not for ſo valuable a conſideration undertake this journey a ſecond time.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Occurrences on the road from Merdin *to* Diarbekir, *with a deſcription of that city.—Account of the famine there.—We leave* Diarbekir, *and join the* Baſha Abdallah. *Face of the country we travel over.—Account of ſome* Arabs *and their flocks. The* Baſha's *deportment to us.—We arrive at* Bir; *Deſcription of that city.—Obſervations in our journey from that place to* Sajuera *and* Aleppo.

1758. July 19. ABOUT half paſt ſix in the evening we left *Arin*, and travelled towards *Merdin*. In two hours we got near the foot of the mountain on which that city ſtands; and paſſed by another dead human body lying in the road, very much torn either by wild beaſts, or the fowls of heaven. The cartilages were quite freſh, and part of the ragged covering ſtill remained. On the left hand leading up to the mount of *Merdin*, are the remains of a ſmall town, We left *Merdin* on our right, and from eight to ten we were aſcending the *Courdiſtan* hills, over ſome parts of which we had great difficulty to get our *Takht Revans*, the roads being narrow and rocky.

From *Arin* to the mountain of *Merdin*, we marched five miles a N. N. W. courſe; for the next two hours a N. eaſterly one, over a very mountainous
July 20. country; and from twelve at night to four in the morning, we travelled a courſe from N. W. to N. E, changing very often two, three, or four points of the compaſs. At four we reſted in a pleaſant meadow covered with trefoil, by the ſide of a beautiful rivulet, and continued there ſome hours. The freſh recruit of ſpirits we received on breathing the cool air of the mountains, and our joy in paſſing through a country covered every where with ſo beautiful a verdure, can only be conceived by thoſe few *Europeans*, who, like us, have travelled over this ſultry part of the world in the hotteſt ſeaſon of the year.

At eight o'clock we renewed our march through a moſt delightful country of pleaſant buſhy hills well-cultivated, and verdant dales interſected with many a run-

a running ſtream: corn, graſs, trefoil, wild flowers, and ſweet ſmelling ſhrubs, grow here in the greateſt plenty. Our ears were continually ſaluted with the cooing of the dove, the melody of the lark, and other ſinging birds, to which the hawthorn, the poplar, and the willow afforded ſhelter. But all theſe natural beauties were greatly enhanced to us by the freſhneſs of the air, and the almoſt conſtant breezes which prevailed here. Theſe were ſo extremely grateful and refreſhing, that at the joyful inſtant, we could not help looking upon them as a full and ſufficient recompence for all our paſt labour and fatigue. The command of this pleaſant diſtrict is lodged in a *Sheick-Salem*, who is a *Courd*. 1758.

At twelve at noon we reſted in a valley by the ſide of another running ſtream, not far from a village. Here we got ſome milk, but heard a very diſagreeable piece of news by a traveller from *Diarbekir*; "that the *Baſha* was already ſet out for *Aleppo*; and that ſince his departure, the road between us and *Diarbekir* had been infeſted by a company of banditti conſiſting of 5 or 600 men, who committed all kinds of outrages, extorting whatever they wanted from the ſeveral villages, and plundering every paſſenger that came in their way." Our *Aga* had heard this ſome hours before, but did not think proper to acquaint us with it till ſix o'clock in the evening, when he came with *Franciſco* to our tent, and with a moſt ſorrowful countenance unboſomed the diſagreeable intelligence. He added, however, that he was not without hopes the whole of the account might be falſe; that he had diſpatched a perſon to a narrow paſs before us, in order to get farther information, and who, he truſted would return with a good account; but if not, we ſhould then be obliged to ſtrike out of the road towards our left, and take up our abode in a village in the mountains, until ſuch time as he could procure a proper guard to conduct us in ſafety to *Diarbekir*. This news alarmed us all to a great degree, and threw a damp over thoſe flattering hopes which we had lately entertained of being in ten or twelve days bleſſed with the ſight and converſation of our countrymen at *Aleppo*. To keep up our ſpirits therefore as well as we could under ſuch alarming circumſtances, we allowed ourſelves a glaſs or two of *Madeira* wine, though our whole ſtock was now reduced to ten bottles of this, and four of claret.

About nine, the *Aga*'s meſſenger returned, and brought advice, that there were ſome armed men upon the road, but he could not learn they had committed any violence, otherwiſe than by exacting proviſions for their own uſe, from the ſeveral towns and villages; and that in all probability they were troops belonging to the *Baſha*'s army, ſent by him to collect the duties due to government. This intelligence raiſed once more our drooping ſpirits, and we determined to proceed: but to avoid an ambuſcade, we reſolved to continue where we were 'till two or three the next morning.

About

1758. About eight this evening, we diſcovered the moon riſing over the hills, almoſt totally eclipſed, being only illuminated in the lower limb, in appearance about the twentieth part of its diameter. In half an hour after, it was quite clear. We aſked the *Turks*, what this appearance meant? they anſwered, "Some portentous event!"

July 21. At the hour agreed upon, we ſet off, and ſoon met a company of travellers with loaded mules and aſſes going to *Merdin*; among them was a *Chocarda* with a ſervant or two from *Diarbekir*. As we did not underſtand the country-language, we kept on, leaving the *Turks* and *Franciſco* behind to pick up intelligence. In a few minutes, the late affrighted, half-dead *Franciſco*, reanimated by the account which had been given him, came galloping after us, calling aloud, "*Courage meſſieurs! point de crainte! les toutes ſont de menſonges! le chemin eſt net!* Courage gentlemen! there's no fear! 'tis all a lye! the road is clear!" From whence we eaſily underſtood, intelligence had been given him of no robbers being on the road, and that no kind of danger was to be apprehended; which upon his coming up, he confirmed, as ſoon at leaſt as his extacy of joy would permit him. We continued therefore to travel over the mountains, taking a north courſe 'till ſeven in the morning, when we met with a ſingle *Turk* on horſeback, who informed us, that in going on in the road to *Diarbekir*, as we were, he had diſcovered at ſome diſtance to the right, a great body of *Arab* horſemen, conſiſting of about 700, who were lying in wait for travellers, and that to prevent their ſeeing him he had ſtruck away to the left of the road.

Upon receiving this freſh piece of diſagreeable intelligence, we thought proper alſo to quit the main road, wheeling towards the left; our *Aga* at the ſame time putting ſpurs to his horſe, and riding off to the right, by way of reconnoitring, leaving the whole conduct of our little troop to the diſcretion of Mr. *Pye*; whom, for his expert behaviour on this occaſion, we afterwards dubbed with the honourable title of *Captain General*. We could not but diſapprove of our *Aga*'s behaviour, which though well intended, ſeemed in our opinion rather calculated for making a diſcovery of us to the enemy.

In half an hour's time, under the guidance of our new general, we got to the foot of a village, which we found deſerted by the inhabitants through fear of the *Arabs*: as we were riding heedleſly on towards a cultivated ſpot of ground, the occupier of it with great emotion waved his hand to us, to avoid his plantation; we, ſuppoſing that every thing had reference to our preſent danger, concluded he meant the enemy were to our left, and that we ſhould again return to the right. Still however we kept on through the corn, 'till we got up very near to the farmer; when our old truſty *Franciſco* aſked him, "*What news?*" The *Turk* or *Courd*, enraged at the damage done to his crop, put his hand to his ſword, and in the moſt violent paſſion replied, "*The news he had for him, was, that he would*

immediately cut off his head."—This threat was the finiſhing ſtroke to the poor old man's ſpirits; he trembled, tried to make an apology, but could not utter a word. We ſaw the confuſion he was in, but not underſtanding the country-language, were for a little while at a loſs to gueſs what could be the occaſion of it. The *Turkiſh* farmer, whoſe anger we ſoon found means to appeaſe, confirmed to us the account we had received of the *Arab* horſe being to the right of us; but as by keeping to the left of the road we had the good fortune to ſee nothing of them, we concluded, that they had retired towards the river (on whoſe banks there is ſome cover) to avoid the heat of the day. When the affair was over, I told *Franciſco*, that I had reaſon to think him a very honeſt man, but was perſuaded he was a bad ſoldier; he readily aſſented to the truth, heartily wiſhing himſelf and all of us ſafe in *Aleppo*: he moreover declared, that this was the moſt perilous journey he had ever made with *European* gentlemen, and that it ſhould be the laſt. 1758.

We continued on our way for *Diarbekir*: before we got to that city, we croſſed an arm of the *Tygris*, and afterwards the *Tygris* itſelf twice. The firſt time, we did it by a ſtone-bridge of five arches, the laſt, by another bridge of ten. It was about nine in the morning when we firſt ſaw from the high mountains the city of *Diarbekir*, then diſtant from us about fourteen miles. We continued from that time to leave the heights, and travelling north, we reached the village of *Hallipoi* about half a mile from *Diarbekir*, at two in the afternoon, after a march of near 13 hours, and the greateſt part of it in the heat of the day. We put up at a good houſe belonging to a relation of *Oſman*, a very civil young *Turk*, and our fellow-traveller from *Baghdad*. DIARBEKIR.

Our ſervant *Mc Intoſh* (now in a fair way of recovery) having for ſome time paſt had poſſeſſion of one of the *Takbt Revans*, our reliefs in the other were but ſeldom. The wind indeed being cooler now than what we had experienced ten days ago, we did not ſuffer ſo much from the heat as we otherwiſe ſhould have done: however, my ſpirits were quite exhauſted, and I wanted ſome other meat and drink beſides biſcuit and water. In the latter part of this day's journey, I rode in the *Takbt Revan* three hours; one hour was in my own proper turn, one in Mr. *Doidge*'s, and the other in Mr. *Alms*'s, who bearing the fatigue better than myſelf, were ſo obliging as to inſiſt upon my doing it.

In the evening, compliments were ſent to us out of the city from the *Muſſolem* and treaſurer. The firſt will have the command here, as ſoon as *Abdallah Baſha* ſhall ſet out for *Aleppo*, who fortunately for us is not gone, and will depart on *Monday* next. His tents are all pitched without the city, and make a gay appearance: that which is intended for his own perſon, we diſtinguiſhed by the gilded ball.

1758. July 22. This morning our *Aga* went into the city, and delivered a letter to the *Kahier*; leaving another for the *Baſha*. The *Kahier* enquired civilly after our healths, hoped we were not greatly fatigued, offered his beſt ſervices, &c., and aſſured the *Aga* that he ſhould look upon us as part of his own family in the journey to *Aleppo*. He deſired his compliments, and recommended it to him to wait on *Abdallah Baſha* in the evening. Mr. *Pye* and I were half poiſoned to-day by drinking too freely of a bowl of wine and water, into which through miſtake, we put *Alum* inſtead of ſugar. We were both ſo much affected by it, as to be obliged to take a vomit, which greatly relieved us.

In the evening, *Abdallah Baſha* ſent for our *Aga*, and after the common compliments had paſſed between them, in reſpect to us, he aſked how we propoſed to travel? whether in his train, or ſeparately? adding, if we choſe the latter, that he would ſpeak to the *Muſſolem* to give orders for ſome troops to eſcort us. On being told, that we came this way on purpoſe to accompany him, he replied, "that we ſhould be of the family of his chief *Chriſtian* officers;" among whom we find, are his treaſurer, chamberlain, and ſome others. He carried his complaiſance ſo far, as to aſk whether we had tents, mules, &c. fit for the journey, ſaying, if we had not, he would himſelf give orders that we ſhould be ſupplied with them.

The *French* miſſionaries ſent us a little brandy, and ſome country-made wine; and were ſo obliging as to ſet their ſtill to work, to make us a few bottles more of the firſt.—We find a little brandy in milk, the beſt cordial, and the moſt wholeſome food we can get.—This evening we remembered our families and friends in a bowl of it. We put into the hands of a *French* father (who came this evening to invite us to take up our habitation with him and his brethren) a letter of credit which we received from *Cojee Raphael* at *Baghdad* for 5000 piaſtres, on our draughts upon *Aleppo* or *Conſtantinople*. It was drawn by *Cuttal Aga* on *Haſſen Effendi* in this city. The father was very hearty in his aſſurances of giving us all the aſſiſtance in his power; and the behaviour of individuals in a war between two nations, becoming a principal part of our converſation, the good father expreſſed himſelf much after this manner: "That we were "all naturally brethren, and though kings and rulers made war, yet the "obligations between man and man were by no means diſſolved by it: "that it was our duty to pray God to give peace to all his people, and "when the obligations we owed the public did not render it impoſſible, "that good offices and brotherly kindneſs ſhould prevail between the in-"dividuals of each nation even in the midſt of war; and how much more "ought this ſpirit of benevolence to be cheriſhed by us, when by ſo "extraordinary a chance, *Europeans* and fellow-*Chriſtians* met in ſo diſtant "a part of *Aſia*?"

Two

Two other *French* fathers came this morning, to pay us their compliments; whoſe converſation and offers of ſervice correſponded with thoſe we had received yeſterday. They likewiſe fixed in our minds the unfavourable idea we had before conceived of the *Turkiſh* government, by confirming the account given us at *Moſul*, of their greateſt *Baſhas* acting ſometimes in concert with the chief of the robbers. The great body which we ſo narrowly eſcaped laſt *Friday*, the fathers aſſure us, encamped but a little while ago between this city and the *Courdiſtan* mountains, and continued there ſeveral days without interruption; nay, ſent meſſages into the city to the *Baſha*, and received from him proviſions of many kinds. Their chief being indiſpoſed, deſired that a phyſician might be ſent out to him, which requeſt was immediately complied with. The fathers add, that all this indulgence could not be ſhewn them without their making ſome kind of compenſation. Upon my aſking whether the *Baſha*, conſidering the late calamitous ſituation of his people, was able to make head againſt them; they replied, "Yes," and ſhook their heads. We were told by theſe gentlemen, that the *French* ſhip of war the *Foudroyant*, and another of inferior force, had been taken in the *Mediterranean*, and carried into an *Engliſh* port. 1758. July 23.

At nine o'clock, accounts were brought us, that our faithful ſervant *Franciſco* was carried to priſon and loaded with irons, for bad behaviour to a *Turk*.—Our *Aga* poſted thither in his behalf. At eleven o'clock three or four *Turks* of ſome rank in the city, viſited us. The *Syrian Papa*, or *Jacobine Patriarch*, we find reſides in *Diarbekir* *; he is an aged man, of very good life and converſation, and the chief inſtrument of whatever good is done by the *Turks* hereabouts, who in ſpite of their religious prejudices, cannot but revere the virtue he poſſeſſes.—Such was the character given him by the fathers.

Franciſco returned to us in the evening, and ſaid it was a falſe report that he was loaded with irons; he confeſſes indeed that he was confined in priſon for refuſing to pay the duty due to government on a country *Chriſtian*'s arrival; but on our *Aga*'s applying to the *Muſſolem*, and letting him know, that he was one of our ſervants, he was immediately ſet at liberty.—The old man upon the whole ſeems to have been leſs terrified with the *Turkiſh* priſon, than he was with the farmer's ſword. This evening alſo the father returned to us, whom we had entruſted with our letter of credit, or rather draught as we underſtood it to be on *Haſſen Effendi*: he brought his mattreſs, with the deſign of tarrying all night with us, foreſeeing he

* Monſieur *Tournefort*, in his travels, ſays, that there are many *Patriarchs* in the dominions of the King of *Perſia*, and the *Grand Seignior*. He of *Itchmiadzin*, who has borne the name of *Catholicos* a great while, is the chief of them all. This *Patriarch* is clothed as plainly as the other prieſts; he lives very frugally, and has but a few domeſtics, yet he is the moſt conſiderable prelate in the world, in regard to the authority he has over his nation, which tremble at the leaſt threat of excommunication from him. They ſay, there are fourſcore thouſand villages which own him. TOURNEFORT, *vol.* iii. *page* 240, 241.

1758. ſhould not be able to return in proper time to re-enter the gates of the city. He made an apology for his being abſent ſo long from us, but aſſured us, that this delay had been entirely owing to the diſappointment he had met with, and the diſtreſs of mind he was in upon our account. He in ſhort told us, that *Haſſen Effendi* could not ſupply us with any money.

We were exceedingly chagrined, as well as diſpleaſed at this piece of intelligence, and talked of complaining to the *Baſha*. The good father replied, "I have already threatned the *Effendi*, but he has convinced me, that ſuch a procedure will not be attended with any good conſequence; ſince the blame cannot with any kind of juſtice be laid upon him, but rather on *Cojee Raphael* your pretended friend at *Baghdad*, whoſe letter expreſſes no more than this: "Sir, Five *Engliſh* gentlemen coming your way, if they ſhould "want money, and you can ſupply them, or can prevail on any of your "friends to do it, their bills drawn on their countrymen at *Stamboul*, or "*Aleppo*, to the amount of 5000 piaſtres, will be ſafe; and you therein will "oblige

Yours, &c.

CUTTAL AGA."

"Now, gentlemen, (added the father) the *Effendi* ſays, and I believe him, that he cannot ſupply you with caſh himſelf, neither does he know of any other perſon in *Diarbekir* that can, to ſuch a ſtate of poverty are the inhabitants in general reduced; and he moreover deſired me to aſſure you that he has no effects of the letter-writer in his hands."

A ſtroke ſo ſudden and unexpected as this was, ſtruck us with conſternation little leſs than deſpair; we ſtood looking upon one another unable to make the leaſt reply. As we had not among us all above ten piaſtres left, there appeared to be no other reſource, but diſpoſing of our watches, buckles, and whatever other trinkets we could muſter. The kind father however did not permit us to continue long in this painful ſtate; but told us, that he and his brethren had been all over the city, endeavouring to raiſe a friend to ſupport us in our preſent exigencies, and at laſt had in ſome meaſure ſucceeded. At the ſame time he called upon a perſon whom he had brought with him, to draw nearer to us. "This good man, ſays the miſſionary (pointing to his companion) has given us his word, that he will immediately advance you 200 piaſtres, which will be enough for the preſent, and he will from time to time on the road to *Aleppo*, ſupply you with whatever caſh you ſhall ſtand in need of. He is a country *Chriſtian*, and goes with the *Baſha*." The great degree of joy which this acceptable piece of news gave us, the reader may more eaſily conceive, than I expreſs. The *Chriſtian* laid down the 200 piaſtres, and confirmed the promiſe he had made to the fathers, relative to our future wants. So that to the good

offices of theſe worthy men, we owe our not being reduced to the very extremity of diſtreſs; and to the deceit of our falſe friend *Cojee Raphael* all that we might otherwiſe have ſuffered.—*M'Intoſh* is now on the recovery. *Benjamin Jenkins*, the night before laſt had a fever; and for ſome days paſt Mr. *Doidge*'s rheumatiſm in the ſhoulder has been ſo troubleſome, that it obliged him to put the arm into a ſling. Mr. *Pigot* is not well, and looks greatly fatigued. Meſſieurs *Pye*, *Alms*, and ſelf, are pretty well, but have not yet recovered our loſt appetites. 1758.

Diarbekir is a large and well-fortified city, defended by baſtions and turrets * after the *Turkiſh* manner. It has about twelve *Moſques* with *Minarets*. The former, we are told, were originally *Chriſtian* churches. The houſes, for the moſt part, are built of a grey moor-ſtone. The city, about two years ago was very populous, its inhabitants amounting to four hundred thouſand ſouls; but in the laſt year, three hundred thouſand died, either by cold or famine. The *Chriſtians* reſiding in the city before this calamity, were reckoned to amount to 26,000, of whom 20,000 died. This account we had from one of the *French* miſſionaries, a *Capuchin*, who alſo ſaid, that before the famine, the city contained 60,000 fighting men, but that now they are not able to muſter 10,000. He aſſures us, that the houſes and ſtreets, nay the very *Moſques* were filled with dead, that every part of the city exhibited a dreadful image of death, and that the ſurviving inhabitants not only greedily devoured all kinds of beaſts, brutes, and reptiles, but alſo were obliged to feed on human bodies. Yet, in the midſt of this ſcene of horror, the *Grandees* of the city had every thing in plenty; for they had taken care to monopolize vaſt quantities of corn, which they ſold out to the other inhabitants at moſt extravagant prices, and thereby acquired for themſelves immenſe fortunes. Corn roſe from two piaſtres a meaſure to 50, 60, and even 70 in the ſpace of ſix months. The father added, that the very ſevere winter of 1756, and the *Locuſts* in 1757, were the cauſes of this dreadful viſitation: for by reaſon of the former, there were but few acres of land ſown with corn; and by the latter, the ſmall crop they had, was in a great meaſure deſtroyed. He ſpoke of the ſeverity of that winter in terms almoſt incredible; that it was common to ſee the people fall down dead in the ſtreets; that he himſelf once on quitting a warm room, and going into the open air, fell down motionleſs, and that his brother in attempting to aſſiſt him, met with the ſame fate.

This account of the effects of cold in the city of *Diarbekir* (which, according to an obſervation taken by Mr. *Alms*, lies only in 38° 22′ north) ſeems at firſt very ſurprizing; but conſidering that the place ſtands on a

* Our common journal ſays, "near 60 towers, and 16 *Moſques* with ſtone *Minarets*, and one with a large *Dome*; there are no guns mounted on the walls. To the eaſt is an high hill which quite overlooks the city, and commands it. The other three ſides are open to a fine large plain, part of which hath this year been ſown with corn."

riſing

1758. rising ground in the midst of an extensive plain, and that the high *Courdistan* mountains lie to the south and east of it, and the *Armenian* or *Turcomanian* to the north, whose heads are always covered with snow, and even now in *July* supply the city with ice; it will not appear at all improbable, that in a very severe winter, such as was that in 1756, the inhabitants of this city should so severely feel the effects of it. Besides, fuel must have been extremely scarce, especially among the poorer sort, as nothing of this kind is produced but upon the mountains, and these lie at such a distance, that the price of it must thereby be greatly enhanced.

This city has a good appearance; it is pleasantly situated, the *Tygris* running but at a small distance from it. The bridge of ten arches is said to have been built by the order of *Alexander* the *Great*. In the environs are many pleasant *Villas* with gardens, and rivulets running by them. There are also vineyards, of whose fruits the *Christians* make wine and spirits. There is at this time a good deal of arable land round the place, but not a thousandth part of what there might be, the soil being naturally very rich.

Monday July 24. This day, early in the morning, the *Bassa* with his retinue set off from *Diarbekir*. We could not immediately follow him, being obliged to wait for provisions for the *Aga* and his servants, for our beasts and horses, and several necessaries for ourselves; so that it was past two in the afternoon before we began to march. In the mean time we wrote a letter to the hospitable fathers, thanking them in the most grateful terms for the repeated acts of friendship they had conferred upon us, and desiring the favour of their names, that we might not be ignorant of the persons to whom we were so much obliged. We soon had the satisfaction to receive an answer in *French*, of which the following is a translation.

" Gentlemen, *Diarbekir*, 24th, *July*, 1758.
" I have received the honour of your letter, in which you thank us " for the good offices which we have done you. We esteem them very " trifling for persons of your distinguished merit. We should have been " happy had it been in our power to have rendered you services of more " consequence; but we hope you will take the will for the deed. In re- " spect to our names, we are called, Father *Joseph Marie* of *Cambray*, Fa- " ther *Ives* of *Douay*, Father *Peter Francis* of *Tourain*, Father *Oener* of *Mau- " beuge*, and Brother *Alexander* of *Orleans*. We are at present five here, " but two of us must soon go into *Persia*, and we do not know on whom " the lot may fall.—We wish you an happy journey, and are with all " possible respect,
" Gentlemen,
" Your most humble,
" and obedient servants,
" Father Joseph Marie,
" of *Cambray*, *Capuchin*, &c. &c."

On finding that one of theſe reverend fathers bore my own name, I was not a little vexed that we had not given ourſelves the trouble to make the enquiry ſooner. As he was the firſt ſtranger of the name of *Ives* I had ever met with, and as in conjunction with his brother miſſionaries, he had rendered me the moſt obliging offices, probably I ſhould have been fond of believing that I had diſcovered a ſimilitude of features in the face of Father *Ives*, with thoſe of my own family, and have made myſelf happy in thinking that a conſanguinity of but a few intervening generations ſubſiſted between us. Perhaps I might even have carried my reverie ſo far as to have concluded, that this relation of mine had been placed here by the particular deſignation of providence on purpoſe for my relief. But as the above recited letter did not arrive till we were juſt ſetting off, it never was in my power perſonally to know this name-ſake of mine, or his ſervices, more than thoſe of the other fathers. 1758.

At leaving *Diarbekir*, we were favoured with the ſight of two fair and pretty women, whoſe curioſity led them to take a look at us, and who from ſome motive or other, which it was impoſſible for us to aſcertain, were ſo obliging as to uncover, and give us a full view of their faces. We took our leave of them, of *Hallipoi*, and *Diarbekir*, and travelled for ſix hours over a rocky and deſert country, abounding with thiſtles and wild artichokes; our courſe upon the whole being from W. S. W. to W. N. W. differing two or three points. At eight we joined the *Baſha*, and continued on the ſame ſpot of ground where he was, without any covering, till four o'clock the next morning. We found the air both ſharp and damp. We then, in company with the *Baſha* and his little army, renewed our march over rocky hills and dales. Our courſe was N. W. *b* W. W. S. W. S. W. and W. till about eleven o'clock, when we pitched our tents in a little valley near a running ſtream of water. Here we tarried the whole day, and received a complaiſant meſſage from the *Kahier*, with a preſent of a good ſheep, which to people in our circumſtances could not fail of being very acceptable: it was ſent by a ſervant with a *Chocarda* attending him. We returned our thanks by our *Aga*. July 25.

This day, for the firſt time ſince we left *England*, we ſaw a wild goldfinch, which ſettled upon a thiſtle cloſe to our tent; the ſight of this little, agreeable ſongſter gave us exquiſite pleaſure, owing to the ſingle conſideration that birds of this kind are inhabitants of *Great Britain*. This thought, ſet before our heated imaginations all thoſe gilded ſcenes of delight, that we ſuppoſed were only to be found in that happy region; and which with wiſhes bordering upon enthuſiaſm we were now praying to enjoy. We panted for our *Mother Country*, that *Natale Solum* ſo pathetically deſcribed by the poets, and ſo ſenſibly felt by every human breaſt after a long and painful

1758. painful ſeparation *. We could not help looking upon this tuneful gold-finch, as a fellow citizen who had kindly flown thus far to bid us welcome, to raiſe our drooping ſpirits, and ſignify to us that we were drawing nearer to our native country, that land of liberty after which we had ſo long and ſo paſſionately ſighed.

July 26. At twelve at night we decamped, and travelled till one in the afternoon over a very rocky, hilly country, that yielded little beſides thiſtles, artichokes, and ſome wild flowers, particularly the ſingle white and red holy-hock. From ten in the morning till one in the afternoon, the heat of the ſun was exceſſive, and fatiguing to the laſt degree. At eleven we paſſed Incessu. on our right the village *Inceſſu*, but it is ſo large that it may more properly be ſtiled a town. It has two *Moſques*, with brick minarets. Near this place I obſerved with great pain a vaſt number of ſick, weak, and lame objects. Mr. *Pye*, with difficulty eſcaped from being forced to act the phyſician and ſurgeon. Many of the poor wretches applied to him with great earneſtneſs, and would ſcarce be ſatisfied with his plea of ignorance. At one we encamped in a pleaſant valley, near a good ſtream of water.

This day we met ſeveral travellers going to *Diarbekir*.—A party, whom I took to be the governor and chief people of *Inceſſu*, came out to compliment the *Baſha*: this great man, we believe loitered near the village, in order that preſents might be made him, as he did not encamp till near four.

ly 27. At half paſt four this morning, we decamped, and went weſt, and W. by S. for four hours and an half. Then we pitched our tents by a run of water, having before croſſed two rivulets. The road to-day was rather rough, though much ſmoother than we found it yeſterday. It afforded the ſame kind of plants as were before noticed.

The *Baſha's Haram*, or female part of his train, conſiſts of three *Takht Revans*, and five covered cages; all of them are ornamented according to the rank of his wives and their attendants, and cloſely covered with ſcarlet and other coloured cloths: They do not encamp till two or three hours after us. The *Haram*, and its body-guard, precede the *Baſha* about half an hour's march. This great officer always enters the encampment with colours flying, and muſic playing, which is made up

* Neſcio quâ *Natale Solum* dulcedine captos
Ducit, & immemores non ſinit eſſe ſui. Ovid. Epiſt. ex Ponto, lib. i.

En unquam patrios longo poſt tempore fines
Pauperis & tuguri congeſtum ceſpite culmen,
Poſt aliquot, mea regna videns, mirabor ariſtas?
Virg. Ecl. i.

——————— ô, ubi campi,
Spercheoſque, & virginibus bacchata Lacænis
Taygeta: ô, qui me gelidis in vallibus Hæmi
Siſtat, & ingenti ramorum protegat umbrâ!
Virg. Georgic. lib. ii.

of

of kettle-drums, trumpets, hautboys, and fifes.—He is of the higheſt rank, and to expreſs his dignity has three horſe-tails carried in his train; one of which is always with the van-guard. 1758.

Being in want of meat, and having but little money in our pockets, we were obliged to ſend to the *Kahier* for another ſheep, which he readily ordered from the *Baſha*'s ſlaughter-tent. Our *Aga* ſounded the *Kahier* about our quitting the *Baſha*'s train, and making the beſt of our way to *Aleppo*. He would not conſent to our taking this ſtep at preſent, as robbers in ſmall companies now infeſt the roads; but gave us hopes however of being permitted to leave the *Baſha* two days hence, taking with us a few troops for our guard.——To-day *Franciſco* borrowed ten ſequins for us: We could not forbear uttering a thouſand bad wiſhes on the head of *Cojee Raphael*, for having ſo groſsly deceived us in the article of money, which above all others is the moſt important in this country. He was to have ſupplied us with as much as we pleaſed, by order and on the account of Mr. *Shaw*, to whom we brought unlimited letters of credit from our friends Meſſrs. *Hough* and *Spencer* at *Bombay*; but for reaſons beſt known to himſelf, though he accepted of the credit, and often declared that we ſhould have every thing from him that we could poſſibly need, yet was ſo cruelly treacherous as to ſend us off almoſt pennyleſs, advancing only 500 piaſtres, aſſuring us at the ſame time that 300 would be quite enough. But what ſets the deceitfulneſs of this man in a ſtronger light, is, that in a converſation which he had with our *Aga* on the ſubject, before we left *Bagbdad*, he expreſsly told him, that it was neceſſary we ſhould carry with us 1000 or 1200 piaſtres; which ſum, by woful experience, we now find is the leaſt we ought to have had. It is therefore manifeſt, that he *knowingly deceived us*, and thereby totally cancelled all the obligations we owed him for his other ſervices.

We ſet out this morning at half paſt two o'clock, and travelled ſeven hours on a good road over a fertile country, or what at leaſt might be made ſo, if properly cultivated. In our whole way from *Diarbekir*, we have had on our right, to the northward, the *Turcomanian* mountains. This morning we joined a nation of moving *Arabs*, with their families and numerous flocks: the latter were made up of the fineſt ſheep, and moſt hairy goats I ever beheld. We uſed a thouſand entreaties to prevail on the owners of them to ſell one of each ſort, but could not ſucceed. The tails of the ſheep were ſurprizingly large and unwieldy; they could not weigh leſs than from 20 to 40 pounds each, and were made up of very fine fat. A few years ago I ſaw ſome ſheep with very large tails in *Barbary*, but never any of equal ſize with theſe, whoſe weight was ſuch, that the poor creatures could not run; they only walked, or rather waddled; and their very heads inclined backwards, probably owing to their enormous tails. The he-goats belonging to this *Arab* flock, had horns as July 28.

1758. long as a deer's, and in form not much unlike them. Their hair too was very long, and yet a little curling, reaching from their ſides almoſt down to the ground, like a fine, flowing robe *. One of theſe, which was likewiſe adorned with an unuſual length of beard, went at the head of the flock of ſheep, and carried a bell about its neck. Theſe *Arabs* were juſt come out of the *Armenian* mountains, and for the ſake of better paſturage, were moving towards the banks of the *Euphrates*.

MENISERAH. About eight o'clock we left on our right the ruins of a village called *Meniſerah*, which is the laſt in the province of *Diarbekir*. About two miles to the ſouthward of theſe ruins, there is another village of the ſame name which is inhabited, but this laſt is in the diſtrict of *Urfa* †; ſo that after we had paſſed by the ruins we immediately entered into *Urfa's Baſhalic*.

This.

* This ſeems to be the goat ſpoken of by Monſr. *Tournefort* in his journey to *Pocat* and *Angora*. "They breed (ſays he) the fineſt goats in the world in the champaign of *Angora*. They are of a dazzling white; and their hair, which is fine as ſilk, naturally curled in locks of eight or nine inches long, is worked up into the fineſt ſtuffs, eſpecially camlet. The thread made of this goat's hair is ſold from four livres to twelve or fifteen livres the *Oque*; there is ſome ſold even for twenty or five-and-twenty crowns the *Oque*; but this is only made up into camlet for the uſe of the *Grand Seignior's Seraglio*." TOURNEFORT, vol. iii. p. 301.

† *Urfa*, *Orfa*, *Orpha*, or *Ourfa*; antient *Edeſſa*, in the latitude of 36°, about 60 miles eaſt from the river *Euphrates*, at the head of the river *Scirtas*, in a fruitful well-cultivated, and pleaſant champain: a city ſo conſiderable, as by ſome to be accounted the chief of the province.

Orfa, ſays *Rauwolf*, with its caſtle, is ſituated very pleaſantly on a hill; the town is pretty large, and well provided with fortifications. The inhabitants deal in tapeſtry of divers ſorts, whereof ſome are made here. There is alſo a very good factory of trade from *Aleppo*, *Damaſcus*, and *Conſtantinople*, for *Caramet*, which is five days journey from it, and thence ſold into *Perſia*, *India*, &c.—A plentiful well near the town is called *Abraham's*, and ſhewn to ſtrangers, as that to which *Rebecca* went to water her flock, (Geneſis, chap. 24.) and upon that belief it is held in great honour.

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Ourfa is the capital of *Meſopotamia*, ſurrounded with walls of free-ſtone, and provided with battlements and towers, ſeated in a good ſoil, producing wine, and affords pleaſant gardens, which are watered by channels brought by art. The houſes in the town are ſmall, ill built, and ſo ruinous, that in ſome places, it looks more like a deſert, than a metropolis.

The city is governed by a *Baſha*, who has under him one hundred and fifty *Janiſſaries*, and ſix hundred *Spahis*. Great quantities of the red *Turkiſh* leather are dreſſed here, the water of this place giving it a particular beauty. TAVERNIER.

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Edeſſa was ſo ancient a place, that in *Iſidore's* time, *Nimrod* was named as its founder. Under the *Romans* it was the capital of *Oſtrobene*, which was the northern part of *Meſopotamia*; ſubject to its own prince in our Saviour's time, to whom he is ſaid to have written a letter declaring faith in him, and deſiring his preſence to cure him of a diſeaſe.

It was the ſee of an archbiſhop, and in the holy war ſubject to the *Chriſtians*, with the country around it. By the *Greeks*, this city was named *Calliroe*, from the fair fountains. By the *Latins*, it was ſometimes called *Juſtinopolis*, from the emperor *Juſtin* who re-edified it. By the *Arabians* it is called *Rhoa* and *Orrahaei*.

Dr.

This capital city is diſtant from hence five hours journey, lying S. W. of us. 1758.

At half paſt nine in the morning, we encamped in the moſt pleaſant vale we had met with on this ſide *Diarbekir*, ſhaded by willow and poplar trees, interſected with runs of water, and covered with graſs and flowering ſhrubs. Being told that there was a miſunderſtanding between our *Baſha* and that of *Urfa*, and therefore we ſhould not paſs through that city; it was thought expedient by us to write a letter laſt night in Mr. *Doidge*'s name, to the *European Chriſtian* miſſionaries at *Urfa*, begging them to make enquiry for a meſſenger, who we imagined muſt have arrived there with an anſwer to a letter we had addreſſed to Conſul *Drummond* while we lay at *Niſibin*: we requeſted the fathers, if they found out the meſſenger, to ſend him back with Mr. *Drummond*'s anſwer to *Bir* or *Birjoup*, a place we ſhould be ſure to touch at.—We ſent this letter by a perſon going to *Urfa*, who had accompanied the *Baſha* thus far from *Diarbekir*.

At half paſt three in the morning we decamped, and ſet off with ſome of the firſt of the *Baſha*'s people. After about three hours travelling over a hilly, ſandy country, we arrived at a moſt delightful plantation of walnut, willow, and poplar trees, which lay in a vale, where were many black-berry buſhes, and a refreſhing ſtream of water ran through it. For about two hours we ſkirted the outſide of this pleaſant covert, and then got to the place where the *Baſha* intended to encamp for the day, greatly diſappointed to find our ſtage ſo ſhort, and yet partly reconciled to it, ſeeing we were to reſt on ſo ſweet a ſpot.—Our courſe to-day was W. S. W. and S. W, but we got forward on our journey only nine miles. Near to the valley where we now are, is ſome ground cultivated by the *Arabs*, and over the rivulet ſtands a water-mill. The valley is called *Paſſellekew*, and the neighbouring village, *Hanwah*. We have ſeen many *Terapins* of late, and a few *Storks*. Within the neighbouring grove are many gold-finches, and other ſinging birds. July 29. Hanwah's vale and village.

As the *Baſha* travels ſo much ſlower than we chuſe to do, and as by this delay we were apprehenſive of not arriving ſoon enough at *Scanderoon* to embark in the ſhips which ſail from thence about this time to *England*; we deſired our *Aga* to wait upon the *Kahier*, and ſolicit his good offices with

Dr. *Heylin* ſuppoſed it to be *Charan* or *Haran*, whither *Abraham* removed with his father and family, when they departed from *Ur*. But according to *Golius*, *Niger*, and others, *Charan*, which was at the ſame time called *Charræ* by the *Romans*, and notable for the defeat and death of *Craſſus*, ſtood more north, 40 miles diſtant from hence.

Edeſſa is remembred in the *Roman* hiſtory for the death of the emperor *Caracalla*, by the hand of *Macrinus*. The firſt taking of it by the *Saracens* was in the year 637. Prince *Baldwin*, brother to *Godfrey* of *Bulloign*, got poſſeſſion of it in 1097, and the *Turks* retook it in 1142.

MOLL's *Geography of* Meſopotamia.

1758. the *Baſha* to grant us an eſcort, and that we may be permitted to make the beſt of our way to *Bir* in the beginning of the night. Our *Aga* undertook the commiſſion with reluctance, but we poſitively inſiſted upon his doing it. A little after noon, our *Aga* was ſent for by the *Kahier:* We took it for granted that his intention in ſending for him was to deliver to him the *Baſha*'s permiſſion for our going forwards, and we made ourſelves not a little happy at the thoughts of it; but at his return, we had the mortification to learn that he was ſent for to preſent the *Kahier*'s compliments to the *Engliſh* gentlemen, and to deſire the favour of them to ſpare one of their *Takht Revans*, for the uſe of a ſick *Cadi*. The *Aga*, without waiting for an anſwer from us, replied, "All applications of that ſort would be in vain, becauſe one of the two *Takht Revans* was, and had been for ſome time, totally given up to the ſervice of their ſick *European* ſervants; therefore, but one remained for the relief of the five gentlemen, who were not themſelves in the beſt ſtate of health, and moreover were quite unaccuſtomed to ride in the ſun."—The *Kahier* ſeeing the great impropriety of the meſſage, thought fit to drop it.

Our *Aga* did not neglect this favourable opportunity of talking to the miniſter about our proceeding immediately to *Aleppo*. He ſet before him in the ſtrongeſt light the neceſſity we were under of getting to *Scanderoon* as ſoon as poſſible, and begged his intereſt with the *Baſha* to permit us to depart with a proper eſcort for *Aleppo*; making it plainly appear to him, by that means we ſhould ſave a great deal of what otherwiſe would be loſt time: for he obſerved, if allowed to proceed by ourſelves, we could with great eaſe get to *Bir* in one ſtage (being only eight hours journey) which the *Baſha* with his numerous retinue would make two of at leaſt; and the whole way from *Bir* to *Aleppo*, would take us only three days, whereas *Abdallah Baſha* (excluſive of the time he continued at *Bir*) could not perform it in leſs than four. In anſwer to all this, the *Kahier* ſtarted many objections; the principal were, the roads being infeſted with robbers, and the fatal conſequences that might enſue ſhould we chance to be attacked by them. He deſired the *Aga* however to call upon him again in the evening, by which time, he told him, he ſhould be able to acquaint him more fully with the *Baſha*'s ſentiments.

Early in the evening we hurried the *Aga* away, and by ſix he returned with a poſitive refuſal from the *Baſha*; who pleaded in excuſe for his non-compliance with our requeſt, that the roads were full of deſerters from the *Baſha* of *Urfa*'s ſoldiery, who having quarrelled with their maſter had turned robbers; and that the *Baſha* himſelf in conſequence of their mutiny, had withdrawn himſelf from *Urfa*, where he apprehended his life to be in danger, and had retired to *Bir*, as a place of ſafety. He added, that we were under his own immediate protection by a very particular recommendation from *Solyman Baſha*, and therefore that he was anſwerable for all the

ill conſequences that might attend any indiſcreet procedure. Thoroughly mortified by this cruel detention, wearied almoſt to death by the length and fatigue of our journey, anxious to arrive at *Aleppo*, and not crediting one half of what had been told us, of the dangers of the road; we in plain terms told our *Aga* that we were determined to go on by ourſelves without a guard, and to run all riſks; the greateſt of which we looked upon as nothing, compared to the hazard we ran of loſing our paſſage from *Scanderoon* to *England*, by the unaccountably ſlow progreſs we at preſent made. We urged alſo the importance of our public diſpatches, and peremptorily inſiſted on ſetting out this very night. 1758.

The converſation exceedingly alarmed the *Aga*, who with the moſt viſible marks of concern, told us, that if we were reſolved to take this ſtep, it would be out of his power to go with us, for the *Baſha*'s orders were peremptory, and ſhould he preſume to break through them, the inevitable conſequence muſt be the loſing of his head. We rejoined, that however ſorry we ſhould be to leave him behind us, yet in the preſent caſe we thought ourſelves obliged ſo to do; but for his indemnification with the *Baſhas Solyman* and *Abdallah*, we would write him a letter, which was as follows:

" Sir,

" The buſineſs we are upon in reſpect to the king our maſter is ſo preſ-
" ſing, and the hazard we run of miſſing the opportunity of an *Engliſh*
" ſhip of war ſailing from *Scanderoon*, ſo great, that we are obliged to ac-
" quaint you, we muſt run all riſks, and get to *Aleppo* as ſoon as poſſible.
" If the *Baſha* therefore will not permit us to have a guard, which we
" deſire you again to ſolicit, we muſt this night ſet off by ourſelves for
" *Bir*. We write this to you for our juſtification to all whom it may con-
" cern, but particularly our own *King*.

To AGA AMADA. " We are, Sir,

" &c. &c."

We ordered our interpreter to explain this letter to the *Aga*, and to expreſs to him the lively ſenſe we had of his great care over us during the whole journey, aſſuring him withal, that on his arrival at *Aleppo*, we ſhould take him by the hand as our good friend, and ſhew him the ſame token of our thankfulneſs, as if he had accompanied us thither; but if we ſhould have quitted that city before his arrival, we would not fail to leave with Conſul *Drummond* the proper mark of our gratitude, from whoſe hands he would be ſure to receive it. This gave him an opportunity of minutely enquiring into the exact value of our intended preſent, which he did not omit, ſaying, " How ſhall I be able to judge of your conſul's rightly delivering the identical ſum you are ſo kind as to intend me?"—We withheld from him the entire gratification of his wiſhes in this reſpect, for ſome little ſpace,

and

1758. and only anſwered in general, that the *Britiſh* conſul was a man of honour. We preſently added however, that for his future ſecurity we ſhould leave a letter at *Aleppo* addreſſed to him, which, on his producing to *Solyman Baſha*, would not only juſtify his whole conduct towards us, but alſo expreſs our thanks for his ſervices, and intreat his acceptance of certain tokens of our eſteem. He ſeemed to pay great attention to this declaration, and made ſome civil returns to it, by an eaſy inclination of his body; but ſtill ſuch a ſhare of diffidence ſat on his brow, that we evidently ſaw his heart was not perfectly at eaſe. Knowing the inordinate thirſt which even the beſt among the *Turks* have for money, and actuated beſides by the real regard which we had for the man, we could not defer any longer telling him, that our preſent would not fall ſhort of 500 piaſtres.—After this he appeared very well ſatisfied.

We then deſired him to ſend for the *Mocha* and *Takht-revan-gee*. When they came, we gave them to underſtand, that we intended to ſet off this very night at twelve o'clock for *Bir* without the *Baſha*; and uſed every argument we could think of to perſuade them to go with us. But they too raiſed a thouſand difficulties, telling us, that excluſive of the riſk they ran of loſing their mules, which were not their own, they did not dare to proceed without the *Aga*, eſpecially after what had paſſed between him and the *Kahier*. Upon their refuſal, we held a ſhort conſultation among ourſelves, and reſolved to requeſt the *Aga* to go immediately to the *Kahier* with our moſt reſpectful compliments, beſeeching him to give us leave to wait upon him with our interpreter. He would fain have poſtponed it till the morning, reaſoning with great propriety on the unſeaſonableneſs of the hour for waiting upon a man of his rank; but we were not now to be put off, pleading in our turn the abſolute neceſſity we were under of not loſing another moment of time: he at laſt yielded, taking with him *Franciſco*. They did not return till paſt ten, and then, only with the miniſter's compliments and prayers, that we would reſt ſatisfied, and acquieſce in his and the *Baſha*'s wholeſome advice. He deſired them to aſſure us, the road was extremely dangerous, and that our requeſt could not be granted without the moſt apparent hazard; adding, that if we were robbed, it would reflect great diſhonour not only upon *Abdallah Baſha* who had taken us under his protection, but alſo on *Solyman Baſha* who had ſo ſtrongly recommended us; and beſides, the difference of time between going by ourſelves, or with the *Baſha*, could not now be very great, and he hoped no kind of loſs or inconvenience would ariſe from it.

We were obliged to put up with the diſappointment, and ſo repoſed ourſelves once more on our cots; it being impracticable for us to ſet off, as the *Kahier* by this time had denounced a puniſhment of the ſevereſt kind on all our country attendants who ſhould preſume to go with us. However, we had taken care to diſpatch a meſſenger to *Bir*, with orders to look out for the man with Mr. *Drummond*'s expected anſwer; and ſhould he find

him, he was directed to return to us immediately; if not, to wait there till our arrival, with or without the *Baſha*. 1758.

Early this morning, *Abdallah Baſha* himſelf ſent for our *Aga*, and talked with him a great deal on the preſent ſituation of our affairs. He concluded in the ſame ſtrain as his *Kahier* had done the preceding night, "that he neither could, nor *would* conſent to our going *one finger's length* before him." On the contrary, he deſired, that during our future march, we would take care to keep more in the body of his guards than we had hitherto done, for the times were exceedingly perilous. The *Aga* ſoon returned to us, and delivered the *Baſha*'s meſſage. He was accompanied (agreeable to an order given by *Abdallah*) by three other perſons: the one was a ſilver-ſtaff officer, the other a *Chriſtian* of his houſehold, and the third a ſoldier. The two firſt were directed to beg that we would have patience, and put confidence in the *Baſha*'s care of us; to aſſure us that nothing but the real concern he had for our ſafety, prevented his giving us his permiſſion to proceed; that the whole country was full of danger, and that a hundred ſoldiers would not be ſufficient to protect us, there being more than two hundred deſerters from the *Baſha* of *Urfa*'s troops, between whom and their late commander there was now an open war. As a proof of the truth of this repreſentation, the *Baſha* had ordered the ſoldier to attend us, who this very morning had come from *Urfa*, and confirmed the account in every particular. July 30.

We had all the reaſon in the world to believe, that the *Chriſtian* was joined with the other two, not only on the preſumption that his word would gain greater credit with us than that of a *Muſſulman*, but becauſe this was the very man who at the requeſt of the fathers, had ſupplied us with caſh. In the courſe of our converſation with theſe perſons, we were informed, that the *Baſha*, on hearing of the precipitate meaſures we were taking, had once propoſed that *Franciſco* our ſervant and interpreter ſhould be ſent for to receive the *Baſtinado*, on the preſumption that he had been chiefly inſtrumental in perſuading us to ſet off by ourſelves. We appeared to ſmile at this account, and told the *Turks*, that we were very ſure a perſon of the *Baſha*'s dignity and politeneſs could never think of carrying into execution ſuch a ſtep, therefore we took for granted that if it was propoſed, it was only in jeſt.

They obſerved in reply, that the *Baſha* had told them, he was educated at *Conſtantinople*, and had the honour of being a *Vizier* to the *Grand Seignior*, from which happy circumſtances he had frequent opportunities of becoming acquainted with the genius and tempers of the *Engliſh* nation, which he knew to be ſo amiable in every reſpect, that he was entirely convinced we had never withſtood his intreaties, if this ſervant who was an *Aleppean*, and a ſubject to the *Emperor*, had interpreted with integrity all he was commanded to let us know. We aſſured them, that he was an inoffenſive and honeſt

1758. honeſt man, and to the beſt of our belief had always executed his commiſſion with fidelity. We deſired them alſo to repreſent to the *Baſha*, that though we had the moſt lively and grateful ſenſe of his great concern for our welfare, yet we could not but regret every hour that did not ſet us forwards in our way to *Aleppo*: we therefore through them, again beſeeched him to grant us a little eſcort, with which we would willingly venture our perſons and effects. The officer peremptorily replied, that we muſt not go. Preſently he added, that the *Baſha* had propoſed our ſending an expreſs from hence to the *Britiſh* conſul at *Scanderoon*, requeſting him to detain any one of the *King*'s ſhips that happened to be there; and that the *Baſha* himſelf would write a letter, informing the Conſul at *Aleppo* how deſirous we were to get forwards in our journey, but how impoſſible it was for him to comply with our deſires. We begged the officer and his companions to make our acknowledgments to the *Baſha* for this farther inſtance of his kindneſs, but added, that we had already written to the Conſul, who we made not the leaſt doubt would do every thing in his power to ſerve us; yet we knew likewiſe ſo much of the nature of the orders given to the captains of our ſhips of war, that nothing was ſufficient to prevail on them to tarry for even a ſingle day. We concluded, with deſiring them to make the *Baſha* acquainted with our thanks, and our intreaties to be gone. Before they took leave they obſerved, that the difference of time between our going by ourſelves, or accompanying the *Baſha*, would be only two days, owing to the *Baſha* of *Urfa*'s being arrived at *Bir*; for that would prevent our great-man from tarrying ſo long there as he otherwiſe intended.

In the evening two ſmall plates of ready-dreſſed victuals were ſent us from the *Baſha*'s cookery-tent. This ſcanty ſupply was intended for ourſelves; at the ſame time a certain allowance of bread, *Ghee*, &c. was ſent to our *Aga*, and his people. As we knew not by whoſe order theſe things came, we deſired our *Aga* to make enquiry; for if they were a preſent from the *Baſha* or *Kahier*, we very well knew that their directions in reſpect to the quantity, muſt have been but ill executed; if they came from any inferior perſon, we were deſirous he ſhould be acquainted that we could receive no more from him, though we were obliged to him for his good will, and ſhould not be unmindful on our arrival at *Aleppo*, of any civilities that were either done, or intended us on the road.

To divert our preſent melancholy in ſome degree, we took a walk in the plantation before us, where, beſides the trees and buſhes already mentioned, we found the apple and plumb-tree. The ſtrawberry plant alſo flouriſhed here in great abundance. Soon after we had finiſhed our walk, we received a meſſage from the *Baſha*, that to prevent any indecorum or inſult being offered to our perſons in the night, he had thought it neceſſary to order ſix or eight ſoldiers to attend us at our tents. We immediately ordered our *Aga* to

wait

wait upon the *Kahier*, and to demand the real meaning of ſo unuſual a guard. At his return, he told us, we were to look upon it as an additional mark of the *Baſha*'s reſpect and care for us, who had alſo condeſcended ſo far as to direct the particular order of our march. In the evening we found this to be in the rear of what he moſt valued, his *Women* and his *Treaſure*. By this extraordinary teſtimony therefore of the *Baſha*'s kindneſs, we were in reality his priſoners; it not being in our power now to leave him, how much ſoever our inclinations might prompt us to do it. 1758.

We reſumed our march at nine in the evening; travelled weſt, and various other courſes, but upon the whole about S. W. near 32 miles in 12 hours, over a barren, hilly country, and not at a greater diſtance than 12 or 14 miles from the *Armenian* mountains, which run almoſt eaſt and weſt. We were told yeſterday, that we were only eight hours journey from *Bir*, but we have travelled twelve hours, and have ſtill another journey to make! Monday July 31.

We paſſed by ſeveral *Arab* burial-grounds, and three or four ruined villages and forts, ſituated on eminences; one of theſe has two ſmall ſtone-gateways remaining. Now and then we came to a little patch of ground ſown with *Indian* corn. At nine we encamped by the ſide of a run of water, on the declivity of a hill called *Cortocoar*. The villages all around us are deſerted; the *Arabian* inhabitants having removed themſelves and their effects, through an apprehenſion of their being taken from them by the rapaciouſneſs of our ſoldiery, or the extortion of our great men. No flocks, not a ſingle ſheep is to be ſeen! we have no victuals to eat! and are almoſt ripe for mutiny, upon account of our forcible detention, which we think has its riſe more in vain-glory, mixed with a little ſelf-intereſted policy, than from any real apprehenſion the *Baſha* entertains of our being in danger, were he to ſend us away under a proper eſcort. Cortocoar-hill.

At five in the evening, we ſent our *Aga* to the *Kahier* to lay our neceſſities again before him, and to deſire either a freſh ſupply of proviſions, or leave to haſten by ourſelves to *Bir*. Our *Aga* returned with the miniſter's moſt ceremonious compliments, and expreſſions of ſorrow for our uncomfortable ſituation, declaring at the ſame time, that the *Baſha* and all his attendants laboured under the ſame ſcarcity of food, but that he would deny himſelf the ſcanty pittance that was allotted him, and ſend us a couple of plates of dreſſed meat from his own family. Theſe were ſoon after conveyed to our tents, and though they barely ſerved to take off the keen edge of my brother-travellers appetites, yet we looked upon them as infallible marks of the *Kahier*'s humanity and politeneſs. For my own part, I ſuffered but very little upon this occaſion, not having as yet ſo far recovered my appetite, as to feel in any great degree the painful ſenſation of hunger.

1758. August 1. At one the next morning, we ſet off again, and travelled five hours over rocky hills. The firſt two hours our courſe was W. S. W. the two ſucceeding ones S. W. and S. S. W. and the laſt hour S. which brought us to the city of *Bir*, or *Birjoup* (as it is called by the inhabitants) which is ſituated on the eaſtern bank of the river *Euphrates*, againſt the ſide of a very high, chalky hill. It is about ſix hundred yards in length, and has five or ſix *Moſques* with ſtone *Minarets*. The buildings in general are in a ruinous condition, which with the craggy hills around, afford a pictureſque and romantic proſpect. The tops of theſe hills are covered with vineyards, as indeed are moſt of the environs of the city, but we could not diſcover any corn-lands.

The city is defended by two caſtles; one ſtands by the river's ſide, the other on the top of the hill. From this laſt, two ſmall guns were fired in honour of the arrival of *Abdallah Baſha*, who entered and rode through the city on horſeback, attended by his own train, and by the *Baſha* of *Urfa*, who went out of the place to meet him. There being no bridge here, and only three ferry-boats, which were all employed in tranſporting the *Baſha*'s *Haram* and retinue, ſoldiers and baggage, we had little hopes of getting acroſs the river for ſome time, and therefore ſeated ourſelves on ſome ruins that lay in the ditch before the town; but the *Baſha* riding by, and ſeeing us and our baggage in the open ſtreet, immediately called our *Aga* to him, and ſternly demanded, "Why the *Engliſh* gentlemen were thus ſhamefully treated?" Upon his being told the reaſon, he gave him the ſtricteſt orders, and commanded his own officers to take particular care, that the boats ſhould be no more employed in his ſervice till we and all our baggage were wafted over to the other ſide. This was the firſt time we had ever ſeen the *Baſha*, and it muſt be owned that his whole behaviour upon this occaſion was truly humane and polite. Our *Aga* kiſſed the hem of his garment, and we bowed after our manner, which he returned with a ſmall bending of the cheſt, and a viſible complacency of countenance. He was about ſixty years of age, ſeemed active, and had a very long flaxen beard. The *Kahier*, who immediately followed the *Baſha*, ſaluted us alſo with great freedom and good-nature.

It was about nine in the morning when we paſſed over the *Euphrates* for the ſecond time; and thus quitted *Meſopotamia* and entered *Syria*. The river is here not more than 150 yards over, now, but in the winter-months, or after great rains, and the melting of the ſnow in the mountains, it muſt be at leaſt twice as broad, which is very viſible from its preſent dry bed. It ſupplies the inhabitants of *Bir* with a great variety of exceeding fine fiſh. We got here ſheep, eggs, bread, and a few grapes, but no wine or ſpirituous liquors.

It is ſomewhat remarkable, that the burial-ground belonging to the city of *Bir*, is on the *Syrian* ſide of the river: poſſibly it may be owing to the ground

ground on which the town is built, being of ſo rocky a nature as not to admit of graves being dug in it, but with the utmoſt difficulty. It was upon this ſpot that we pitched our tents, from whence we had a full view of the city; but as its houſes are built of a white, chalky ſtone, which bears the ſame colour with the neighbouring hills and ſoil, we could not eaſily diſtinguiſh the one from the other. Here we had the mortification to learn, that the two men whom we had diſpatched from *Niſibin* with a letter to Mr. *Drummond* at *Aleppo*, had between *Urfa* and *Bir*, fallen in with a party of *Sanjacks*, who in a great rage had defaced our letter, and carried the meſſengers up into their mountains, where after ſeverely whipping them, they at length ſuffered them to depart. Theſe unfortunate men it ſeems did not arrive at *Bir* till yeſterday, and after ſtaying a few hours ſet out for *Aleppo*; ſo that all our hopes of getting ſpeedy intelligence from Mr. *Drummond* are at an end. 1758.

At a quarter before three this morning, we decamped from the banks of the *Euphrates*, having the *Baſha*'s ladies and treaſure before us, and travelled W. S. W. and S. W. for four hours and half, over a hilly, rugged country, abounding in chalk and ſtones. At ſix we paſſed over a bridge with three arches, and diſcovered a pretty looking village on our right called *Mazar*, which had many trees about, and on the hills beyond it: At half paſt ſeven we pitched our tents in a pleaſant valley under the ſhade of a walnut-tree, with a pomegranate at our ſide, and an agreeable plantation of peach, almond, apple, and other trees around us. From this ſpot, we diſpatched one of our *Takht-Revan* men with a ſecond letter to Mr. *Drummond*. He engaged to deliver it to-morrow at ſun-riſe, and to meet us on the road with an anſwer. Auguſt 2.

Our *Aga* has juſt given us all great ſpirits, by acquainting us that we are to keep the *Baſha* company only this and to-morrow night's ſtage. Afterwards we are to have liberty to make the beſt of our way. We learnt alſo this evening by a traveller from *Aleppo*, that a malignant fever had 'till lately mightily prevailed in that city, and carried off many of the inhabitants: He added, that bread was at ſo high a price, that the poorer people were almoſt ſtarved.

At a quarter before two this morning, we took our former ſtation, behind the ladies, and marching off travelled a winding courſe for two hours. We paſſed quite through the village of *Mazar*, which has two *Moſques* with *Minarets*; then went a S. W. by W. courſe for two hours and half more, over a good, but much neglected ſoil, and at length pitched our tents in a well cultivated plain, at the eaſt ſide of an artificial mount, on which a caſtle once ſtood, and around it a town named *Sajuera*. This is much ſuch another mount as that at *Kircoote*, only not quite ſo large. From the top of it you have a commanding proſpect of a fine extenſive country with two or three villages; were the lands about them green with *Indian* corn or *Natchile*. Auguſt 3. MAZAR. SAJUERA.

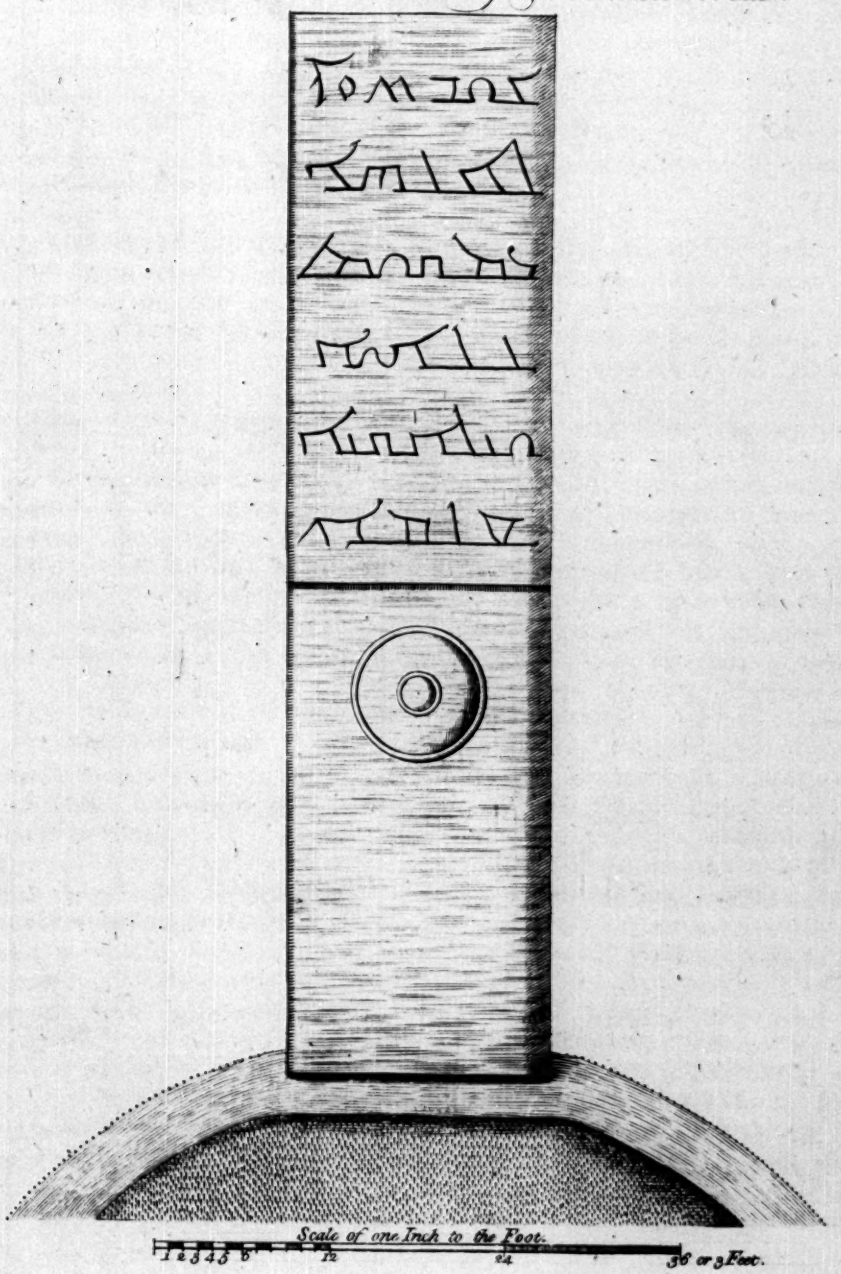
1758. A river called alſo *Sajuera* runs through the plain, which greatly added to the ſcenery of the landſcape.

Some ruins on the ſummit of the mount are ſtill viſible, particularly on the weſt ſide, where you plainly diſcover the pillars of a portal to the caſtle, which were made of bluiſh hard ſtones about five feet in length, and two in thickneſs. On one of them placed at the right hand as you enter the gateway of the eaſtern ſide of the ruins, and nine feet from the ground, ſome ancient characters were apparent, though now ſomewhat effaced.—They are copied in the annexed copper-plate. On the north ſide of this gate-way, are two or three arches, which appear to have been formerly paſſages to ſo many apartments: They are built of the ſame hard large ſtones as thoſe which compoſe the portal, and are cemented together with a moſt durable mortar, in the compoſition of which I obſerved many ſmall ſtones. We were told, that this mount and town were formerly in the poſſeſſion of *Chriſtians*; but I am apprehenſive that the *Turks*, from whom we receive our information, make uſe of the words *Chriſtians* and *Europeans* as ſynonimous terms; ſo whether they mean *Europeans* who lived before the times of *Chriſtianity*, or thoſe who formed the *Cruſades* in the twelfth Century, is difficult to determine.

At ſix this morning, the principal men of another village juſt by us, and called alſo *Sajuera*, paſſed on towards our rear, in order to pay their compliments to the *Baſha*. Theſe gentlemen were all armed and on horſeback, attended by a perſon carrying a pair of colours. About eight o'clock, near forty of the chief people of *Aleppo* came alſo into camp, with their horſes very richly capariſoned. Their buſineſs is alſo to compliment the *Baſha* on his drawing nigh to their city. They have been four days on the road, and had waited many hours in this village for his arrival.

We deſired our interpreter to make our compliments to one of them, and to enquire of him the true ſtate of affairs at *Aleppo* and *Scanderoon*. The gentleman he ſpoke to, was ſo complaiſant as to wait upon us immediately at our tent. We entertained him in the cuſtomary method of the country, with a whiff or two of tobacco from the *Argile* tube, and a diſh of coffee without ſugar. He confirmed the account we had before received of a malignant fever having raged at *Aleppo*, but added, that its effects had not been very fatal. He told us, that conſul *Drummond* was his tenant, and was very well, but he knew nothing of his intention of ſoon quitting this country for *England*; for from an intimation given by Mr. *Drummond* in a letter to Mr. *Garden* at *Baghdad*, we had flattered ourſelves with the hope of having him for our fellow-traveller. The *Turkiſh* gentleman ſaid farther, that there were ſome *Engliſh* ſhips now at *Scanderoon* taking in their cargo, but when they intended to ſail he could not take upon him to ſay. He knew nothing for certain in relation to the ſtate of

A Blue Stone 6 Feet long & 18 Inches broad.



affairs between the *Engliſh* and *French* nations, but recollected to have heard the chief *Turkiſh* officer of the cuſtoms lately declare, that there were great hopes of a peace being ſoon concluded between them, conſequently ſhips would come to *Alexandretta* more frequently, and with leſs interruption, than they had done of late. For better information, he recommended us to the *Kahier* of the late *Baſha*, who came alſo into the camp this morning. Upon our aſking him ſome queſtions relative to the robbers, he anſwered without heſitation, that the road to *Aleppo* was tolerably ſafe for travellers; but afterwards, on our *Aga* holding a private converſation with him, and (as we ſuſpect) checking him for the favourable account he had given us, he preſently changed his note, and added, that it would by no means be adviſeable for us to travel by ourſelves. 1758.

Having advanced only 13 or 14 miles to-day, and ſtill leſs yeſterday, we are quite wearied out, and have loſt all patience. As an additional mortification, we now hear, that inſtead of being permitted to proceed by ourſelves after this night's ſtage, as promiſed, we are to be detained till after the *Baſha* comes into camp to-morrow. Our liquors too are all drank up, ſo that we are now reduced to drink the pure element of our firſt parents; a moſt uncomfortable beverage to keep up the ſpirits of worn-out travellers, and who for ſo many years have been uſed to the more generous and exhilarating juice of claret and madeira. With reſpect to our food, we are in much the ſame, if not a more uncomfortable ſituation; ſometimes we have nothing at all to eat, and if by chance we are favoured with a ſupply from the *Baſha*'s kitchen, it is only of a little mutton juſt killed, and ſo indifferently dreſſed, that we are ſcarce able to ſwallow a bit. However, all of us except *Mc Intoſh*, have recovered our long-loſt appetites; but this circumſtance, which a few weeks ſince would have been eſteemed a bleſſing, is now become a real misfortune. As we have no other reſource left but getting to the end of our journey as ſoon as poſſible, we are all impatient to make the experiment, even at the expence of hazarding the *Baſha*'s diſpleaſure. *Franciſco*, whom we had ſent to the late *Baſha*'s *Kahier* for intelligence, brought us a confirmation of ſome *Engliſh* ſhips being ſtill at *Scanderoon*.

At half paſt ſeven in the evening, we were moſt agreeably ſurprized with the following letter from *Aleppo*.

Aleppo, 2d *Auguſt*, 1758.

" SIR,

" THIS day, about an hour and half before noon, your letter of " the 16th of *July*, from *Niſibin*, was brought to me. The cover of it was " torn, but enough of it remained to ſhew it was intended for me. I " cannot pretend to ſay that the receipt of it gave me pleaſure. No, Sir, " it gave me an exceſs of pain; and I figured to myſelf a variety of ugly " circumſtances, which I ſhall not give you the trouble to read. Now, I " cannot

1758. " cannot but bleſs God that you are ſafe, and that I have a reaſonable " proſpect of ſeeing you at *Aleppo*, freed from a thouſand inconveniences, " and as happy as I, and the other gentlemen here, can make you.

" I ſhall not at preſent loſe a moment in telling you news; only that " our convoy, and three other men of war, are in theſe ſeas. I purpoſe " going in one of them, but when, is a queſtion that cannot eaſily be " anſwered; becauſe the plague now rages at *Smyrna*, and no patent can " be acquired till forty days after it ſhall ceaſe. In the mean time, be you " perfectly eaſy. — I will think for you, in the beſt way I can.—You ſhall " hear all I have to ſay; and may then purſue my beſt thought, or a better " of your own.

" Don't let your brother-travellers fear. God ever love them! " they too ſhall have lodgings, *&c. &c.*—I ſhall thank you for your polite- " neſs and goodneſs * towards me at *Merdin*, when I have the happineſs " to embrace you at this place.

" The bearer of this goes the direct road to *Bir*. Should he find you " to-day or to-morrow, he may be ſent back with a note from you. I hope " no accident can have detained you at *Bir*, or at any other place before " you got there. Pleaſe to give the meſſenger ſome *Paras* to purchaſe bread, " for theſe people are afraid of carrying more money about them than is " abſolutely neceſſary.

" My family ſalute you and your good company; as for myſelf, you " may be aſſured that I am, with great ſincerity,

" Dear Sir,

" Your moſt obedient,

" humble ſervant,

" A. DRUMMOND."

" *P. S.* The convoy is the *Preſton* of 50 guns, Captain *Evans*. The " ramblers (whom God preſerve!) are,

" The *Monmouth*, Capt. *Hervey* — — 64 guns.
" The *Ambuſcade*, Capt. *Gwynn* — — 36
" The *Lyme* - Capt. *Vernon* — — 24

" To *Henry Doidge*, Eſq;
" I dont know where,
" but I hope near to
" *Aleppo*."

* Father *Ange* of *Merdin* intruſted to Mr. *Doidge*'s care ſome ancient medals which he had collected for the conſul, and of which Mr. *Doidge* in his letter had informed him.

The

The reading of the above letter gave us all freſh ſpirits; we drank the writer's health in water, which (as before obſerved) was the only liquor we were now maſters of, and afterwards threw ourſelves on our cots, but ſuch was the joyous perturbation of our ſpirits, that we could not take a moment's ſleep. 1758.

At ten we ſet off once more in our proper ſtation, and travelled near eight hours over an uncultivated country, though much leſs rugged than what we had lately met with. At ſeven in the morning, we pitched our tents by the ſide of a river, in a plain, near to an old *Caravanſerah*. Our courſe was from S. S. W. to W. S. W; we travelled about three miles an hour, which has hitherto been our uſual progreſs in tolerable roads. In bad ones we do not get forwards above two. I judge upon the whole, that from *Merdin* we have made two miles and an half by the hour; from *Baghdad* to *Merdin*, three. Auguſt 4.

From hence we ſent our *Aga* to the *Kahier*, with our beſt compliments and thanks to himſelf and *Abdallah Baſha*, and likewiſe to know whether they approved of our proceeding to *Aleppo* by ourſelves after the next ſtage. An anſwer being brought us in the affirmative, Mr. *Doidge* thought it neceſſary to acknowledge the receipt of the conſul's letter by the ſame meſſenger who had brought it, giving him to underſtand that we hoped to kiſs his hand at *Aleppo* to-morrow morning. In the evening we were cruelly mortified by a meſſage which the *Kahier* ſent by the *Aga*, importing, that ſince the morning he had held a conſultation with the *Baſha* on the ſubject of our parting with him to-morrow; that the *Baſha* would by no means conſent to it, but inſiſted on our accompanying him quite to *Aleppo*, which, he ſaid, would be doing a mutual honour both to himſelf and us. As the whole tenor of this meſſage was contradictory to the promiſe we had received in the morning, we did not fail to remonſtrate againſt it, but to no manner of purpoſe. The *Kahier* ſent us word, that he was ſorry for our diſappointment, yet ſuch was the will of the *Baſha*, and what reply could poſſibly be made to it? Adding however, that the conſent given us in the morning had been without the *Baſha*'s knowledge; that he (the *Kahier*) had taken upon himſelf to give it, not doubting of his maſter's acquieſcence, and knowing that upon every account it would be moſt acceptable to us, whom he wiſhed to oblige. Theſe were ſoothing words, but by no means ſufficient to ſtifle our diſcontent, or to reconcile us to this abominable act of *Turkiſh* deſpotiſm. We determined therefore to leave the *Baſha* at all events, being now fully convinced that his ſole motive for detaining us, was the fooliſh paſſion of having us in his train when he enters the city of *Aleppo*.

At half paſt ten we decamped again, and moved off in our uſual order, paſſing by a few inhabited villages, and others that were quite in ruins. At ſix in the morning we got to the ſpot where the *Baſha* intended to encamp, Auguſt 5.

1758. but from whence we were determined to make the beſt of our way. As the great man was ſtill in the rear, we had time to place ourſelves in the very track he was obliged to take. Accordingly at nine, he came by in his *Takht Revan* with great pomp and ſtate; we (ſtanding in a row) ſaluted him, and expreſſed by ſigns a deſire of ſpeaking to him. He ſaw us, and made a motion with his hand for us to come nearer to him. He then made a full ſtop, and we advanced, having before conjured our interpreter *Franciſco* to take courage, and not be afraid of repeating the whole of what we ſhould bid him ſay to the *Baſha*; we gently hinted the ſame ſalutary caution to our *Aga*; but alas! our good advice with both of them was all in vain. The laſt turned as pale as death, and reverently kiſſed the great man's ſleeve: and as for the poor, affrighted, trembling *Franciſco*, he had not the leaſt power of utterance, but ſtood ſhivering with apprehenſion, and contented himſelf with touching the hem of the *Takht Revan*'s covering, and licking the duſt from off his fingers. The *Baſha* eaſily gueſſing at the purport of our intended petition, told us with an air too haughty to be pleaſing, "we muſt ſtay, and that we had but one day more before we ſhould arrive with him at *Aleppo*." In anſwer, we intended to have ſet before him the ſeveral reaſons we had for going forwards, ſuch as the want of health, neceſſaries, and time, beſides the promiſe we had made our conſul of ſeeing him to-day; but unfortunately, our interpreter (who had not yet gotten the better of his fears ſo far as to deliver our ſentiments properly) made uſe of this plea of our appointment with Mr. *Drummond*, firſt, which we had deſigned ſhould come in order laſt. Upon which, the great man probably conceiving his dignity to be hurt, replied with a *Turkiſh* monoſyllable, tantamount to our *Engliſh* word, "Pſhaw;" adding, "What ſignifies your engagement with the conſul? Let that remain with me."—We attempted to urge many things in reply, but 'twas all in vain: this *Beglerbeg*, this *Lord* of *Lords*, ordered his people to march on, and left us to digeſt his final reſolve as we could.

The abrupt departure and lofty deportment of the *Baſha* upon this occaſion, chagrined us not a little, and indeed piqued our pride ſo much, that with the ſame haſte as he had made from us, we ran towards our horſes, mounted, and in an inſtant got into the high road for *Aleppo*, leaving our *Aga*, all our country-ſervants, *Takht Revans*, and baggage behind us. Our worthy *Aga* (who dared not to accompany us but at the riſk of loſing his head) made uſe of many intreaties to prevail upon us to ſtay another day, concluding with that which to ingenuous minds is the moſt powerful of all, "That he ſhould eſteem it as the higheſt favour done to himſelf." We aſſured him in general, that we ſhould be always more ready to oblige him, than even the *Baſha* himſelf, as our obligations to him were confeſſedly greater; but upon the preſent occaſion it was morally impoſſible for us to do it, and therefore we deſired to be excuſed, though at any other time, we ſhould look upon his deſires, as having the force of commands.

Immediately

Immediately after this, we rode off at a round trot, diſcourſing with each other on what might be the event. The perſuaſions of our *Aga* had indeed already wrought ſo powerfully with ſome of the party, that they began to have their doubts reſpecting the propriety of their behaviour towards the *Baſha*; but now, as the die was caſt, it was impoſſible for us to recede. 1758.

We had not gone on above half an hour, before we eſpied two horſemen riding full ſpeed after us from the *Baſha*'s camp: one of them made ſigns for us to ſtop, to which we paid no kind of attention, till he drew nearer, and we diſcovered him to be our own truſty *Aga*; the other, proved to be our ſervant *Vertan*. At their coming up, the *Aga* told us, that as ſoon as we rode off, he waited upon the *Baſha*, and related to him the particulars of our flight; upon which he ſaid, "If that be the caſe, do you immediately follow them, with all their ſervants, baggage, and a company of ſoldiers to protect them." Theſe joined us ſoon after, and we went forwards with a part of the ſoldiers, leaving the others behind to take care of our baggage and *Takht Revans*, in one of which *Alexander M'Intoſh* was obliged to be carried, being ſtill extremely weak. In a few minutes after this, the gentlemen and troops from *Aleppo*, who had now taken their leave of the *Baſha*, and were returning to that city to be in readineſs to receive him in a proper manner to-morrow, came up with, and ſoon went a head of us. This ſingle circumſtance proved that *Abdallah Baſha*'s motive for keeping us with him, was really what has been already ſuggeſted: if he had not been actuated more by the vanity of having us in the number of his retinue on making his public entrance into *Aleppo*, than by any real concern he had for our ſafety, he certainly would have directed us to keep company with theſe gentlemen and their body of troops, under whoſe protection we could not have failed of travelling in perfect ſecurity.

ALEPPO.

Our road towards *Aleppo* was very rough and bad; we paſſed by many a high hill with a hard, chalky bottom. Our courſe upon the whole lay W. S. W. At noon we came abreaſt of a village, whoſe houſes were of a conic form, and built of mud. Soon after, we paſſed by ſome gardens. From one to near four o'clock, we ſkirted a very pleaſant valley full of fruit-trees and legumens, which continued quite up to the city of *Aleppo*, where we arrived at four, very hot and fatigued, having rode all night and the greateſt part of the day. We have been exactly ſeven weeks in our journey from *Baghdad*, which is diſtant from *Aleppo*, by the moſt exact computation, in our route, 698 miles.

CHAP. VII.

Occurrences in Aleppo.—*Journey to* Shoger *and* Latichea.—*Occurrences at, and deſcription of* Latichea.—*Moſt of the party ſet off for the iſland of* Cyprus.—*The author follows them, and arrives at* Larnica.—*Occurrences and obſervations in* Cyprus.—*Arrival of four other gentlemen from* India.—*Their departure, with the author, from* Cyprus, *and arrival at* Leghorn.

1758. MR. *Drummond* received us with the greateſt hoſpitality and politeneſs. After we had refreſhed ourſelves with wines, punch, and excellent beef-ſteaks, to all which we had long been ſtrangers, we betook ourſelves to a comfortable clean bed, where we enjoyed that ſweet repoſe, which only the tired, the worn-out traveller like ourſelves can ever truly experience. In the evening we were viſited by moſt of the gentlemen of the *Engliſh* factory; who kindly diſpoſed of us among their ſeveral families. Mr. *Doidge* and I, with our three ſervants, *Jenkins*, *M'Intoſh*, and *Toney*, were lodged at the conſul's houſe; Mr. *Pye* at Mr. *Free's*; Mr. *Alms* at Mr. *Bridger's*, and Mr. *Pigot* at Mr. *Landſdown's*.

Sunday. Auguſt 6. This morning, the remaining part of the gentlemen of our factory were ſo obliging as to viſit us. We alſo were favoured with the company of two *Capuchin French* fathers, a *Carmelite*, and ſeveral *Jew* merchants. The factory conſiſts of the following gentlemen:

Alexander Drummond, Eſq;	Conſul.
Mr. *Kirkhouſe*	Chancellor.
Mr. *Smith*	Treaſurer.
Meſſ. *Free*, *Landſdown*, *Bridger*, *Shaw*, *Vernon*, *Maſſick*, *Hays*, *Ratcliffe*, *Booth*	Merchants.
The Reverend Mr. *Holloway*	Chaplain.
Dr. *Patrick Ruſſell*,	Phyſician and Surgeon.

We were aſked, if we were agreeable to pay our compliments to the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Venetian* conſuls, for before we had gone through this ceremony, we were not to expect being viſited by any of the private gentlemen of thoſe nations; but after waiting upon their conſuls, we might then depend upon every one of theſe foreigners coming to pay their reſpects to us. As we found this point to be a matter of the utmoſt indifference to Mr. *Drummond*, we choſe to decline the increaſing of our acquaintance, ſo that our converſation and viſiting were confined to the ſmall, but agreeable circle of our own countrymen. And this very circumſtance, conſidering the great fatigues we had ſo lately undergone, was not without its advantages; for hereby we had an opportunity of being more at our eaſe, and of devoting the ſhort time we were to continue here to our own concerns, which otherwiſe would have been almoſt entirely taken up in receiving or paying ceremonious viſits. 1758.

Mr. *Holloway* was too ill to officiate to-day, in the public ſervice of the church. At noon, *Abdallah Baſha* made his public entrance into the city.

Yeſterday and to-day, our whole time was taken up in ſettling accounts, and paying off our *Mocha* and *Takht revan-gee*, with whom we had much trouble, and clamorous diſpute. Mr. *Baron* our countryman a gentleman of great ſagacity, and Mr. *Edee* our nation's firſt *Dragoman* or interpreter, took much pains to prevent our being impoſed upon; but in ſpite of all their endeavours, theſe raſcals will be paid more than they have a right to demand: to get any redreſs from government muſt be attended with great expence and loſs of time, therefore the remedy would be worſe than the diſeaſe. We reſolved to leave the ſettling of theſe matters to the diſcretion of Mr. *Baron*, and the *Dragoman*, who is a man of ſenſe, genteel in his deportment, and we are told, of a very conſiderable fortune, which is made in ſome meaſure ſecure to him by his connection with the *Engliſh* nation. Auguſt 8.

Our party are now all recovering; we have better ſpirits, and tolerable good appetites. Meſſ. *Doidge* and *Pigot*, with myſelf, returned all our viſits. Mr. *Kirkhouſe* was ſo obliging as to go with us. Auguſt 9.

We learned from Mr. *Edee*, that the *Baſha* had enquired after us, and told him of our great hurry to get from him, as well as of his own reſolution to detain us, aſſigning no other motive for his conduct but the great anxiety he was under for our ſafety. As Mr. *Edee* is quite the polite, well-bred man, doubtleſs he made the *Baſha* a great many more compliments on our part, than we ever deſired he ſhould; ſince to this moment we cannot but be of opinion, that he ought to have granted us an eſcort many days before he did; by which we ſhould ſo much the ſooner have been freed from our extraordinary hardſhips and fatigues.

1758. In that caſe too, we ſhould have thought ourſelves more highly obliged to him, than it is poſſible for us now, even on the moſt diſpaſſionate retroſpection.

Auguſt 10. This day the *Kahier* was ſo obliging as to make the kindeſt enquiries after our welfare. We believe him to be a very valuable man, and to have been much diſpoſed to have facilitated our journey, had it been in his power.

Auguſt 11. The city of *Aleppo* has been very ſickly for ſome months paſt. The malignant fever ſtill continues here, but its mortality is greatly abated. They do not bury now more than 200 a day, whereas till very lately they loſt at leaſt double that number. The natives for ſome time paſt have been under continual apprehenſion of the *Europeans* ſhutting themſelves up in their houſes, which ſtep it ſeems is always deemed an indiſputable ſign of the plague prevailing here. This dreadful calamity has uſually viſited the citizens of *Aleppo*, once in 12 or 13 years. As far as I can find, there is but little difference between the preſent malignant fever, and what is commonly called the plague; the ſooner therefore we get from hence, the better *.

Auguſt 12. Mr. *Doidge* is much out of order; his appetite falls off, and he ſweats profuſely: I ordered him an emetic. I found myſelf not ſo well to-day, as of late; my legs fail me, with a general and great laſſitude.

Auguſt 13. I was taken this morning with a *Diarrhœa*, loſs of appetite, &c.—Mr. *Doidge* is much in the ſame ſtate as yeſterday; he takes tincture of bark,

* "This unhappy country for ſix years paſt has been in a very terrible ſituation, afflicted during the greateſt part of that time with many of the Almighty's ſevereſt ſcourges. Its troubles were uſhered in by a very ſharp winter in 1756-7, which deſtroyed almoſt all the fruits of the earth. The cold was ſo very intenſe, that the mercury of *Fahrenheit*'s thermometer, expoſed a few minutes to the open air, ſunk entirely into the ball of the tube. Millions of olive trees, that had withſtood the ſeverity of fifty winters, were blaſted in this, and thouſands of ſouls periſhed merely through cold. The failure of the crop the ſucceeding harveſt occaſioned an univerſal ſcarcity, which in this country of indolence and oppreſſion, (where proviſion is only made from hand to mouth, and where, literally ſpeaking, no man is ſure of reaping what he has ſown) ſoon introduced a *famine*, with all its attendant miſeries. The ſhocking accounts related to me on this ſubject, would appear fabulous, were they not confirmed by numberleſs eye-witneſſes, both *Europeans* and natives. In many places the inhabitants were driven to ſuch extremities, that women were known to eat their own children, as ſoon as they expired in their arms, for want of nouriſhment.—Numbers of perſons from the mountains and villages adjacent came daily to *Aleppo*, to offer their wives and children to ſale for a few dollars, to procure a temporary ſubſiſtence for themſelves: and hourly might be ſeen in our ſtreets, dogs and human creatures ſcratching together on the ſame dunghill, and quarrelling for a bone or piece of carrion, to allay their hunger. A peſtilence followed cloſe to the heels of the famine, which laſted the greateſt part of 1758, and is ſuppoſed to have ſwept away 50 or 60 thouſand ſouls in this city and its environs.—I bleſs God, I was not a ſpectator of this complicated ſcene of miſery: the very deſcription of it muſt diſtreſs a compaſſionate diſpoſition; the ſight of it muſt have made an impreſſion on an heart of flint." *Philoſ. Tranſactions*, 1763.

For a deſcription of *Aleppo*, and its diſeaſes, ſee Doctor *Ruſſell*'s treatiſe.

with

with elixir of vitriol. Mr. *Holloway*, the chaplain of the factory, was ſo far recovered of his late indiſpoſition, as to be able to perform divine ſervice to-day; we all with much gratitude and devotion offered up our thanks to God for our ſafe arrival here, after ſo long, painful, and dangerous a journey. 1758.

We put into the conſul's hands, ſome little preſents, intended for the good fathers at *Diarbekir*, as a ſmall teſtimony of our gratitude for the kind offices they did us in our diſtreſs. We alſo left with the ſame gentleman, our beſt compliments and thanks to every one of our other friends upon the road, deſiring our countrymen to behave kindly to them for our ſakes, ſhould they have opportunity. To-day likewiſe, but with great reluctance, we ſent a preſent of a gold watch to *Abdallah Baſha*. This, or ſomething of equal value, had been demanded of our *Dragoman* by his miniſter. We for ſome time determined not to give it; but applying to Mr. *Drummond* for his advice, he told us, that as it had been demanded, we could not, conſiſtent with the intereſt of future travellers, do otherwiſe than ſend it. *Abdallah* therefore had the watch, and we (in our opinion) a full diſcharge of every obligation we owed him for all thoſe high marks of reſpect, favour, and protection, which he pretended he had conferred upon us. The *Kahier* and under ſervants had alſo preſents from us, but with this difference, that what we parted with to them, was with the greateſt alacrity. Monday, Auguſt 14.

As the iſland of *Cyprus* ſeemed to be the moſt proper place for us to get a paſſage down the *Streights*, we reſolved to proceed thither: and as Mr. *Baron*'s affairs call him to *Latichea*, we ſhall ſet out with him this evening for that city; it being the neareſt port for taking boat for *Cyprus*. I was ſtill ſo much out of order, that nothing but the earneſt deſire of getting one ſtep farther towards my native country, could poſſibly induce me to leave this place. But the "*Amor Patriæ*," gets the better of every other conſideration. Mr. *Doidge* this afternoon addreſſed two letters to Meſſ. *Shaw* and *Garden*, complaining bitterly of the treacherous behaviour of *Cojee Raphael*.

The laſt perſon we took leave of at *Aleppo*, was our very worthy and faithful *Aga*; to whom, beſides the 500 piaſtres we promiſed him, we gave ſuch additional preſents as would have made him perfectly happy, had he not been apprehenſive of being robbed of them when he returned back to *Baghdad*, by the very *Kahier* who engaged him in our ſervice. It is a maxim of *Turkiſh* policy, that their great men having purchaſed their offices at an immenſe expence, ſhall be allowed to lick themſelves whole, by plundering the effects of thoſe who live under them; and hereby the great end of their empire is moſt effectually ſerved, which is, to break the ſpirits of the generality of the people by heavy exactions, and to accuſtom

1758. accuſtom them to bear all manner of injuſtice and oppreſſion with a perfect ſubmiſſion.

At half paſt four in the afternoon we all mounted on horſeback, and left the city of *Aleppo*; for the firſt hour and half we were accompanied by the conſul, and almoſt all the other gentlemen of the *Engliſh* factory, whoſe horſes and furniture made a gay appearance. We then halted at a well of good water, where we drank a parting glaſs in wine or punch, exchanged a mutual *huzza*, and then pronounced *Vale*, *farewel!* not without the lively hope of meeting again at ſome future period in our native country.

CANTAMAN. We kept on a S. S. W. courſe, and at half paſt eight, pitched our tent by the ſide of a river very near to a *Kaun*, and not far from a village called *Cantaman*. Poor Mr. *Holloway* made it a point to accompany us thus far, though he now is, and has been in an ill ſtate of health for the laſt two years. We moſt ſincerely wiſh him a perfect recovery; for nobody can help eſteeming ſo worthy, ſenſible, and pious a man.

Auguſt 15. At five in the morning we again mounted our horſes, and after having taken an affectionate leave of Mr. *Holloway*, we purſued a W. S. W. S. W. and S. S. W. courſe, for eight hours, over a ſtony road: we then got to a village named *Beniſh*, ſeated on a hill. In our way hither, we left ſeveral other ſmall places, both on our right and left. The two laſt hours paſſed away very unhappily, eſpecially with myſelf, my man *Alexander*, and my poor grey horſe, which was one of the two, *Baron Kniphauſen* had preſented us with at *Karec*. The maſter was ready to ſink under a very excruciating pain in his ſide, the ſervant complained of being worſe in his bowels, and the poor horſe was ſeized in ſo violent a manner as to fall down in the road; his agonies were ſuch, that at one time we determined, out of compaſſion, and from a perſuaſion that he never could get up again, to ſhoot him; after however he had lain about an hour, he ſo far recovered as to be able to get ſlowly to this place. The pain in my ſide continued ſo bad, that Mr. *Pigot* drew ſome blood from my arm, fomented the part affected with hot water, and rubbed in ſome mercurial ointment. In the evening, I took a mercurial pill, with opium, and diluted freely.

BENISH village.

Auguſt 16. I find myſelf better this morning, but not ſo well as to proceed in my journey. My caſe is bilious, for every copious diſcharge of the inteſtinal tube gives me immediate relief in the hepatic ducts, and lobes of the liver. *Alexander*, and the other faithful companion of my travels, my grey horſe, are alſo better.

Auguſt 17. This morning I was prevailed upon to offer my medical advice for the relief of a ſick youth, the ſon of the *Turk* whoſe roof we are under; but at noon, was told by the father, with the moſt perfect compoſure, that "*His*

ſon

ſon is gone to Paradiſe." About four o'clock in the afternoon, a traveller entered the village, who, a few hours before, had been robbed by two armed fellows of 160 piaſtres. 1758.

At half paſt five we ſet off from *Beniſh*, and travelled four hours and half through an extenſive grove of dead olive-trees, which had been killed by the ſeverity of the winter in the year 1756. This plantation brought us near to the large village of *Eadlip*, whoſe environs are fertile in corn and tobacco. Here are alſo plantations of mulberry-trees, preſerved for the Silk-worm. By twelve at night, we had paſſed by a high hill or mountain, and entered upon a large plain, called *Roudge*, where is a well of water, and from whence we diſcovered ſeveral fires at a diſtance, which our ſervants told us belonged to ſome encampments of *Arabs*, though they appeared to be nothing more than the burning of ſtubble or weeds. We ſhould have been glad to have tarried longer here, but our country attendants grew uneaſy, knowing it to be the moſt dangerous ſpot, and the moſt infeſted by robbers of any in the whole way between *Aleppo* and *Latichea*. We therefore armed ourſelves, and proceeded in a more regular order than we had done before. EADLIP.

At two in the morning we had gotten over the plain, and reached a watch-houſe, placed on the ſide of a rock to our right. Here a party of ſoldiers is always ſtationed, intended to protect travellers paſſing this way, who upon this account, are obliged to pay a toll. It was at firſt demanded of us for every man and beaſt; but upon their being told that we were *Engliſhmen*, we were ſuffered to paſs on, making a preſent of but one *Sequin* to the commanding officer. At half paſt four we got to the village *Shoger*, greatly fatigued with a journey of eleven hours, in which we took many different courſes. S. one hour; S. W. three; S. S. W. two and a quarter; W. and W. N. W. and N. N. W. four and three quarters. We put up at a *Caravanſerah*, not chuſing to be at the expence of making preſents, which muſt have been the caſe, had we taken an apartment in the governor's palace. August 18. SHOGER.

Shoger is by no means an inconſiderable place. It has a governor, a man of ſome conſequence, who is not appointed by the *Grand Seignior*, but by a private lord; the revenues of the village, and the country near it, being by the imperial bounty, the property of a *Vizier* family. Here are ſome *Moſques* with *Minarets*, all ſeated on a hill.

Juſt before we arrived at this village, we paſſed over the river *Orontes*, by a ſtone-bridge of ſeven or eight arches. The bridge is the largeſt we had croſſed for ſome time; for though the river is in general not very wide, yet at this place it occupies a large ſpace, owing to a conſiderable iſland in the midſt of it, which occaſions the water to ſpread and become quite ſhallow. The bridge is about forty yards over; but a little below, the *Orontes* is not more than twenty yards broad. From the accounts given Orontes river.

by

1758. by ancient writers, I had fancied the *Orontes* to be a much larger river, than what we found it to be. *Ovid* mentions it with the moſt conſiderable rivers in the then known world.

" Arſit et Euphrates Babylonius, arſit *Orontes*,
" Thermodonque citus, Gangeſque, & Phaſis, & Iſter.
" Nilus in extremum fugit perterritus Orbem,
" Occuluitque caput, quod adhuc latet. Oſtia ſeptem
" Pulverulenta vacant ſeptem ſine flumine valles.
" Fors eadem Iſmarios Hebrum cum Strymone ſiccat,
" Heſperioſque amnes, Rhenum, Rhodanumque, Padumque
" Cuique fuit rerum promiſſa potentia, Tybrin."
Met. lib. ii.

The *Orontes* abounds in a variety of excellent fiſh. We had a deſire to get ſome eels, but were diſappointed, although they are ſometimes very plenty here.

Ingezeek village. At ſix in the evening we left *Shoger* for *Ingezeek*, a village chiefly inhabited by *Greek Chriſtians*, where we arrived at half paſt ſeven, after having croſſed a very large and high mountain. Our courſe was W. N. W. and W. S. W. This evening we had a view of mount *Caſius*; which is ſaid to be ſo high, that on the top of it one may ſee day in the eaſt, and night in the weſt at the ſame time. According to *Pliny*, the mount is four miles high in a perpendicular line. *Lucan* ſpeaks of a mount *Caſius* near *Egypt*.

" Lucifer à Caſiâ proſpexit rupe, diemque
" Miſit in Ægyptum primo quoque ſole calentem.
Lucani, Civ. Belli, lib. x.

During our ſtay at *Ingezeek* we made uſe of the *Chriſtian Papa*'s houſe, where we found every thing extremely mean. Fortunately for us, our conſul at *Latichea*, to whom Mr. *Baron* had written a letter from *Beniſh*, had ſent hither a ſupply of wine and proviſion for us.

Auguſt 19. We left *Ingezeek* about ſix this morning, and travelled over ſuch high mountains, that if we had occaſion to write a letter from hence, we might with great propriety have dated it, *from the clouds*, which were flying much below as well as above us. Theſe mountains have a great plenty of trees and ſhrubs growing on them. The fir, live-oak, crab-apple, and pear, are among the trees, and the myrtle among the ſhrubs.—We found the air here very ſharp, and ſometimes damp. At eleven we reſted near a watch-houſe, and continued there till four in the afternoon. We were ſheltered by a fine grove of ſycamores, and a pleaſant ſtream of water ran by our ſide. From four till half paſt five, we went on through pleaſant vales interſected by rivulets, whoſe banks were blooming with the oleander and other flowers, and ſhaded at the ſame time with mulberry-trees.

Hence we had the pleaſure to ſee on the top of a hill juſt before us, Mr. *Beaumeſter* the *Britiſh* conſul of *Latichea*, who, with Mr. *Jaſper Cruter* the *Dragoman*, and his brother a doctor of phyſic, were come thus far to meet us. We ſoon joined their company, and from the hill we were raviſhed with the tranſporting view of the *Mediterranean* ſea. It is impoſſible to expreſs the joy which this delightful proſpect gave us, and how eagerly we feaſted ourſelves on a ſight which we had ſo long and ſo paſſionately ſighed after. We began now to think that all our difficulties were at an end, and the time not far off when we ſhould be landed on that happy, native ſhore, where all our hopes and wiſhes centered. We continued to advance with our new companions till ſeven o'clock, having upon the whole of this ſtage, made a W. S. W. courſe; and then diſmounted, and betook ourſelves to an handſome tent, which the conſul had ordered to be pitched the day before, purpoſely for our reception, near the village of *Balearea*. Here we found plenty of proviſion, but my indiſpoſition would not permit me to taſte of it. 1758. BALEAREA.

We got on horſeback before ſix in the morning, travelled till nine, W. by S. through a moſt agreeable country, abounding in *Indian* corn, and plantations of olive and mulberry-trees. We met with a ſmall river alſo in our way, and ſeveral runs of water. The ground was quite covered with myrtle and oleander buſhes, in full bloom. We alighted at the conſul's country houſe, which is ſeated on a hill near the village *Beſnada*, about two miles from *Latichea*, and the ſame diſtance from the ſea. From this ſpot you have a moſt delightful proſpect of the town, and of mount *Libanus*, and of the *Mediterranean*. The iſland of *Cyprus* bears from this houſe about S. W. and is diſtant twenty leagues. Auguſt 20. BESNADA.

The conſul's country houſe at *Beſnada*, was ſtored with every kind of refreſhment, and we flattered ourſelves that notwithſtanding our long and fatiguing journey *, we ſhould all be ſpeedily reſtored to our former health Auguſt 23.

* A table of the diſtance between each of the capital cities and towns in our route from *Baſſora* to *Latichea*.

From	*Baſſora*	to	*Corna*		75	Miles.
	Corna	to	*Cota*		91	
	Cota	to	*Dewana*		211	
	Dewana	to	*Hilla*		62	
	Hilla	to	*Baghdad*		50	
	Baghdad	to	*Kircoote*		167	
	Kircoote	to	*Arvela*		54	
	Arvela	to	*Moſul*		49	
	Moſul	to	*Niſibin*		103	
	Niſibin	to	*Arin*		26	
	Arin	to	*Diarbekir*		58	
	Diarbekir	to	*Bir*		147	
	Bir	to	*Aleppo*		94	
	Aleppo	to	*Latichea*		102	
			Total of Miles		1289	

and

1758. and vigour; but though we have now been here three days, to our great mortification, Mr. *Doidge*, Mr. *Pye*, and myſelf, ſtill find ourſelves exceedingly out of order. Our whole party however, except Mr. *Pigot* and ſelf, made a ſhift to get to *Latichea* yeſterday with the conſul. They learnt there, that his majeſty's ſhip the *Ambuſcade* Captain *Gwyn*, is now at *Cyprus*, to which iſland he has lately carried a ſmall *French* prize.

Auguſt 24. Mr. *Doidge* and I, in conſequence of the above intelligence, wrote each of us a letter to Captain *Gwyn* at *Cyprus*; likewiſe two others addreſſed to the ſame officer at *Scanderoon*, on a ſuppoſition that the *Ambuſcade* might poſſibly have left *Cyprus* for this laſt place. Mr. *Doidge* wrote alſo to Captain *Evans* of the *Preſton* at *Scanderoon*. Theſe letters related to our future proceedings, and Mr. *Doidge*'s were directed on "his Majeſty's ſervice."

Auguſt 27. This evening our good friend Mr. *Baron* left us in his way back to *Aleppo*; he will ſoon proceed to *Scanderoon* to ſucceed Mr. *Brown* as conſul, the latter being appointed ſucceſſor to Mr. *Drummond* at *Aleppo*, when he ſhall return for *England*.

Monday, Auguſt 28. Mr. *Pye* was ſeized yeſterday afternoon with troubleſome blotches all over his body, and an univerſal itching of the ſkin. Laſt night he fainted, but recovered again upon being carried into the open air. This morning he took an emetic, but has not been well all day. His ſkin is inflamed and ſwoln, and his pulſe naturally ſoft, now labours greatly. At night he took the third part of a paper of Dr. *James*'s powder: this

Auguſt 29. morning we found him almoſt perfectly recovered.

Auguſt 31. An account is juſt come from *Scanderoon*, that Captain *Turner*, commander of one of our *Turky* ſhips there, is ill; and that a malignant diſorder prevails among the crew, which has already carried off his ſurgeon, and five private men. I find myſelf rather better to-day, my bowels are ſtill in a weak ſtate. I bathed this evening in the ſea, hoping thereby to brace up my relaxed conſtitution.

September 1. The boat we had diſpatched with our letters to *Cyprus*, returned this morning with an account, that Captain *Gwyn* ſailed from thence laſt *Wedneſday* ſe'nnight, to the weſtward. He is ſuppoſed to be gone to the *Engliſh* fleet for ſalt proviſions, and to clean, and get freſh orders. The reaſon he gave for taking this ſtep, was, the little probability of the *Turky* traders being ſoon ready to ſail under his convoy, becauſe of the plague ſtill raging with great violence at *Smyrna*. A letter from *Scanderoon*, in anſwer to Mr. *Doidge*'s, addreſſed to Captain *Evans*, ſays, "We know not where Captain *Evans* is, and have not had the leaſt intelligence of late from *Smyrna*." Mr. *Turner*, who is ſtationed at *Cyprus*, recommends our going

going immediately to that iſland, and from thence taking our paſſage to *Alexandria*, from which port, he ſays, ſhips are frequently going to *Leghorn*. We are deſirous of firſt having ſome certain account of the *Preſton*, Captain *Evans*, who probably may ſtill continue in theſe ſeas to take under his convoy a part of the *Turky* trade: yet we are apprehenſive alſo of his tarrying here too long for our purpoſe, by being obliged to wait for the ſhips now lying at *Smyrna*; and ſhould that be the caſe, it is very poſſible that he will not arrive in *England* before the ſpring, ſince the merchant ſhips cannot begin to take in their cargoes till the plague has ceaſed forty days, and when that will be, God only knows! 1758.

Mr. *Doidge* has been treating with the maſter of a *Raguſan* veſſel to carry us to *Malta*, where, we have not the leaſt doubt, but we ſhall meet with ſome of our own men of war belonging to the grand fleet. They could not however agree about the price. The *Raguſan* at firſt demanded 2500 piaſtres, but afterwards came down to 2000; Mr. *Doidge* would only give him 1500, ſo they parted. September 2.

My fellow-travellers Meſſrs *Doidge* and *Pye*, being beyond meaſure anxious to arrive in *England*, on account of the diſpatches with which the former is charged to the miniſtry, admiralty, and the *Eaſt India* company, and alſo to ſettle our deceaſed friend Admiral *Watſon*'s affairs, they therefore (with my full conſent) reſolved to-day to proceed to *Malta* in the *Raguſan* veſſel, hoping by this means to get to the commanding officer of our fleet, who probably might think it expedient to diſpatch a frigate with them to *England*. Lieutenant *Alms* too, whoſe expectation of preferment preſſed him to get home as ſoon as poſſible, and Mr. *Pigot*, who wiſhes to purſue his ſtudies ſome months next winter in *London*, determined to accompany them. September 3.

Having with pain reflected on my unhappy ſtate of health, and the many inconveniences that muſt inevitably ariſe from ſo many ſickly people being crowded together in the cabbin of a veſſel of only 150 tuns burthen, I reſolved to tarry behind in this place, till my health ſhall be better eſtabliſhed; or till the *Preſton* with the *Turky* trade ſhall ſail for *England*, or a better and more commodious opportunity offers than at preſent.

About ſeven this evening, my dear friends took a moſt affecting leave of me, and ſoon after left *Beſnada* for *Latichea*. At eleven they embarked in the *Raguſan* veſſel, and immediately ſet ſail, taking with them *Benjamin Jenkins*, and *Toney* the black boy. They are to give 1800 piaſtres for this paſſage to *Malta*; but ſhould they on their arrival at that iſland, get certain intelligence of our fleet being only 20 or 30 leagues to the weſtward, then the maſter on his being applied to, is to put them on board the admiral's ſhip, and be paid 200 additional piaſtres. Monday, September 4.

1758. September 5. This day arrived here in the conſul's boat from *Cyprus*, Mr. *Preſton*, a young gentleman late from *Leghorn* and *England*, in his way to *Aleppo*; where he is going to reſide as a merchant, in the houſe of Mr. *Free*.

September 8. I wrote another letter to Captain *Evans* of the *Preſton*, and ſent it to *Scanderoon*: I ſent alſo duplicates of the ſame to *Cyprus*, to beg the favour of a paſſage in his ſhip. Conſul *Beaumeſter* diſpatched a *Meſs* or packet for *Aleppo* this afternoon; I embraced the opportunity of writing to Meſſrs *Drummond* and *Baron*, and ſent by the ſame meſſenger a parcel which Mr. *Doidge* had left for Mr. *Shaw* at *Baſſora*.

Monday, Septemb. 11. We received advice from *Aleppo*, that the plague ſtill rages at *Conſtantinople*, but had ceaſed at *Smyrna* the 5th of laſt month: the 14th inſtant therefore will be the fortieth day from its ceſſation; the ſhips at this laſt place, we preſume, will then, according to cuſtom, begin to take in their lading. This advice, which comes from one of our merchants at *Aleppo*, farther tells us, that the *Preſton*, with the ſhips under her convoy, will not be able to ſail from *Smyrna* till the 1ſt of *October*.

Septemb. 12. I thank God I am much better to-day. My pains are gone, and the flux greatly leſſened, For the firſt time I now drank a glaſs of tar-water, and rode with the conſul to *Latichea*.

Septemb. 13. I continue to drink tar-water, and have received great benefit from it. I rode again to the town with the conſul, Mr. *Preſton*, and Mr. *Jaſper Cruter*. This laſt gentleman was ſo obliging as to ſhew Mr. *Preſton* and me, the marine-yard, and the mole or ſmall harbour, wherein were 12 *French* ſhips, from 150 to 200 tuns burthen, whoſe employ is to carry *Turkiſh* goods, and *Jew* paſſengers from port to port: they are called *Caravanſerahs*. We afterwards viſited the remains of two triumphal arches, which are ſo fully deſcribed in Mr. *Drummond*'s book of travels, that it would juſtly be deemed impertinent in me to ſay any thing of them. We then paid a viſit to Mr. *Clinkey*, who acts here as vice-conſul for the *Dutch* and *Germans*. In our way to this gentleman's houſe, we paſſed through ſeveral ſtreets, in which are colonnades (mentioned alſo by Mr. *Drummond*) and *Bazars*, or market-places, kept in good order.

LATICHEA. *Latichea* is a pretty large town, built of good ſtone got from the ſea-ſhore. It has ſix or ſeven *Moſques* with *Minarets*, and the houſes are better built than the *Turkiſh* ones are in general. The governor is appointed by the *Baſha* of *Tripoli*: He is abſolute in his power, of which he has given a moſt convincing proof ſince our arrival at *Beſnada*, having ordered three criminals to be impaled, for a robbery on the highway. This puniſhment was inflicted immediately upon their being taken, without waiting for the tedious form of a trial.

My health continues to mend.—This evening the whole family took a ride to the conſul's new plantation of mulberry and cotton trees, three miles to the northward of *Beſnada*, and mount *Caſius* appeared to be about 20 miles diſtant from it. 1758. Septemb. 14.

To the N. E. of *Latichea*, for ſome miles, all the rocks near the ſea ſhew the remains of ancient workmanſhip. Large excavations are to be ſeen in many of them, which Mr. *Drummond* very properly ſuppoſes to have been chiefly *Catacombs* or tombs for the dead, though ſome of them appeared to me, to have been rather grottos for the living. The conſul and his company entertained us to-day with the *Gereed*. The figs are now ripe, and in conſequence we have great plenty of *Becca-ficca* birds and *Ortolans*. They are about the ſize of a bull-finch, exceedingly fat, and the taſte of their fleſh is generally eſteemed as exquiſitely good.

I had the mortification to hear to-day from the *Patroon* belonging to the conſul's boat, that by letters received from *Smyrna* of the 21ſt ult. the plague then continued to rage there, and that it had made its way into the neighbouring iſlands. If this be true, how diſtant yet are my hopes of getting to *England!* Septemb. 16.

Letters received this day from Mr. *Drummond* bring no public news. He ſays, he writes in haſte, and intends detaining the packet, till letters arrive from *Conſtantinople*, which are daily expected. Septemb. 17.

We went this day to *Latichea*, and there learned, that two *Engliſh* privateers were arrived at *Cyprus*; and that two *French* merchant ſhips alſo had put in there, only eleven days in their paſſage from *Marſeilles*. In a letter received by Mr. *Beaumeſter* from Mr. Conſul *Drummond*, the conſul adviſed, that he deſigns being at *Latichea* in the beginning of *October*, from whence he intends going on board Captain *Turner*'s ſhip, and ſailing in it under convoy to *England*. This circumſtance gives me freſh hope of the plague having ceaſed, and of the ſpeedy ſailing of the *Preſton* man of war. This evening at ten o'clock Mr. *Preſton* ſet out for *Aleppo*. Mr. *Free* had ſent a ſervant and horſes for him, and Mr. *Jaſper Cruter* the *Dragoman*, accompanied him. Monday, Septemb. 18.

We took another ride to *Latichea*, where, to the ſurprize of the conſul, he learnt, that his uncle Mr. *Purnel* (brother to the gentleman of that name at *Baſſora*, and predeceſſor as conſul and merchant to his nephew here) was juſt arrived from *England*, but laſt from *Leghorn*. He travelled through *France* and *Italy*. Septemb. 20.

We ſlept laſt night at *Latichea*, where I found the air much warmer than here at *Beſnada*. Every body complained of it; but as it was not by any means to be compared with what I had lately felt, I was not in the leaſt incommoded. Septemb. 21.

1758. commoded.—The houſe, ever ſince Mr. *Purnel* arrived, hath been full of viſitors, compoſed of the chief *Turks* of *Latichea*.

The following is part of a letter I received this morning from Mr. *Drummond*.

" I wiſh your brother travellers a happy voyage, but am extremely " ſorry you was not able to go with them. A *Swede*, now lying at *Scan-* " *deroon*, may poſſibly get ſome goods for *Leghorn*. If that ſhould be " the caſe, I would adviſe you by all means to go in her.

" At *Cyprus* you lie in the way of all that offers; and were I there with " my buſineſs finiſhed, I ſhould certainly move off with the firſt veſſel; for " God knows whether we may ſee a convoy ſooner than the end of *No-* " *vember*.

" At preſent my affairs are ſo uncertain, that I dare not think of form- " ing any ſcheme one way or the other. I have been acquainted with " *German* roads in winter, but I was then young. In any ſhape, your " company would be a pleaſure to me; but I carry no ſervant farther than " *Cyprus*, for they can be of no uſe to a traveller. Were I to go by *Leg-* " *horn*, I ſhould chuſe the *Swiſs* road, but all at preſent, with me, is build- " ing caſtles in the air.

" I know you have many reaſons for wiſhing yourſelf at home; I there- " fore hope you will meet with ſome good opportunity, without a thought " of me, who ſeem in no ſhape my own maſter.—Nothing promiſes more " to make you eaſy, than the *Swede* I have before-mentioned."

As Meſſ. *Drummond* and *Purnel* are both of opinion, that *Leghorn* is the place I ought to go to; and ſince the convoy probably will not be ready till the end of *November*, and both myſelf and ſervant are now in tolerable health, I reſolved to ſet out for *Cyprus* as ſoon as poſſible; hoping we ſhall be better able to encounter the cold of the *Alps* in the winter, than we were the exceſſive heats of *Turky* laſt ſummer.

Septemb. 26. Yeſterday I rode out in the evening with Meſſ. *Purnel* and *Beaumeſter*. To-day I wrote a letter of compliments and thanks in my own and fellow-travellers names, to *Emanuel*, biſhop of *Babylon*; and another to Mr. *Shaw* at *Baſſora*; putting them under the care of Conſul *Drummond*.

Septemb. 27. A *Leghorneſe* being bound to *Cyprus*, I agreed to take my paſſage in her to that iſland, and ſent on board my baggage. Mr. *Beaumeſter* was ſo obliging as to accept of the two horſes, which Baron *Kniphauſen* made us a preſent of. In the evening I wrote a letter, and ſent it in a boat to *Cy-*

prus,

prus, to Mr. *Turner*, begging the favour of him to ſecure me a paſſage in the *Swede* bound to *Leghorn*. 1758.

A *Meſs*, juſt now arrived from Mr. *Jaſper Cruter* at *Aleppo*, brings the melancholy news of the death of the Rev. Mr. *Holloway*, and of the very dangerous ſtate of Mr. Conſul *Browne*, juſt returned thither from *Scanderoon*, where he caught the infection. Mr. *Cruter* in his letter informs us alſo, that the plague ceaſed at *Smyrna* the 20th of *Auguſt*, but that the *Preſton* is blocked up there by three *French* ſhips of war. That Captain *Gwyn* is ordered to ſail to her aſſiſtance, but as his ſhip the *Ambuſcade* is gone to the weſtward, thoſe orders probably will never reach him. Septemb. 29.

The wind hath been, and ſtill continues foul for *Cyprus*; which circumſtance, (as I have ſome return of my bilious complaints) is not unlucky; and I am told, that the *Swede* will not ſail for *Leghorn* in leſs than three weeks. Septemb. 30.

The wind is now fair for our ſailing, and I am in all reſpects ready to embark; but the veſſel has not taken in her water, and the *Italians* will do no work on a *Sunday*. October 1.

By the conſul's boat, which arrived this day from *Cyprus*, I had the ſatisfaction to receive the two following letters. Monday, October 2.

Cyprus, 12th of *September*.

" FOUR days after we left you, my dear *Ned*, we arrived at this place. " The news we firſt learnt here, was, that the ſhips were admitted to " prattique at *Smyrna*, and that the *Preſton* was gone thither from *Scio*, in " conſequence of it. About three hours after ſhe got in, three *French* " ſhips of war arrived, who had been lying in wait for her. One of " them carried 64 guns, the other two were frigates. This news came by " letter from *Smyrna*, and Mr. *Turner* aſſures me, it may be depended on; " ſo that in all probability, the *Preſton* will be blocked up till a reinforce- " ment comes from the fleet; and that will not be, perhaps, till we carry " this news to the admiral. But the captains of two privateers who " came in yeſterday, give us hopes that the *Preſton* will ſail very ſoon, for " they ſpoke with a boat in their paſſage hither, who told them, the cap- " tain of the *Preſton* had ſent to *Scio* for a pilot to carry him out of *Smyrna*, " and that the *French* ſhips were certainly gone off the ſtation: If this latter " account ſhould prove true, it will not be long I hope before you hear of the " *Preſton*'s being at *Scanderoon*. If however you do not hear of her ſoon, " there will be an opportunity of going down in the *Swede*, which is now at " *Scanderoon*; ſhe will ſtop here, and proceed from hence to *Leghorn*, where " I hear you may be certain of meeting ſome of our cruiſers, as that is " the port our fleet in common victual at. I have deſired Mr. *Turner* to

1758. " ſend you word as ſoon as the *Swede* arrives, by a boat on purpoſe, if no " other opportunity ſhould offer at the time: this appears to me the only " chance you have to get home this year. Pray God your health may " enable you to embrace it! As for our ſtate and condition, it ſtands " thus. —— has a voracious appetite, but nothing agrees with him; every " thing turns ſour in his ſtomach, and yet he is too wiſe to take a vomit. " —— by his own idleneſs in lying upon the deck one night, brought on his " ague and fever. —— is as uſual, neither ſick nor ſorry. And as for my " part, I am not ſick enough to complain, nor well enough to be jolly. " I have had an ugly pain in my right ſide, ſo very acute at nights, that " I can't lie on my left: this ſounds very odd, but it is even ſo; however, " as I have no ſymptom of a fever, I hope it does not proceed from an * " *inflammation of the liver:* tar water and moderation, I hope will relieve " me, and carry me home at laſt ſafe and ſound. Pray don't you ne- " glect to drink it; depend upon it, 'twill be of benefit to you.

" If you ſhould go home in the *Swede*, you need not be afraid of ſpending a " little time here; you will find the air agreeable, and the gentle exerciſe " of an one-horſe chaiſe will do you good, which will be entirely at your " command, every morning and evening: you will find Mr. *Turner* a very " honeſt, good-natured young gentleman, who will chearfully do every " thing in his power to oblige you. Should you have any opinion of this " *Swede*, I would adviſe you to ſend a meſſenger to *Scanderoon*, on pur- " poſe, to know if ſhe touches at *Cyprus*, and when ſhe will be here; by " this you will be better able to take your meaſures, than by waiting for " a boat of advice from hence, as her paſſage may be uncertain.

" I was in hopes we ſhould have been able to have left this iſland " to-morrow, but now am afraid it will not be 'till the day after. Our " captain appears to be a good-natured fellow, we do juſt as we pleaſe: " I wiſh to God! it had been right and fit for you to have been with us; " however, when you do embark, I hope you will have, in every reſpect, " an agreeable paſſage, and that it will not be long before we meet again " in dear *Old England!* from whence I hope neither of us will ever depart " again.

" All our party deſire their kindeſt compliments to you. Mr. *Turner* " begs you will accept his; and as my friend, he hopes you will without " ceremony, make his houſe your own, while you continue at *Cyprus*. " Pray remember us all moſt heartily to Mr. *Beaumeſter*, *Jaſper Cruter*, and " the Doctor; and be aſſured yourſelf, my dear friend, nobody loves and " eſteems you more than

" Your truly faithful
" and affectionate
H. Doidge."

* The moſt alarming and a common diſorder of the *Eaſt Indies*.

" *Alms*

1758.

" *Alms* has left his great broad ſword behind him, which he deſires you " will enquire about, and take care of: pray tell Mr. *Beaumeſter*, that " the *Turkiſh* cuſtom-houſe officer, who took my piſtols out of my cheſt, " has not returned them; I beg he will enquire into it; and I think 'twould " be but juſtice if ſuch a raſcal could be made an example of, and puniſhed " for the robbery.

" Mr. *Turner* deſires, when you arrive in the road, you'll ſend him a " note, he then will be ready at the landing place to receive you in his " chaiſe; don't neglect doing this, as his houſe is half a mile from the " water-ſide, and you'll find it diſagreeable walking.

" Once more, adieu.

" H. D."

" SIR, *Cyprus*, 15 *September*, 1758.

" I TAKE this opportunity to ſend you the incloſed letter from our " friend Mr. *Doidge*, who ſailed, with all his company, laſt night, with a " fair wind; I take the liberty to offer you my houſe, wherein you will " meet an hearty welcome. When you arrive in port, pleaſe to ſtay on " board the ſhip or boat which brings you, until you ſend me a note, that " my chaiſe may be at the marine to receive you. I hear that there is a " *Swede* now at *Scanderoon* taking in part of her loading for *Legborn*, and to " fill up here. I believe it would be proper to diſpatch a meſſenger to *Scan-* " *deroon* to know the truth of this report, by which you may take your " meaſures: but I think at all events, your being here as ſoon as poſſible " would be beſt, for this port is more in the track for ſhips for *Europe*, " than *Latichea*. I have the honour to be,

" Sir,

" Your devoted humble ſervant,

TIMO. TURNER."

" Mr. *Doidge*'s exerciſe twice a day in the chaiſe, relieved him greatly of " his pain in the ſide; a few days more he imagined would have perfected " his cure."

The piſtols, mentioned in Mr. *Doidge*'s letter, as taken out of his trunk by the *Turkiſh* cuſtom-houſe officer, were returned to me by the conſul, who complained of it to the governor; but as almoſt all the *Turks* in office, from the higheſt to the loweſt, are reputed to be rogues (and with too much juſtice) probably this pilfering *Aga* will ſuffer no other puniſhment, but the mortification he has already experienced, of being obliged to part with what, for a few days, he looked upon as his own property, however unjuſtly acquired.

1758. This evening, about ten o'clock, I bid adieu to my good friends, the conſul, and his uncle Mr. *Purnel*. I am beyond meaſure obliged to both for the great civilities they have conferred upon me during my ſtay at *Beſnada* and *Latichea*, but more particularly to the conſul, for having provided me with many neceſſaries for my voyage, and encumbred himſelf and his houſe with taylors, &c. for my ſervice.

At eleven I embarked on board the *Elena Fortunata* brig, *Giovanni Taddei* maſter. Mr. *Nun*, an *Iriſh* gentleman is the mate, and Monſ. *Rey*, a *Frenchman* the pilot. The brig carries eight hands, and two guns, half-pounders. At twelve we ſet ſail for *Cyprus*, with a fair breeze from the eaſt. At ſunſet the next day, twelve minutes before ſix, the iſland of *Cyprus* was ſeen by our people; and at twelve at night the day after, we came to an anchor in *Saline's-bay*.

October 5. About eight in the morning, I went on ſhore at *Larnica*, and found Mr. *Turner* with his chaiſe at the water's ſide, waiting to conduct me to his houſe. I was ſoon viſited by Monſ. *Cruter* (father to *Jaſper Cruter Dragoman* at *Latichea*) and by many other gentlemen, and ſome few ladies.—This evening came in the *Swede* from *Scanderoon* bound to *Leghorn*; a few hours however too late, for the *Italian* hath been before-hand with her, and engaged the whole of her intended freight.

This iſland of *Cyprus* is ſituate between 33 and 36 degrees of eaſt longitude, and 34 and 36 degrees of north latitude, oppoſite the ſhores of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. It extends in length from eaſt to weſt 220 miles, and is in circuit about 550. The air is ſo pleaſant, the ſoil ſo fruitful, and the hills ſo abounding with metals, that the ancients called it *Macaria*, the *Happy Iſland*; and the inhabitants thereof being a lewd, laſcivious people, it was thence conſecrated to *Venus*, who is frequently ſtiled *Venus Cypria* and *Dea Cypri*. The firſt inhabitants were *Cicilians*, who yielded to the *Phenicians*, as they did to the *Greeks*. *Ptolemy* the laſt king of this iſland, knowing that *Cato* was ſent againſt him by the *Romans*, put an end to his own life. It continued in the hands of the *Greek* emperors till 656, when it was conquered by the *Saracens*. In 807, the *Greeks* recovered it; but *Richard* 1ſt, King of *England*, going to the holy war in 1191, and being ill treated by the inhabitants, conquered it, and gave it to *Guy Luſignan*, whoſe ſucceſſors were diſpoſſeſſed by the *Templars* in 1306. In 1472, the *Venetians* poſſeſſed themſelves of it; and in 1560, *Selim* the *Grand Seignior* took it, whoſe ſucceſſors have enjoyed it to the preſent time.

October 6. This evening I took a ride with Mr. *Turner*, to the *Salines*, or natural *Salterys*; an accurate deſcription of which Mr. *Drummond* hath already given
October 7. to the public.—To-day we went together to the *Baſha*'s garden, and took a view of the aqueduct, by which *Larnica* is ſupplied with water from a ſpring at the foot of a mountain, ſix miles off.

Mr.

Mr. *Turner* and I dined this day with our conſul, and rode out as uſual in the evening. We viſited a ſmall village called *Chitty*, ſuppoſed to be built on the ſame ſpot as the *Citium* of the ancients. The mornings and evenings are ſharp, but the middle of the day is yet warm. 1758. October 10.

A boat juſt now arrived from *Latichea*, with a letter from *Jaſper Cruter*, who is returned from *Aleppo*; which gives me the painful account of my friend Mr. *Buron*, and his ſervant *Aſhoore*, being nigh death in a fever of the malignant kind, which attacked them ſoon after their arrival at *Scanderoon*. Captain *Turner* continues alſo very weak and low from a diſorder he caught there; and of which his nephew, and another young gentleman, beſides many of his people, died. There alſo, three officers of the *Ambuſcade* got the ſickneſs which occaſioned their deaths: and thither our little party had certainly gone from *Aleppo*, had not providence kindly interpoſed, and carried us to *Latichea*. Mr. *Cruter*'s letter alſo adviſed, that Conſul *Browne* cannot live long; and that Mr. *Drummond* is expected to arrive at *Latichea* as this evening, or to-morrow morning. He deſigns coming to this iſland, in order to take his paſſage with me to *Leghorn*, there being at preſent no hope of the convoy's ſailing, as the *French* ſhips continue to cruize for them off *Smyrna*. October 13.

At five this morning, I ſet out on horſeback for the top of Mount *Croce* or *St. Crux*, in company with Mr. *Turner*, and his clerk Mr. *Michael Clamſon*, *Alexander M'Intoſh*, and two other ſervants. We rode about W. by S. for an hour and half through a plain, having paſſed in our way the laſt ſet of ſtone arches belonging to the aqueduct, and which conſiſts of 31 to the beſt of my remembrance. At ſix we left the village *Vaſtrio* on our right, and in half an hour, *Vudia*. We then began to aſcend a riſing ground, and after riding two or three points to the northward of the weſt, we got at half paſt ſeven, to a ſmall *Greek* church and convent dedicated to St. *Athanaſius*, ſituated between two hills; where, in the rainy ſeaſon and for ſome months after, is a great run of water from the mountains (called by Mr. *Drummond*, the river *Tatius*) but the bed of it is at preſent dry. On the ſides of both thoſe hills, are the ruins of many buildings, in appearance very ancient. Some of them are of brick, others of ſtone, and they are ſeveral miles in extent. We alſo paſſed by ſome ruins of a more modern date, ſeated on another hill to our right. The inhabitants frequently dig up ſtones, marble, &c. among the ruins. October 18.

We continued riding on till half paſt eight, ſtill aſcending, and paſſing between mountains covered with the pine, oak, olive, locuſt (or *Carubee*) and walnut-tree. Here were alſo the hawthorn, myrtle, blackberry, vine, oleander, and other buſhes and ſhrubs in great plenty. From half paſt eight till a quarter after nine, we continued to aſcend *Monte Croce*; then we came to another convent, where we diſmounted to reſt our horſes. In this convent we found two or three *Papas* or prieſts, one of whom was making

1758. a pair of ſhoes. They readily gave us all the aſſiſtance in their power, nor did they think it beneath them to take care of our beaſts; ſuch was the real, or at leaſt ſeeming humility of theſe holy men. We made free with the *Papas* kitchen utenſils to dreſs the victuals we had brought with us.

At eleven, leaving our horſes behind for greater ſafety, we mounted on mules to viſit the *Holy Croſs*, a church placed on the very ſummit of the mountain, and reached it in about half an hour's riding. We found there another *Papa*, and a little boy. The church is ſmall, and its walls are built of an iron-ſtone found in the neighbourhood. Tradition ſays, that this edifice was erected at the expence of St. *Helena* the mother of *Conſtantine*, 1400 years ago; though it plainly appears to have been rebuilt ſince that time, for not a third part of the ancient wall now remains. They ſhew you a large croſs, before which a ſilk curtain is drawn, and if you will believe the prieſts, it is inlaid with a part of that very croſs on which our Saviour was crucified. Devotees never fail coming here once a year, to offer up their devotions at the *Holy Croſs*. From the top of this mountain we had a moſt delightful and extenſive proſpect over the greateſt part of the whole iſland. We clearly ſaw the following places.

		Hours.
Corno	— — diſtant —	1 and ½
Iſha or *Iſiah*	— —	3
Dali (the antient *Idalium*)	— —	5
Nicoſia	— —	7
Famaguſta	— —	11
Livadia	— —	5
Larnica	— —	5
Chitty	— —	3
Aſpera	— —	3

About one o'clock we quitted the top of the mountain, and in half an hour got to the loweſt convent; where we alighted, refreſhed ourſelves, and at half paſt three ſet out for *Larnica*, which is about 15 miles from the ſummit of the mountain, where we arrived a little after ſeven, very much fatigued.

Both in going and returning, Mr. *Turner* and I thought it neceſſary to diſmount and walk over ſome particular places, the road being narrow, and the precipices dangerous. We made the *Papas* at both convents a ſmall preſent, with which they appeared very well pleaſed. He, who reſided in the laſt convent, took our *Docteur* ſo kindly, that, mounting his aſs, he gratefully accompanied us for a conſiderable way, and ſhewed us the beſt turnings in the road.

October 20. A letter received this day by Mr. Conſul *Boddington*, brings the melancholy news of the Conſuls *Browne* and *Baron* being both dead. Advices from *Larnaca* mention, that Mr. *Drummond* in conſequence of the above unfortunate event, and to gratify the factory at *Aleppo*, had determined to

continue

continue there a few months longer.—The ſame advices add, that there are now five *Engliſh* gentlemen at *Aleppo*, travellers from *India*, who are daily expected at *Latichea* in their way to *England*. 1758.

I cloſed to-day with the captain of the *Elena Fortunata* for my own and my ſervant's paſſage to *Legborn*. He is to yield me the ſole uſe of the great cabbin, and no paſſenger is to be admitted into it without my conſent. He is to find me alſo in fire and water, and to give me ſuch other aſſiſtance as ſhall lie in his power to make the paſſage agreeable. On my part, I am to pay him fifty *Legborn* ſequins in hand, and provided I ſhall be thoroughly ſatisfied with my treatment, ten more, on my landing at *Legborn*. October 21.

The marriage ceremony was this day performed between two young perſons, who were *Chriſtians*. It was intended to have been a public affair, but afterwards changed to a private one, as the point of precedence could not be ſettled between the *Britiſh* and *French* conſuls. October 22.

Mr. *Turner* was ſo obliging as to trouble himſelf about my ſea-ſtock, and procured me an hogſhead of old *Cyprus* wine. All the wines almoſt of this iſland, have in them a peculiar taſte of tar; this is owing to the vineyards lying on the ſides, or at the foot of the mountains which are covered with pine trees, whoſe juices waſhed down by the rains, impart this flavour to the grapes.

The wind blew this morning from the N. E. which brought the coldeſt weather I have known for ſome years, and obliged me to have a fire. October 24.

This afternoon, four of the *Engliſh* gentlemen from *India*, Meſſrs. *Gregory*, *Tottingham*, *Bailey*, and *Paſley* arrived here, having left one of their party behind at *Aleppo*; and at five o'clock they paid me a viſit. October 26.

I returned their viſit this morning, and made them an offer of the uſe of the great cabbin with me, provided they were inclinable to go in the *Leghorneſe* veſſel. They expreſſed themſelves greatly obliged to me, and agreed with the captain for a paſſage for themſelves and ſervants. They left *Bengal* in *February* laſt; touched at *Karec* and *Baſſora*, and brought a letter from *Baron Kniphauſen* addreſſed to Mr. *Doidge* and me, which I eſteem ſo great an addition to his former favours, that I cannot help tranſcribing it. October 27.

" MESSIEURS, *Karreck*, le 10 *Juillet*, 1758.

" J'ai été charmé d'apprendre votre heureuſe et prompte arrivée a *Baſſora*; " quant aux remerciments que vous voulez bien me faire au ſujet des petits " ſervices que j'ai eu le bonheur de vous rendre ici, je les attribue a votre " politeſſe, et vous prie de croire que je ſouhaiterois pouvoir vous en rendre " de plus eſſentiels. Le pauvre Matelot a qui vous deſtinez le preſent

" de

1758. " de deux cent roupies eſt mort a *Baſſora*, peu de tems aprés votre depart,
" de ſorte que je n'ai pu mettre en œuvre, votre generoſité a ſon egard.

" Je finis Meſſieurs en vous ſouhaitant beaucoup de ſanté, et de con-
" tentement, pour la continuation de votre voyage dont je ſerai charmé
" d'apprendre l'heureuſe iſſue, etant avec une conſideration des plus diſ-
" tinguées,

" Meſſieurs,

" Votre tres humble et

" tres obeiſſant ſerviteur,

" KNIPHAUSEN."

P. S. " Je ne doute pas que Mr. *Pye* ne s'ennuye beaucoup de la longueur
" du voyage, je me recommende á ſon ſouvenir de meme qu'a celuy
" de Mr. *Alms*.

" *Aux Meſſieurs* Doidge *et* Ives."

In *Engliſh* thus:

" GENTLEMEN, *Kareck*, 10th of *July*, 1758.

" I was extremely glad to hear of your ſafe and quick arrival at *Baſſora*.
" I attribute wholly to your politeneſs the thanks you are pleaſed to give
" me, for the trifling ſervices which I had the happineſs of rendering you,
" and beg you to believe, that I wiſhed for an opportunity of ſerving you
" in a more eſſential manner.

" The poor ſailor *, for whom you had deſigned the preſent of two
" hundred rupees, died at *Baſſora* a little after your departure, ſo that I can-
" not carry into execution your generoſity reſpecting him.

" I conclude, gentlemen, in wiſhing you much health and happineſs,
" during the remaining part of your journey. It will give me great plea-
" ſure to hear of its being happily ended; and am, with the moſt perfect
" eſteem,

" Gentlemen,

" Your moſt humble, and

" very obedient ſervant,

" KNIPHAUSEN."

P. S. " I doubt not but Mr. *Pye* is much fatigued by the length of
" the journey: I beg to be remembered to him, and Mr. *Alms*.

" *To Meſſieurs* Doidge *and* Ives."

The four gentlemen, (my future fellow travellers) encouraged by our example, left *Bengal* laſt *February*; ſtaid a month at *Baſſora* on account of

* This man belonged to the *Dutch Felucca* which carried us from *Karec* to *Baſſora*, and had the misfortune to have his hand torn to pieces by the exploſion of one of her cannon.

the exceſſive heat: paſſed from thence to *Baghdad*, by the *Euphrates*, and then over the great *Deſert* to *Aleppo*, under the management of *Cojee Raphael*, who ſerved them alſo a very dirty trick. 1758.

They informed me, that they left matters at *Bengal* in a pretty good ſtate; and that my worthy friend Captain *Henry Smith* had at laſt been obliged, on account of his ill ſtate of health, to follow the advice I had long before given him, of quitting his ſhip, and had ſailed for *Europe* in the ſame veſſel with Captain *Speke*.—I fear too nice a ſenſe of honour, which poor Captain *Smith* carried to exceſs, has been the means of keeping him too long in that unwholeſome climate *! Theſe gentlemen alſo adviſed me, that Colonel *Ford* was at *Bengal*, and that my good friend Major *Carnac* was with him; that Colonel *Clive* was ſoon to leave the province; that all the lands agreed on by treaty with the *Nabob*, were delivered into our hands; that ſince our departure, the late *Meer Jaffier*, now *Soubahdar*, had made another payment of the money ſtipulated to the company, and other perſons concerned; and that he had been confirmed in the three provinces by a commiſſion from the great *Mogul*, who likewiſe had conferred a very high title on Colonel *Clive*, and another, though leſs military, yet very honourable, on Mr. *Watts*. They concluded with telling me, that Lieutenant *Cormick* of the *Tyger*, and Captain *Young* of the army, were dead; but that all my other particular friends, except Captain *Smith*, were in good health.

In the evening we rode out, and viſited thoſe other remains of antiquity, mentioned in Mr. *Drummond*'s travels, p. 251. We went alſo to the marine town, and ſaw the church of *St. Lazarus*. The *Papas* told us, it is now 1722 years ſince he was buried here. This ſaint is he, whom our Saviour raiſed from the dead. They ſhewed us the end of his coffin under ground, and deſired us to take notice of ſome ſcraps of rags and ends of thread brought hither by thoſe who have been favoured with the aſſiſtance of the ſaint. The end of what they call the coffin, has been pitched or beſmeared with ſome bitumenous ſubſtance, deſigned to impoſe upon the ignorant and credulous, as moiſture iſſuing from the ſaint's body. The church belongs to the *Greeks*; but the *Romans* on *St. Lazarus*'s day, never fail to perform divine ſervice at one of the altars.

Thank God! I am now in perfect health, which is more than I have been able to ſay for ten months paſt. I ſpent ſome hours this day in taking leave of the ſeveral families I am acquainted with. I met by accident with the *French* conſul, went with him to his houſe, and for the little time I tarried, was entertained very politely.

We agreed with a cook to go with us to *Leghorn*, and to continue in our ſervice during the quarantine we ſhall be obliged to perform there. The terms are 50 dollars, and ten or twelve more to be paid him by way of *Buxie* Monday. October 30,

* He died before the ſhip left the country.

(or

1758. (or preſent) on his good behaviour. This laſt ſum is meant to defray his expences back.

October 31. To-day the cook ſent us word, that his wife will not let him go: however we ſoon hired another, who is to have 60 *Cyprus* dollars, and *Buxie* on the ſame footing as was agreed on with the firſt.

We paid our farewel compliments to the conſul in the morning, who with his *Chancellor*, returned the viſit a few minutes afterwards; and we went on board.

My very worthy and obliging friend Mr. *Turner* made us a viſit on board the *Elena Brig*, and finding the captain not inclined for ſailing, inſiſted on taking us aſhore again. We yielded, and in our way paid our reſpects to the conſul, but ſpent the day with Mr. *Turner*, who at our requeſt, procured for us two hogſheads of water, ſome charcoal, and other culinary neceſſaries, which we on examination thought the veſſel wanted, though the captain and pilot both inſiſted on the contrary. Mr. *Turner* accompanied us on board in the evening, and after ſupping with us, left the ſhip about nine; when we weighed anchor, took leave of the iſland of *Cyprus*, and put to ſea, ſteering the proper courſe for the port of *Leghorn* in *Italy*.——As the dull detail of a ſea-journal can afford but little entertainment; it will be ſufficient to obſerve in general, that after the moſt diſtreſsful and alarming voyage I ever made; (owing chiefly to the inexperience of our young commander, who had been bred a clerk in a merchant's office) we happily came to an anchor in *Leghorn* road on the 4th of *December*. In our way we touched at *Meſſina* in *Sicily*, an iſland which affords the moſt fertile plains, and one of the moſt beautiful proſpects in the whole world, but where, though they furniſhed us with plenty of freſh proviſions, we could not get leave to perform quarantine; ſo cautious are the magiſtrates there on this head, ever ſince the great plague which raged in the year 1744, and carried off two thirds of the inhabitants *.

LEGHORN. Monday, December 4.

* The following accurate account of the dreadful havoc made by the plague at *Meſſina* in the year 1744, extracted by an *Abbe* from the regiſters of that city, will ſufficiently account for the extreme caution uſed by that government to guard againſt it.

Names of Pariſhes.	Number of people before the plague.	Number that died of the plague.	Remained alive after the plague.
St. Giacoma ——	1465	1124	351
St. Lorenzo ——	1555	1012	543
St. Leo — ——	4548	3068	1480
St. Luca — ——	1398	999	399
St. Malleo ——	5470	4370	1100
St. Leonard ——	10378	8302	2076
St. Pietro ——	2210	1560	650
St. Antonio ——	10699	7309	3390
St. Nichola ——	4114	2901	1213
St. Guiliano ——	1512	972	540
Total —	43359	31617	11742

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The author is obliged to perform quarantine in the Lazaretto at Leghorn.—*Receives a letter from Mr.* Doidge, *giving an account of his party's proceedings.—Occurrences and obſervations at* Leghorn.—*Journey to* Piſa, Lucca, Borgiana, *and* Florence.—*Deſcription of this laſt place; of the Great Duke's palace of* Pitti; *of the famous gallery of the old palace, and the ſeveral chambers of curioſities; of the chapel of* St. Laurence, *baptiſtry, library,* &c. &c. —*Journey to* Bologna, Ferrara, Padua *and* Venice.

WE had no ſooner come to an anchor in the road of *Legborn*, but we wrote to the *Britiſh* conſul, who ſoon favoured us with the following obliging anſwer. 1758.

"GENTLEMEN, *Tueſday* morning.

"I have received the letter which you were pleaſed to honour me with, "and immediately ſent to the chancellor of health for an order to the "captain of the Lazaretto to receive you, and your ſervants; which is made "out, ſo that you may go there whenever you pleaſe. The accommoda- "tions will be very indifferent; however, I will ſend to the captain of the "Lazaretto, and beg of him to render you all the ſervices in his power. "And as to myſelf, you have only to command me, and make me as "uſeful to you as poſſible.

"When you arrive at the Lazaretto, I will take care to ſend a man to "you, and you may give him your orders from time to time, to buy you "ſuch neceſſaries as you may want. You will find him very faithful, and "may give him what you pleaſe for his trouble.

"The gentlemen you enquire after*, have not paſſed this way, nor have "I heard any thing of them.

"I am ſorry I cannot ſend you any *Engliſh* papers; the officers of the "navy have carried them all away, but the bearer brings you ſome *French*

* Mr. *Doidge* and his party.

1758. " *Leyden* gazettes. Admiral *Broderick* ſailed hence with the fleet the 12th
" of *November*.

" It is with concern I acquaint you, that your quarantine cannot be leſs
" than thirty days. I have only to reiterate to you the offers of my beſt
" ſervices, and to aſſure you, that I will with pleaſure receive and execute
" any commands you may have for me. I am,

" Gentlemen,

" *To Meſſrs.* Ives, Tottingham, " Your moſt obedient
" Paſley, Bailey, and Gre- " humble ſervant,
" gory; *on board the* Elena JOHN DICK."
" Fortunata, *in the road of*
" Leghorn."

The next morning the following letter was brought to us in the Lazarstto from Mr. *Becher*, to whom I had been recommended by his brother at *Bengal*.

" GENTLEMEN, *Livorno, 6 December*, 1758.

" THIS being a poſt day, together with the tempeſtuous weather, will
" prevent my paying you my perſonal reſpects till to-morrow; but being
" impatient in the mean while to ſee my brother's letters, I beg the favour
" of you to deliver them to the bearer.

" I congratulate you, gentlemen, on your ſetting foot again on a *Chriſ-*
" *tian* ſhore; and as I fear you will find the accommodations at the
" Lazaretto very indifferent, I beg you will make me acquainted with
" whatever you may want either for your uſe or comfort during your
" confinement; for every thing in my power, ſuch as money, *&c.* you
" may command.

" The bearer is my boatman, who will wait on you daily to know, and
" to ſupply your wants. He is a very honeſt, good man. I ſend you
" by him two *London* Magazines for your peruſal, in an idle hour:
" to-morrow I will convey to you ſome *Engliſh* news-papers. I am, with
" reſpect,

" Gentlemen,

" *To the* Britiſh *gentle-* " Your moſt obedient,
" *men at the Laza-* " and moſt humble ſervant,
" *retto.*" JOHN BECHER."

December 7. Mr. *Becher*, accompanied by his partner Mr. *Aſkew*, and another gentleman named *Forbes*, came to pay us a viſit. The firſt repeated his kind offers of ſervice. This day our quarantine begins, and not before, as our baggage unluckily was not brought aſhore with us yeſterday.

December 8. The conſul, (in his coach) accompanied by Mr. *Aſkew*, and two gentlemen of the ſhips of war, came to ſee us. I had not the pleaſure perſonally

to

to thank them for their civilities, having been the laſt two days greatly diſtreſſed in my bowels, from a cold caught on board the veſſel, and renewed the day we came to the Lazaretto. 1758.

It has blown very hard all the laſt night, with thunder, lightning, and great hail-ſtones. The air ſo piercingly cold, it is with difficulty I can keep myſelf from ſhivering at the fire-ſide. The pain of my bowels is ſomewhat abated, but I have no appetite. December 9.

The bluſtering weather is over; and a clear ſky and keen air ſucceeded. —Mr. *Pantam*, and another gentleman viſited us; but I was not well enough to ſee them. December 10.

I wrote a letter to Mr. *Becher*, relative to Mr. *Doidge* and his company. He anſwered me, that "he could not learn any thing of them, but promiſed, agreeable to my deſire, to write to *Venice*."—The conſul by a note, aſſures me, that neither he, nor the admiral, knew any thing of them. Monday, December 11.

I grow better daily, though ſome pain in the right ſide ſtill continues. This has been a ſhort, yet one of the moſt threatning attacks I ever had in my bowels; owing to my cloſe confinement, the cold wet weather, and the want of every conveniency when on ſhip-board. To theſe may be added, the heavy rains to which we were expoſed on coming aſhore, and the extreme cold and damp air of the Lazaretto, whoſe rooms have been untenanted, and without a fire for 18 or 20 days paſt. December 12.

The conſul repeated his viſit with Mr. *Aſkew*, this evening. This was the firſt time I had an opportunity of paying him my perſonal reſpects. He gave us great ſpirits, by aſſuring us, that our quarantine would be but of thirty days continuance; and he added, that of thoſe thirty, he believed he ſhould be able to get off five, provided we could reſolve to leave all our wearing apparel behind us. With pleaſure we accepted of the propoſal, and gave our orders to taylors, ſhoe-makers, *&c.* to accommodate us with every thing new; for, as *Addiſon* obſerves, December 16.

"A day, an hour of precious liberty,
"Is worth a whole eternity in bondage."

I thank God, I am once more happily reſtored to health.—Our little community aſſembled this morning, and read the prayers of the church, offering up our moſt devout thanks to heaven for its kind protection hitherto. December 17.

Mr. and Mrs. *Levet*, to whom Mr. *Paſley* had been recommended, have been very civil and complaiſant, in ſending us ſeveral things from their own kitchen.—The conſul too has been exceedingly kind, ſending us rum Monday, December 18.

1758. and beer; and we are under a thouſand obligations of this kind to Meſſrs. *Becher* and *Aſkew*.—A moſt melancholy piece of news reached us this morning; that a *Raguſan* veſſel from *Tunis*, with the *French* conſul and his family on board, had been wrecked on the iſland of *Corſica*, and the whole crew except ſix men, periſhed. Had not Meſſrs. *Bailey* and *Gregory* one night of our paſſage, deſignedly raiſed a falſe alarm of ſeeing land, we ſhould certainly have met with the ſame fate as this *Raguſan* veſſel. Theſe gentlemen not ſatisfied with the courſe we were ſteering, intreated the captain to haul up two or three points more to the northward, which he, by the advice of his pilot, refuſed to do; but was at laſt brought to it by Mr. *Gregory*'s calling aloud "*Land!*" which, though not at that time ſeen, yet by the bearings of *Corſica* from us the next morning, it plainly appeared that had we continued our firſt courſe, we muſt inevitably have been upon the rocks before break of day. We have had dreadful accounts lately of ſhipwrecks in the gulph of *Venice*.—God grant that my friends are well!

December 21. Heaven be praiſed!—This evening Mr. *Becher* ſent me a letter he had received from *Venice*; which ſays, that "ſome gentlemen from *India*, who em-"barked at *Cyprus* in the *St. Blaiſſe* of *Raguſa* for *Malta*, are, and have "been ſome time in the Lazaretto, and will be at liberty by about the "time the *Leghorn* poſt ſhall return thither."—I immediately diſpatched a letter to Mr. *Doidge* at *Venice*.

December 23. Meſſrs. *Becher*, *Aſkew*, and the Rev. Mr. *Hutchinſon* chaplain to the factory, viſited us. In the courſe of our converſation ſome doubts aroſe reſpecting the length of our quarantine, whether it will continue 30 or 40 days; we hope for the beſt. Many *French* gentlemen are in this Lazaretto, from whom we found that things are in a very bad ſituation in *France*, and that nothing but murmurings are to be heard among the people. On my obſerving, that there were new ſquadrons fitting out in the ports of *Breſt* and *Toulon*, one of them, ſhrugging up his ſhoulders, anſwered, "To what end, unleſs to be carried into your harbours!"

December 28. This day the conſul and Mr. *Aſkew* came to pay us a viſit, and brought with them the doleful tidings of our being obliged to perform a forty days quarantine. However, the conſul gave us ſome little comfort, by re-aſſuring us that the five days grace would be allowed, by a change of clothes. We told him we were prepared for that, and ſhould rejoice at even but five hours addition to our liberty. We begged his pardon, if he diſcovered any degree of impatience in our anſwer, aſſuring him, we were perfectly ſenſible of his friendly endeavours and wiſhes to ſerve us.—He was ſo obliging as to place all we ſaid to its proper account. I could not but obſerve, that three *Cyprian* birds were ſuffered to be taken out of the Lazaretto to-day for the governor's own uſe. Surely our naked bodies cannot be ſuppoſed to retain more infection, than the feathers of theſe animals.

This

This evening we received a letter from the conſul, as follows: "He is 1758.
" ſorry to acquaint us, of his being informed by the chancellor of health, December 29.
" that the magiſtrates of *Florence* having received late accounts of the plague
" breaking out at *Salonica* and the neighbouring places, have directed that
" the grace of five days ſhall not be allowed us: but yet that the chancellor
" has adviſed him to apply to the governor for our being permitted to take
" the advantage of them, promiſing to back his requeſt:" adding, he thinks it very probable he ſhall ſucceed.

The captain of the Lazaretto, whoſe behaviour to us has been exceedingly 1759.
polite, having applied to the chancellor and governor, to indulge us with Monday,
the five days grace, this morning received for anſwer, that "the quarantine January 1.
" is an affair determined upon at *Florence*, from which the magiſtracy of
" *Leghorn* cannot deviate."

This morning, I received with a pleaſure not to be expreſſed, a long letter from my faithful and valuable friend Mr. *Doidge*. I ſhall tranſcribe ſo much of it, as will ſerve to give the reader a proper idea of what he and his party underwent after their parting with me at *Latichea*.

" My dear Friend, *Venice*, 29 *December*, 1758.

" I really do not know how to go about to tell you, the ſurprize, the joy,
" the concern, I felt all together, at the receipt of your letter of the 22d
" inſtant, which was brought to me laſt night. Had the poſt returned
" immediately, it muſt have gone without my anſwer, ſuch was the hurry
" and perturbation of my ſpirits! but I am made happy in having this
" whole morning to write to you, for I have a thouſand things to ſay.

" In the firſt place, I moſt ſincerely thank God that you are ſafely
" landed at *Leghorn*, and hope by the route you propoſe to take, you will
" have a pleaſant and entertaining journey home; where I ſhall not expect
" to ſee you till the latter end of *March*, or beginning of *April*.

" You might well be ſurprized at hearing of our being here, but you
" know, my dear Ned, there is no contending with fate; we endeavoured
" to get to *Malta*, but it was impoſſible; and I aſſure you we are all very
" thankful for our being ſafely landed here, it being more than we expected.
" To give you any tolerable idea of our voyage, I muſt carry you back to
" *Cyprus*, from whence we ſailed the 14th of *September*. We had nothing
" but contrary winds and bad weather all the way to *Rhodes*, where we
" arrived the 6th of *October*. Upon examining into our ſtock of proviſions,
" we found that by being ſo long out, it became neceſſary to get a recruit,
" as well as to fill our caſks with water: this we had been obliged to do
" once before, between *Cyprus*, and that iſle; the raſcal of a captain having
" moſt villainouſly deceived us in this article, by the account given in,
" before we ſailed. The 9th of *October* we left *Rhodes*, and carried with
" us our old luck, nothing but contrary winds, till we got the length of

1759. " *Modon*, in the *Morea*, when a gale ſprung up from the ſouth, and blew " hard; we intended to have ſtopped at *Modon* to complete our water, " being reduced to the laſt caſk, but our captain informed us it was impoſ- " ſible to lie in *Modon* road, with that wind, and that he could carry us to " another place more ſafe and convenient; at the ſame time hinting, that " he could not think of going to ſea (though the wind was tolerably fair) " until the weather became more moderate. He often talked of *Venice*, and " of the wind being fair for that port. We perceiving his drift, conſulted " together, as to what was beſt to be done, and at laſt agreed to take ad- " vantage of the ſoutherly wind, and make a puſh for *Venice*, without " ſtopping any where till we ſhould be forced to do ſo for water. Accord- " ingly we bore away, and ſteered our courſe for this place; but, before we " arrived, which was not till the 8th of laſt month, many were the difficul- " ties and dangers we had to encounter. I often rejoiced you was not with " us, hoping, my dear *Ned*, that you was at your eaſe on board the *Preſton*; " for I could not be ſure of your being in the *Swede*. Indeed, had I the " leaſt thought of your getting into *Leghorn*, you know I would not have " omitted writing to you. However, I muſt again thank providence we " are both in the land of the living; and I hope by and by, the re- " counting of theſe difficulties and diſappointments will afford us much " pleaſure.

" You may ſuppoſe I was not long here, before I wrote to all my friends in " *England*; among the reſt, you will be ſure I did not neglect our friend Cap- " tain *Speke*, from whom I have received an anſwer, the copy of which I in- " cloſe you for your information. Beſides the buſineſs it ſpeaks of, it will ſhew " the high regard which that *great* and *good* man has for us both. He has " ſet my heart at eaſe, for I was fearful of being cenſured for having idled " away my time.

" As ſoon as we arrived here, I wrote a letter to Mr. *Murray* the *Engliſh* " miniſter, to acquaint him with our ſituation, and the public diſpatches we " had in our cuſtody. He very genteely ſent his ſecretary to us, to inform " us of every thing we wanted to know. I ſhall leave a letter with this " laſt gentleman, to be delivered to you, when you get here. His name " is *Ducket*; you will find him a very ſenſible and friendly man.

" Soon after we got into the Lazaretto, I recollected that our friend " *Baron* had told me of an intimacy that ſubſiſted between him and a " General *G——e* of this place, and of his wanting an opportunity to ſend " him a caſk of *Cyprus* wine. Now, as I had laid in a ſtock at *Cyprus*, I " wrote a letter to the general, acquainting him with Mr. *Baron*'s inten- " tions; and as I was under great obligations to that young gentleman, I " begged the general to give me an opportunity of anticipating his friend's " deſign, by ſending him a caſk from my own ſtore, which I deſired him " to look upon as coming from Mr. *Baron*. The general returned me his " thanks in the politeſt terms, and very obligingly came to the Lazaretto to

" pay us a viſit. He brought with him a Colonel *H*——, who is another 1759.
" officer in the ſervice of this republic. By this means I have made a very
" good acquaintance with the general and the colonel. I ſhall take care to
" make them acquainted with your name, and dare ſay you will paſs your
" time here very agreeable, as you'll be ſure to meet with ſeveral *Engliſh*
" ladies and gentlemen.

" We have loſt no time in preparing every thing for our journey. I ſhall
" leave you a copy of the route we intend to take. We have been obliged
" to buy two carriages, but as you will not go poſt, perhaps you will not
" be under that neceſſity. Mr. *Ducket* is the beſt able to inform you of
" that, and every thing elſe you want to know.

" Farewel, my dear *Ned*, and believe me unalterably,
Your affectionate
and faithful friend,
HENRY DOIDGE."

P. S. " I had almoſt forgotten to adviſe you upon your arrival here, to
" enquire for *Seignior Sebaſtian Battagio*, who will procure you the lodgings
" we are now in, and if you want caſh, will ſupply you with any ſum."

The conſul favoured us this morning with a very polite letter, touching January 5.
our diſappointment of the five days grace. He ſaid, he had ſet forth our hardſhip in the ſtrongeſt terms to Sir *Horace Man*, the reſident at *Florence*. We returned the conſul our beſt acknowledgments in a joint letter.

Mr. *Aſkew* was with us, and confirmed the account of the conſul's carry- Sunday, January 7.
ing his complaint to *Florence*, and of his having particularly mentioned the taking out of the birds which came from *Cyprus* in our veſſel for the uſe of the governor, at the end of 20 days.—An opera is to be performed this night.

The following lines are cut on one of the window-ſhutters of our room, which I here inſert not for the goodneſs of the poetry, but becauſe they ſenſibly ſtruck me, as exactly correſponding with my own melancholy ſituation.

" Ut nox longa mihi viſa eſt, cum Delia mendex
" Pollicita eſt, curis præmia magna meis,
" Cum ſero ad limen, frigidique ſub ætheris axe,
" Cantarem querulis, ſurda puella, tibi;
" Miratuſque ſuam vim tanto vincier igne
" Trux boreas glomerat dum ſuper ora nives.
" Sic mihi (nam de me fateor) dulcem inter amorem
" Telluris patriæ, tempora tarda fluunt:

" Tempora

1759.

" Tempora tarda fluunt, quæ tot labentibus annis
" Me viſu prohibent cara tuo genetrix!
" Ter denos, quatuorque dies ſol aureus orbe
" Complevit totos, alter et hic ſuper eſt,
" Ex quo me ſanum, me quovis nomine peſtis
" Jam dudum immunem, carcer iniquus habet.
" Sum paſſus graviora; dabit Deus his quoque finem
" Ut Phœbi terris craſtina lux fuerit.
" Tædia ſic parvo ſolebar carmine; & idem
" Hoſpes! quiſquis eris, ſit tibi perfugium!
" Duodecimo Calendas Martii, 1758.
" GULIELMUS O'CARROL, Hibernus."

January 11. We were favoured with a viſit from the conſul and his lady: Meſſrs. *Aſkew* and *Rutherford* accompanied them. In the afternoon, the captain of the Lazaretto ſent in his compliments, deſiring the favour to ſpeak with us; on which we began to aſſume new hopes of the five days grace being granted. But it turned out nothing more, than delivering a compliment from the governor, who had come to the Lazaretto in the morning, intending to tell us in perſon how ſorry he was that the five days grace could not be allowed us, though he had uſed his utmoſt endeavours with the government at *Florence* for that purpoſe. As we were engaged with the conſul and his lady at the time the governor came, he would not come in, but went away, deſiring that his compliments might be made to us. Sir *Horace Man* alſo wrote, that his ſolicitations in our affair had been unſucceſsful.

Monday, January 15. This evening we were viſited by the phyſician of the place, who, with great ſolemnity, pronounced that we were *uninfected*.

January 16. We breakfaſted with the captain of the Lazaretto, and immediately afterwards, in a tranſport of joy, left the place of our long confinement.

The firſt perſons we paid our reſpects to, were our particular friends Meſſrs. *Becher* and *Aſkew*. The latter was ſo obliging as to attend us in the viſits we made the ſame morning to the *Engliſh* conſul, to the governor, and to Mr. and Mrs. *Levet*. After theſe were over, we walked round the mole and arſenal, dined with Mr. *Becher*'s family, and in the evening went to the opera. The theatre here is ſmall, but neat; it will hold about 700 people, and is the property of private perſons, who let the boxes out to hire for the ſeaſon. But excluſive of the ſeat, you pay for the performance alſo; and this, by perſons of faſhion, is either done by the quarter, or more commonly by the whole ſeaſon. People in the pit pay three polls (about eighteen pence) for each night, and three or four ſcratches more to the owner of the ſeat. The manager receives the whole money, and out of it defrays all expences, contracting with each actor and muſician

muſician for the ſeaſon. The band conſiſts of 25 hands, among whom are ſome of the beſt performers in *Italy*. The opera-dreſſes are made up in a good taſte, and very droll. 1759.

The governor, conſul, and Mr. *Levet*, returned our viſits. As ſoon as they were gone, we went to take a view of *Donatello*'s famous ſtatue of the grand duke in marble, and the four *Turkiſh* ſlaves in bronze, which is a piece of exquiſite workmanſhip. The grand duke is ſtanding on a pedeſtal, with the father and his three ſons ſo chained, that at its four corners from the proper point of view, all their faces are at once beheld. The bagnio likewiſe is a very noble ſight, and well deſerving a traveller's attention.

We breakfaſted with Mr. *Hutchinſon*, who afterwards, with Mr. *Levet*, walked round the walls of the garriſon with us. It is a neat, compact fortification, with a wet ditch, redoubts, glacis, &c.: from the walls, we had a moſt beautiful land and ſea proſpect. We were afterwards conducted to ſeveral handſome churches. One belonged to the *Greeks* of the *Roman* perſuaſion, and another to the *Armenians*. We ſaw a pretty collection of paintings at Mr. *Hutchinſon*'s: Among others, were ſome very ſtriking likeneſſes of the gentlemen of the factory, done by our countryman Mr. *Dance*, who bids fair to be at the top of his profeſſion. At this gentleman's lodgings, we heard the famous *Seignior Giardini* play upon the violin; he was a pupil of *Cartoni*'s, and is looked upon as the firſt fiddle now in *Italy*. January 18.

In our walk this morning, I could not but take particular notice of a great number of horſes, which were led about dreſſed with ribbons and other ornaments. Upon my enquiring into the reaſon of this piece of pageantry, a *French* gentleman who came with us from *Cyprus*, and now happened to be upon the parade, ſhook his head, and ſaid, he was aſhamed to inform me, but the fact was, that the too credulous people, conformable to an annual cuſtom, were leading thoſe creatures to a certain church, in order to their being *bleſſed*, which was done by the prayers and laying on of hands of a prieſt, who for his good offices received a pecuniary ſatisfaction; and without this benediction, the owners never expect any good ſervices from their cattle for the enſuing year. January 19.

This day Meſſrs. *Becher*, *Aſkew*, *Levet*, *Hutchinſon*, *Dance*, and Dr. *Garden* (uncle to our good friend at *Baghdad*, and whom I made very happy in my account of his nephew) gave Mr. *Gregory* and me the pleaſure of their company at dinner. January 20.

Many gentlemen and ladies of the factory, and our whole party dined with the governor to day. He is called *Seignior Bourbon*, *Marquis de Monte*. His ſalary is 1000 *l. per annum*, excluſive of his houſe, firing, wines, and January 21.

1759. many other articles, which are provided for him gratis. He has likewiſe an annual preſent from the *Jews*, who carry on a great trade here. Captains of ſhips alſo, and their owners, are not unmindful of paying him tribute. He preſides over the inquiſition and other courts; and has an unlimited power to reprieve or pardon.

Leghorn is ſituated on what they call an iſland, made ſo by an artificial canal which runs round the walls, and at length communicates with the river *Arno*. There are ſaid to be 50,000 inhabitants in this place, of whom they reckon 14,000 are *Jews*: theſe live in a part of the town by themſelves. Some of them are rich, and keep their carriages; but what is very remarkable, they are never ſuffered to be driven by a coachman ſitting on a box, but by a poſtilion only. The trade of *Leghorn* is ſtill very great, though of late years it has been much leſſened by *Genoa*, *Civita Vecchia*, *Ancona*, and *Naples*, being declared free-ports.*

January 23. At nine this morning, a letter was put into my hands from a friend in *England*, dated the 28th of *December* laſt, bringing the moſt melancholy tidings of the death of my dear and only ſurviving parent, whoſe face above all things I once more deſired to ſee. The good natured reader will eaſily conceive what I thought, and felt, on this afflicting occaſion, and ſpare me the trouble of deſcribing it. During the whole time I had been ſeparated from her, I had formed to myſelf the exquiſite ſenſation of comforting her in the decline of life, and had often ſighed out in the ardour of my heart, and in the ſpirit of poetry, and of *Pope*,

" Me let the tender office long engage
" To rock the cradle of repoſing age!
" With lenient arts extend a mother's breath,
" Make languor ſmile, and ſmooth the bed of death!
" Explore the thought, explain the aſking eye,
" And keep awhile one parent from the ſky!"

But heaven thought not proper to indulge me in this perhaps my too paſſionate requeſt; and to its decrees, how rigorous ſoever, I am taught to ſubmit.

In the evening we took leave of all thoſe whoſe ſtation, friendſhip, or acquaintance made it neceſſary.

* Mr. *Addiſon*, who was here in the year 1699, ſpeaks of the great duke being then under apprehenſions of the *Pope*'s making *Civita Vecchia* a free port, as it might in time prove very prejudicial to *Leghorn*. ADDISON's travels, page 228.

At ten o'clock this morning, Meſſrs. *Gregory*, *Bailey*, and myſelf, with our ſervants, in three poſt chaiſes left *Leghorn* for *Piſa*, accompanied by our obliging friends Meſſrs. *Becher* and *Hutchinſon*. The road between theſe two places runs partly through a very pleaſant wood, and partly through the moſt delightful valley that poſſibly can be conceived. The proſpect to our right, was that of an unbounded plain; while that to our left, was terminated by the *Apennine* mountains, many of whoſe tops were covered with ſnow.* After we had left the wood, we entred upon the plain, and got to *Piſa*, by dinner-time. 1759. January 24.

Leghorn has almoſt depopulated the city of *Piſa*, which if compared with its former flouriſhing ſtate, may be now truly ſaid, to be without inhabitants. We did not omit to viſit the much talked of leaning or hanging tower, whoſe inclination has been at length determined by judicious artiſts, to be entirely owing to the foundation's giving way. This tower ſerves as a belfry to the cathedral, and ſtands but at a little diſtance from it. The cathedral is a large, noble, gothic pile of building, and its baptiſtry or dome, and three brazen doors done by *John* of *Bologna*, can never be ſufficiently admired. St. *Stephen*'s hoſpital, and the beggar's church, are likewiſe worth ſeeing. PISA.

We dined at a public houſe here; and at three o'clock parted with our two friends Meſſrs. *Becher* and *Hutchinſon*, who returned to *Leghorn*, while we went on for *Lucca*; where we arrived juſt before the ſhutting of the gates, having travelled over the fineſt vale, and the beſt cultivated fields and vineyards, that imagination itſelf can poſſibly conceive. *Lucca* is a well built city, and though the ſtreets are narrow, they are well paved. Its ſituation is delightful. LUCCA.

We left *Lucca* at half paſt ſeven, for *Borgiana*, which is a journey of two poſts. We got to it at half paſt nine, having ſtill the ſame delightful country to paſs over, diverſified by many a pleaſant villa and little town. Among the laſt were *Manze* and *Lontina* on our left, and *Saint Mariana-Cote*, to our right. January 25. BORGIANA.

Borgiana is a neat country town; we took horſes there for *Piſtoria* or *Pizoria*, and reached it about one in the afternoon. This is a walled city, and famous for the battle fought near it, between *Anthony* and *Catiline*, in PISTORIA.

* Horrebat glacie ſaxa inter lubrica ſummo
Piniferum cœlo miſcens caput Apeninus:
Condiderat nix alta trabes, & vertice celſo
Canus apex ſtrictâ ſurgebat ad aſtra pruinâ.
SIL. Ital. lib. iv.

1759. which the latter was defeated, and killed *; but we paſſed by without going into it, having changed our horſes and poſtilions at an inn without the gates: we proceeded on for *Prata*, another walled city. The people of the country through which we travelled to-day look gay, and there appears a certain air of chearfulneſs and content in all their countenances. The women are handſome, and at the ſame time induſtrious: we ſaw none of them but were buſily employed, either in the work of the fields, or ſpinning and knitting in their houſes. We arrived at *Florence* about half paſt ſeven in the evening.

FLORENCE.

January 26. We made it our firſt buſineſs this morning to wait upon Sir *Horace Man* the *Britiſh* envoy, who received us very politely. We afterwards viſited the great duke's palace of *Pitti*. It conſiſts of a body, and two wings, built of ſtone, with *Tuſcan* pillars and ruſtic work. The wings contain chiefly bed-chambers, but the rooms in the center are filled with a variety of paintings, &c. done by the moſt celebrated maſters.

I ſhall only mention thoſe that ſtruck me moſt ſenſibly.

Antiochus and *Stratonice*, by *Pietro de Cartona*. †

Four large pictures, repreſenting death, purgatory, judgment, heaven and hell, by the Chevalier *Naſcini* of *Sienna*.

A *Judith*, with *Holifernes*'s head in her hand.

The Saviour of the world, by *Marroche*.

A *Mars* going to war, by *Rubens*.

The three Deſtinies, holding, ſpinning, and cutting the thread of life, by *Michael Angelo*.

A *Cleopatra* in Affliction, by *Guido*.

Our Saviour at ſupper with his twelve Apoſtles, by *Bonifacio*.

A *Virgin Mary* with a little *Jeſus*, by *Titian*.

Another fine picture of a *Madona*, and the infant *Jeſus* in her arms, attended by two angels, who are reading a ſcroll.

The rape of the Sylvan nymphs by Satyrs; by *Rubens*.

Two pictures by *Salvator Roſa*. One of them repreſents a Sea-port crowded with ſhips and gallies. The other is alſo on a marine ſubject.

A portrait of Cardinal *Bentivoglio*, by *Vandyke*.

A fine picture of St. *Francis*. He is repreſented to be in a dark room, with a ray of light ſtriking upon his hands and face. This circumſtance has a wonderful effect.

* Reliquos Catilina per montes aſperos, magnis itineribus, in agrum Piſtorienſem abducit. *Salluſtii Bellum Catalinarium.*

† The Hiſtory of this picture is related at large in the 7th volume of *Rollin*'s ancient hiſtory.—Alſo *Plutarch* in Demetr. p. 906, 907.

A St. *Sebaſtian*. The three arrows which killed him are repreſented as ſticking in his fleſh; the exquiſite torture he is in, and indeed all the airs of this picture, are wonderfully expreſſed. 1759.

A fine *Magdalen*, by *Furino*.

A dead *Chriſt*, by *Cigoli*.

A St. *John*, St. *Mary*, with a little *Jeſus* in her arms, and St. *Francis* ſtanding by them; done in 1517, by *Andrea del Sarto*.

A St. *Ann*, teaching her daughter to read; by *Solomani* a *Neopolitan*, now living.

Four large Battle pieces, by *Bourgognini*.

Our Saviour, and four of the Apoſtles, by *Bartolomeo*.

Cain ſlaying *Abel*, by *Scavona*.

A *Luther*, *Calvin*, and *Calvin*'s wife; this laſt is repreſented as a beautiful nun, with golden diſhevelled hair, on whom *Calvin* is made to look very wiſhfully.—This picture was done by *Girgoni*.

But the moſt valuable piece in the whole palace, is the incomparable *Madona de la Segiola*, or the Virgin Mary in a chair, with *Jeſus* in her arms. This is a ſmall picture, but is eſteemed by connoiſſeurs to be the beſt in the whole world; it was painted by *Raphael*. Forty thouſand dollars, ſome ſay ſequins, have been offered for it; but if they were dollars only, this picture muſt be worth about nine thouſand pounds ſterling.

There are alſo in this palace many pieces of exquiſite workmanſhip in the other arts. Such in particular are four beautiful *Alto Reliefs* in ivory. The firſt repreſents the Rape of *Venus* by *Mars*. The ſubject of the ſecond is the well-known ſtory of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*. *The fable of *Ceres* looking after her daughter, is repreſented in the third. And in the fourth, *Silenus* is depictured as ſitting drunk upon his aſs. † Here are alſo four pieces of admired workmanſhip in bronze, done by *Faguri*. Their ſubjects are, our Saviour at the well with the *Samaritan* woman; the Prodigal Son returned to his father; the appearance of God unto *Moſes* in the burning buſh; and another piece of Scripture-hiſtory which I have now forgotten. Theſe, and a thouſand other things, perhaps ſtill more curious, are to be found in the palace of *Pitti*.

We had the honour of a viſit to-day from the Earl of *Northampton*, and another from Sir *Horace Man*. At night we went to the opera, where we were ſurprized to find the performers in every reſpect greatly inferior to thoſe at *Leghorn*.

In the morning we viſited the Earl of *Northampton*; and afterwards went to ſee the old palace, which is juſtly eſteemed the greateſt repoſitory in the January 27.

* For this fable of *Ceres*, vide Ovid. Faſt. lib. 4.

† Venerat & pando ſenior Silenus aſello.
Ovid. Faſt.

world

1759. world of both ancient and modern curioſities. I ſhall here, as in my deſcription of the new or *Pitti* palace, only mention ſuch pieces of ſculpture or painting as, at the time I viewed them, made on my mind the ſtrongeſt impreſſions.

Hercules lifting up *Antæus* from the earth. *

A *Roman* ſoldier carrying off a *Sabine* woman by force, and trampling the huſband under his feet. †—Theſe two, with another of *David*, ſtand in the court of the palace, and all three are larger than life.

On the floor of the gallery, on one ſide, are placed buſts or ſtatues of all the Emperors of *Rome*, ſtanding on marble pedeſtals; and oppoſite to them are their Empreſſes or wives. The ſeries begins with *Julius Cæſar* in bronze, and ends with *Conſtantine* in marble. They all deſerve to be taken notice of, either as ſingular in their kind, or admirable for the excellence of their ſculpture. In the ſame gallery, is a *Roman Cenſor* in his robes.

A *Morpheus* aſleep in touch-ſtone. He lies on his back, has wings, and holds a bundle of poppy in his hand.

A *Veſtal* virgin; her head and ſide of the face is hidden by a flowing veil. In her right hand ſhe bears a torch (repreſenting the holy fire) and in her left a cup.

A *Roman* Gladiator, admiring his lately gotten prize. This is a noble piece of ſculpture.

A *Seneca*.

Jupiter and *Ganymede*. ‡

Jupiter and *Leda*. §

The nine *Muſes*.

Calliope, the Goddeſs of Muſic.

Urania, the Goddeſs of Aſtronomy.

A *Chimæra* in braſs.—It has a Lion's head, a Goat's back, the hinder parts are thoſe of a Dragon, and on its feet are Eagle's claws.

* *Propertius* has taken notice of this very ſtatue.

——luctantum in pulvere ſigna
Herculis Antæique.

Lib. iii. Eleg. xxii.

† ——et raptas ſine more Sabinas
Conceſſu caveæ, magnis Circenſibus actis,
Addiderat.—— VIRG. Æneid. lib. viii.

‡ Intexuſque puer frondoſâ regius Idâ
Velocis jaculo cervos curſuque fatigat
Acer, anhelanti ſimilis; quem præpes ab Idâ
Sublimem pedibus rapuit Jovis armiger uncis.
VIRG. Æneid. lib. v.

§ Dat mihi Leda Jovem cycno decepta parentem,
Quæ falſam gremio credula fovit avem.

OVID. Epiſt. xvii.

Caſtor

Caſtor and *Pollux*. They are joined at their breaſts, denoting the brotherly love that was between them. 1759.

A *Laocöon* and his two Sons.—This is in bronze; a very large and fine piece of ſculpture, and copied from the original ſtatue that ſtands in the *Belvidera* at *Rome*. *

Apollo flaying *Marſias*, who is tied by his hands to a tree, for pretending to rival the God in Muſic. †

The famous wild Boar.

The God *Pan*, in porphyry. ‡

A *Narciſſus*, admiring his own ſhadow. §

An *Æſculapius*—pointing with the fore-finger of one hand, and holding a bundle of herbs in the other.

Venus, with *Cupid* in her lap.

A ſtatue of an *Etruſcan* Nobleman, commonly miſtaken for *Scipio*. It is in bronze, and has ſome characters that ſpeak it to be *Tuſcan*.

Annius Verus, the Son of *Marcus Aurelius*. He died at ſix years of age.

A *Mars*.—A *Mercury*.—A *Bacchus*.

* ——————immenſis orbibus angues
Incumbunt pelago, pariterque at littora tendunt:
Laocoonta petunt: & primum parva duorum
Corpora natorum ſerpens amplexus uterque
Implicat, & miſeros morſu depaſcitur artus.
Poſt ipſum, auxilio ſubeuntem ac tela ferentem
Corripiunt, ſpiriſque ligant ingentibus: & jam
Bis medium amplexi, bis collo ſquamea circum
Terga dati, ſuperant capite & cervicibus altis.
Ille ſimul manibus tendit divellere nodos,
Perfuſus ſanie vittas atroque veneno:
Clamores ſimul horrendos ad ſidera tollit.

VIRG. Æneid. lib. ii.

† Quem Tritoniacâ latoüs arundine victum
Affecit pœnâ. ——
Clamanti cutis eſt ſummos derepta per artus:
Nec quicquam, niſi vulnus, erat. Cruor undique manat,
Detectique patent nervi; trepidæque ſine ullâ
Pelle micant venæ.

OVID. Metam. lib. vi.

‡ Pana Deum pecoris veteres coluiſſe feruntur
Arcades. Arcadiis plurimus ille jugis.

OVID. Faſt. lib. ii.

§ ——————viſæ correptus imagine formæ,
Rem ſine corpore amat——
Adſtupet ipſe ſibi: vultuque immotus eodem
Hæret——
Spectat inexpleto mendacem lumine formam:
Perque oculos perit ipſe ſuos.

OVID. Metam. lib. iii.

An

1759. An *Alexander*, looking upwards, with an air of grief or pain in his countenance. Mr. *Addiſon* ſuppoſes, that the ſculptor had in his thoughts the conqueror's weeping for new worlds; but others think, that he is here repreſented as recovering from a grievous blow which he had juſt before received.

The Judgment of *Paris*.—The ſtatues of *Juno*, *Venus*, and *Pallas*, are placed near him, and are ſo diſpoſed, that *Paris* who has the apple in his hand, is made to give the preference to *Venus*, by fixing his eyes upon her *.

A *Minerva*.—A *Flora*.

An *Apollo*, with a bow on his ſhoulders †.

A *Prometheus* ‡.

An *Endymion*, gazing attentively on the moon §.

A drunken *Bacchus*, with a cup in his hand, done by *Michael Angelo*. This is the only finiſhed piece of his in the whole gallery; and here he exerted all his powers, to convince the world that the abilities of men in his age, fell not ſhort of thoſe of the ancients. We were deſired to obſerve, that one of the arms of this ſtatue was joined by a cement to the trunk; and were told, that *Angelo* himſelf had purpoſely broken it off, as ſoon as he had finiſhed his work, and after ſecretly burying the remaining part of the ſtatue under ground, where he ſuffered it to lie for ſome time, he then cauſed it to be dug up as though by accident, and ſent it to the pope's court, where it met with univerſal admiration, as a moſt finiſhed piece of antiquity. *Angelo* was ſoon afterwards ſent for to *Rome*, to partake of the general ſatisfaction which this new diſcovery had created, and after he had ſufficiently diverted himſelf with the ignorance of theſe pretended antiquarians, he at length thought fit to clear up the whole affair, by producing the arm. Other writers have indeed related the ſame ſtory concerning a *Cupid*.

* At Venus hoc pacta eſt: & in altæ vallibus idæ
Tres tibi ſe nudas exhibuere Deæ:
Unaque cum regnum, belli daret altera laudem;
Tyndaridos conjux, tertia dixit eris.
OVID. Epiſt. xvii.

† Nunquam humeris poſitorus arcum
Delius & Patareus Apollo.
HORAT. Carm. iv. lib. iii.

‡ —— per tota novem cui jugera corpus
Porrigitur, roſtroque immanis vultur obunco
Immortale jecur tondens, fecundaque pœnis
Viſcera, rimaturque epulis, habitatque ſub alto
Pectore: nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis.
VIRG. Æneid. lib. vi.

§ Latmius Endymion non eſt tibi, Luna, rubori.
OVID. Artis Amat. lib. iii.

Here

Here are ſeveral other ſtatues begun by *Michael Angelo*, but never finiſhed; particularly one of the younger *Brutus*, on which is inſcribed a *Latin* verſe, in excuſe for the ſculptor's not going through with his work. The reaſon aſſigned, is *Brutus*'s crime in murdering his friend and benefactor *Julius Cæſar*; but the true reaſon why this, and the ſeveral other ſtatues by *Michael Angelo* were not finiſhed, probably was, becauſe he was called off from time to time by his maſters, the popes, who ſet him about other performances. The laſt ſtatue I ſhall take notice of in this gallery, is a very fine one of *Bernini*'s miſtreſs, done by himſelf; in which he has been ſo exact as to ſhew a ſmall ſcar in her face, occaſioned by a ſcratch he gave her at a game of romps. Two magnificent marble pillars ſtand at the end of the gallery, on which ſeveral *Roman* arms and implements of war are curiouſly wrought. 1759.

At our return to our lodgings, we had the pleaſure to find Mr. *Tottingham* there, who was juſt arrived from *Leghorn*.

This morning we made a ſecond viſit to the old palace, and were ſhewn the ſeveral chambers of curioſities, that ſtand on the ſide of it. The firſt chamber, which is about forty feet ſquare, and of a good height, has its walls decorated with portraits of the great maſters in painting, each of whom drew his own picture, and ſent it to this collection. The ſecond, is almoſt full of fine old china, and has a large touchſtone table, curiouſly inlaid with oriental ſtones of different kinds and colours. The third is made up of different relicks of antiquity, dug out of the ruins of *Rome*. In the fourth, you are ſhewn a corona muralis, and a corona radialis with only eight ſpikes. Mr. *Addiſon* very juſtly obſerves, that the uſual number was twelve, and quotes the following lines from *Virgil* to prove it: January 28.

——————— ingenti mole Latinus
Quadrijugo vehitur curru; cui tempora circum
Aurati bis ſex radii fulgentia cingunt.

Here alſo I had the pleaſure of ſeeing an ancient *Ægyptian Siſtrum**.— This, and the two foregoing articles are of braſs. The fifth chamber, is an octagon; where I could not but take particular notice of two young *Morpheus*'s in white marble, as it ſerves to invalidate an obſervation of Mr. *Addiſon*'s, who ſeems to intimate that the God of ſleep was never repreſented

* Regina in mediis patrio vocat Agmina Siſtro.
VIRG. Æneid. lib. ix.

——— quid nunc Ægyptia proſunt
Siſtra?———
OVID. Amorum, lib. iii.

1759. by any of the ancient ſculptors, but in black marble. Here was alſo the famous ſtatue of the *Roman* ſlave, liſtning, and whetting his knife, which is held in high eſtimation.

Apollo and five other deities in bronze, by *John* of *Bologna*.

A *Venus* in porphyry.

A large fawn in marble.

Another fine marble ſtatue of what is called the "two wreſtlers."

An *Hermaphrodite* lying aſleep on its ſide, but in ſuch a manner as to partly diſcover the male parts. The large breaſts and hips declare alſo its feminine participation.—This ſtatue was made after that celebrated one in the *Villa Borgheſe*.

A *Priapus*; four feet in length, and three feet one inch in circumference. Around this ſtrange and obſcene figure, the twelve conſtellations are repreſented.

A *Roman* conſul ſitting.—This is the ſtatue taken notice of by Mr. *Addiſon*, as having the large ring upon his finger; which, he tells you, reminded him of *Juvenal*'s expreſſion "majoris pondera gemmæ."

A *Jupiter tonans*.

A buſt of *Euripides*, the famous *Greek* tragic poet.

Three marble buſts of *Homer*, found in *Legborn* road.

A ſatyr, by *Michael Angelo*, not quite finiſhed.

Three pretty babes aſleep, and reſting their heads upon one another.

Over the door is a moſt excellent buſt of *Oliver Cromwell*, in plaiſter of *Paris*; from which many copies have been taken.

Another very remarkable ſtatue in this collection, is the juſtly celebrated *Venus* of *Medicis*, ſo called from its being in the poſſeſſion of that family, of whoſe incomparable beauty of ſhape, air, and poſture, ſo much has been ſaid by all travellers. She is here ſtiled "*Venus Victrix*," to diſtinguiſh her from two other *Venus's* which ſtand near her. One of theſe is called "*Venus marina*," the other "*Venus cæleſtis*;" and both have a covering round the waiſt: the firſt is quite naked.

In this room you are alſo ſhewn a great variety of excellent paintings: ſuch as *John* the *Baptiſt*, by *Raphael*; he has a tyger's ſkin about the waiſt, and is ſuppoſed to be in the wilderneſs; he is painted very young, not more than ſixteen or ſeventeen years of age.—Lord *Southwell*, and *Martin Luther*, by *Holbein*.

Two much admired paintings by *Titian*. One of them is a portrait of his own wife, whom he has drawn at full length, lying on a bed, and as naked as ſhe came into the world. The other, is of a moſt beautiful girl, a favourite miſtreſs of a great duke, who is alſo painted quite naked. The portrait of *Titian*'s wife ſeems to be alive, and is as finiſhed a piece of the painter's art, as the *Venus* of *Medicis* is of the ſculptor's.—Many copies both

of

of the ſtatue and picture are to be ſeen in private families, eſpecially in thoſe apartments where company is generally entertained. 1759.

Three excellent night-pieces by *Schalkin:* and a fourth by *Francis Douven* a *Palatine.*—A nurſe teaching a child to read by candle-light, a friar ſtands behind them, warming his hands at the fire: the light of the fire ſtriking upon the perſon of the friar, is admirably well executed, as is alſo that of the candle on the nurſe and child.

The laſt curioſity that was ſhewn us in this octagon room, was Cardinal *Leopold*'s cabinet of female beauties in miniature, done by the beſt painters of the age he lived in. The cabinet has ſixty drawers, with ſeven hundred pictures in each, all ſet in ſilver.

There are three or four other large chambers which are adorned with cabinets, tables and other pieces, inlaid with ebony, ivory, wax, lapis lazuli, amber, agate, and precious ſtones, but as all voyage writers and authors of travels are full of theſe, I ſhall paſs them by, taking notice only of four or five paintings which are exquiſitely fine.

John Baptiſt's head in a charger, by *Caracci.*

Mars and *Venus*, by *Rubens.*

Charles the fifth, emperor of *Germany*, and an *Italian* lady, by *Vandyke.*

Adam and *Eve*, by *Albert Durer.*

Over the door of one of theſe chambers, are the portraits of the great Duke of *Marlborough*, Prince *Rupert*, and Lord *Oſſory*, done by our country man Sir *Peter Lilly.*

In the afternoon we went to the baptiſtry, which is an octagon, and was once a temple dedicated to the god *Mars.* It has three braſs gates; one of them was the work of *Ghiberti*, a *Florentine*, with many ſcripture ſtories in *Baſſo Relievo.* The famous *Michael Angelo*, was ſo ſtruck with its beauties, that he pronounced it worthy of being one of the *gates of Heaven.* The other two are alſo very handſome, but greatly inferior to the former.—We then drove to the *Doma* church, which is a large *Gothic* cathedral. The *Rotunda* was the firſt of its kind, and ſo much admired by *Michael Angelo*, that he in part took from it the model of *St. Peter*'s at *Rome.* In this church, a *Johannes Acutus* (as he is called) is painted in *Freſco*, on horſe-back. He was an *Engliſhman* in the *Florentine* ſervice, and behaved very bravely, His proper name according to ſome was *Hacluit*, by others, *Sharp*, which the *Italians* rendered into *Latin* by the word *Acutus.*

We next viſited the *Annunciata*, a very neat church, with a gilded roof, and many fine paintings. The *Madona del Sacca* here is much admired. We then repaired to *St. Croce*, a *Gothic* pile of building; the moſt remarkable things in it, are two ſuperb monuments, one of them was erected to

1759. the memory of *Michael Angelo*, and has three ornamental ſtatues about it, done by three of his ſcholars, repreſenting painting, ſculpture, and architecture. The other is oppoſite to it, and was deſigned for *Galileo* the famous geometrician and philoſopher.

Monday, January 29. We went this morning to the famous chapel of *St. Laurence*, which was begun an hundred and fifty years ago, and yet remains unfiniſhed; nor is it probable that it ever will be compleated. This is the burial-place of the great dukes of the family of *Medicis*. Adjoining, is a prodigious large octagon building, with an high dome, which is looked upon as the greateſt deſign now in the world. Each ſide of the octagon has a moſt magnificent tomb or monument, with pilaſters of the *Corinthian* and compoſite orders, and ornamented in the moſt elegant manner with the arms of the family, curiouſly wrought in a great variety of marbles; whoſe fine colours, exquiſite poliſhings, and nice diſpoſitions, intermixed with oriental ſtones and ores, would make one ſuſpect the whole to be the work of ſome great maſter in painting. This building is finiſhed from the ground to the upper part of the octagon, and beginning of the dome; the ſcaffolding is ſtill ſtanding, but no workmen have been employed for thirteen years.

We were then ſhewn the library, ſo much celebrated for its large and valuable collection of manuſcripts, in the *Greek*, *Latin*, and other dead languages. There is one of *Virgil*, written in the fourth century; in the whole, there are at leaſt three thouſand volumes all written on vellum, and in the moſt elegant characters.

Our party had this day the honour of dining with Sir *Horace Man*; and were ſo fortunate as to meet there, the Earl of *Northampton*, and his governor, with Mr. *Anderſon*, Mr. *Wyte*, and Mr. *Henry*, all *Engliſh* gentlemen on their travels.—Our converſation turned chiefly on the glorious and uninterrupted ſeries of ſucceſs, which had lately attended the *Britiſh* arms in all parts of the world. A theme of this kind could not fail of affording a peculiar ſatisfaction to a company of *Engliſhmen*, thus accidentally met together in a foreign land; but more particularly to me, who after ſo long and painful an abſence, was once more going to be made happy in a ſight of my native country, and at a time too when her reputation was about to be raiſed higher, than ever before, in the annals of *Great-Britain*.

January 30. Mr. *Tottingham* being obliged to ſet out from hence this day on his return to *England*, I reſolved to accompany him; and about eleven o'clock in the morning, (having previouſly taken leave of all our countrymen in general, and of our friends Meſſrs. *Gregory* and *Bayley* in particular) we left *Florence*, and after a very troubleſome and dangerous journey of two days over the *Apennine* mountains, we arrived at the gates of *Bologna*. The

extreme ruggedneſs and difficulty of the roads, often put us in mind of the following lines in *Silius Italicus*; 1759.

" Quoque magis ſubiere jugo, atque evadere niſi
" Erexere gradum, creſcit labor, ardua ſuprâ
" Seſe aperit feſſis, & naſcitur altera moles."

The city of *Bologna*, for extent, and the number of inhabitants, and the importance of its trade, is the principal next to *Rome*, in all the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. It abounds in magnificent buildings, and is likewiſe famous for the numerous collection of excellent paintings, maſter pieces of art, which are to be ſeen in it; but the emotions which were then felt by my companion and me for ſpeedily getting home, were ſo powerful, that we were obliged to deny ourſelves the ſatisfaction and pleaſure of feaſting our eyes with them. BOLOGNA.

The *Bologneſe* women of faſhion wear a veil or mantle of black ſilk over their heads and ſhoulders, which comes down before as low as their waiſt. They make uſe alſo of a black ſilk apron, a petticoat of the ſame colour, and a jacket of cloth, with open ſleeves, which are turned back on the arm, and laced. They wear no caps, their hair is braided, and being circularly placed on the crown of the head, is faſtened with long needles or pins ſtudded with gold. But the moſt prevailing faſhion among them is the wearing gold ear-rings; and in the winter months they never fail to preſerve their hands from the cold by a little muff. The country girls are not ſo fair here, or ſo prettily featured as thoſe of *Tuſcany*, though their dreſs appeared to be much the ſame. They have a bodice, and over it a ſhort jacket either of coarſe ſtuff ot cloth. A white handkerchief covers the breaſts, and another is pinned cloſe on the top of the head, and looſely under the chin. Some of them wear ſhoes, others none; the few that do have a pair of red or green worſted ſtockings, and one and all ape their ſuperiors in wearing either gold or braſs ear-rings. To their honour however be it ſpoken, the ſame ſpirit of induſtry prevails among theſe, as does among the pretty female peaſants in *Tuſcany*.

We left *Bologna* at half paſt ſeven this morning, and went on through *Pevia*, which is a handſome country town, with houſes built on wooden pillars or arches. The roads hereabouts are very bad for travellers, running through a fat and dirty ſoil. The country however is very pleaſant, cultivated to the beſt advantage, and extremely well laid out in vineyards. The vines here, as in *Tuſcany*, are ſupported from tree to tree *, and both the ſtandards and vines are nicely trimmed, and uniformly planted, for many miles together. February 1. PEVIA.

* ——— adulta vitium propagine
Altas maritat populos.

HORAT. Epodon. lib. ode 2d.

The

1759. The lumber carriages in this country are drawn by three, four, and ſometimes five pair of yoke oxen. An iron ring or two looſly hung to a pillar of the ſame metal, which ſtands on the pole between each yoke, ſerves all the purpoſes of bells; for theſe rings, by the motion of the carriage, are made to fall on and off the pillars, whereby a ſound, ſomewhat reſembling that of a bell, is happily produced.

ST. CARLO. At a quarter paſt three in the afternoon, we arrived at *St. Carlo*, having gone over an ugly, long cauſeway, by the ſide of the little *Rhine* *, which river loſes itſelf in a marſh near *St. Carlo*. The edges of the marſh are full of willow-trees and ſhrubs, and according to the beſt intelligence we could pick up, theſe ſwamps continue quite to the ſea, by *Ravenna*. The banks of this river are every where pleaſantly ſhaded with the willow, and other trees; but ſo narrow, that we were ſeveral times apprehenſive of falling into the river.

FERRARA. At half after five we reached the gates of *Ferrara:* a city but poorly walled, and at preſent in almoſt a defenceleſs ſtate. The ramparts indeed are ſo extenſive, that even in its beſt eſtate, it muſt have required a whole army to defend it. The ſtreets are regular, and the houſes ſo handſome, that they may with great propriety be ſtiled palaces, being built of marble, and in an elegant taſte. The convents and churches are alſo very magnificent. We were obliged to put up at the poſt-houſe, where we had the worſt attendance in the world, but were made to pay moſt extravagantly for every thing we called for. The ſervants here, and in almoſt every other public houſe between this and *Piſa*, are down-right thieves; we have been pillaged by them already no leſs than four times, though we always endeavoured to keep a good look out.

February 2. At a quarter paſt ſeven this morning, we left *Ferrara*, and preſently after, the horſes that drew my chaiſe (which was built on purpoſe for me at *Leghorn*, ſtrong and well fitted for the *Italian* and *German* roads) fell down in a boggy road, and in my endeavouring to get clear of the carriage and ſlough, I had the misfortune to ſprain my back. A full hour paſſed away before the horſes and chaiſe could be gotten out again.—We afterwards went by a town, called *Ponte de la Scuro*. The famous river *Po*, or *Eridanus*, runs by it, and is here about half a mile broad †.

PONTE DE LA SCURO.

I obſerved

* ———Parvique Bononia Rheni. SILIUS ITAL. lib. 8.

† The ancient poets are full of deſcriptions of this river. *Virgil* in his firſt *Georgic*, ſtiles it "*Fluviorum Rex Eridanus*;" and in his fourth, he ſpeaks thus of its importance:

"Eridanus, quo non alius per pinguia culta
"In mare purpureum violentior affluit amnis."

Ovid too has made it famous by throwing his *Phaeton* into it.

"Quem procul a patria diverſo maximus orbe
"Excipit Eridanus, ſpumantiaque abluit ora."

And

I obſerved many wooden mills upon this river, raiſed on boats, which are tied to each other, and faſtened to ſtakes, near the ſhore. We often ſaw three, four, and five in a row together. They are worked by the ſtream of the *Po*, which here runs at the rate of four miles an hour, and is navigable from *Ponte de la Scuro* quite to *Venice*. We travelled ſeveral miles to-day on its high artificial banks, which on both ſides of the river are raiſed twenty or thirty feet above the level of the country, and were intended to be broad enough for two carriages to paſs each other. 1759.

At ten o'clock we croſſed a branch of the *Po* in a ferry-boat, and in about two hours after, arrived at another branch of it called *Canale Bianco*, over which we paſſed alſo in the ſame manner. About two miles on the other ſide of this river, the eccleſiaſtical territories end, and thoſe of the *Venetian* ſtate begin. At five we arrived at *Rouvigo*, having travelled only twenty-five miles the whole day, owing to the deep and ſwampy roads we went through. We here met with a clean houſe, and a very neat and obliging hoſteſs. ROUVIGO.

We left *Rouvigo* a little before ſeven in the morning, and were obliged to make uſe of four horſes to each chaiſe, and likewiſe to pay for a poſt extraordinary, on account of the common road being at preſent overflown. For ſeveral miles we met with a great deal of trouble, being obliged frequently to get out of our carriages, to prevent our being faſt in the mire. At eight we reached a ferry on the river *Adige*, which is navigable up to *Verona* †; and by ten had almoſt got clear of the overflown, marſhy country, which had occaſioned us ſo much fatigue. February 3.

In going through one of the grape plantations, I obſerved an image of the *Virgin Mary* fixed in a box, and nailed to one of the trees that ſupported the vines. She is looked upon it ſeems as the protectreſs of vineyards, and is therefore always honoured with a ſalute by every devout *Roman Catholic* traveller.

And *Claudian* has given the following pompous deſcription of this river,

" ——— Ille caput placidis ſublime fluentis
" Extulit, et totis lucem ſpargentia ripis
" Aurea roranti micuerunt cornua vultu.
" Non illi madidum vulgaris arundine crinem
" Velat honos; rami caput umbravere virentes
" Heliadum, totiſque fluunt electra capillis.
" Palla tegit latos humeros, curruque paterno
" Intexus Phaeton glaucos incendit amictus:
" Fultaque ſub gremio cœlatis nobilis aſtris
" Ætherium probat urna decus," &c. &c. &c.

CLAUDIAN de ſexto Conſ. Honorii.

† ——— Verona Atheſi circumflua.

SILIUS ITALICUS, lib. 8.

1759. At eleven we paſſed over the little river *Cardon*, by the help of a wooden bridge, built on piles; and in a quarter of an hour after, we reached *Piſano*, having but ſix miles to *Montſelice*. A little before one o'clock we reached *Montſelice*, which is ſituated at the foot of a mountain, has an old wall, a gateway, and a worn-out wooden gate. On the top of the mountain, an ancient fort once ſtood, but it is now converted into a church. Oppoſite to this there is another hill ſtill higher, called *Monte Rocca*, which has a convent upon it.

Piſano village.

Montse-lice. Great part of the road between *Montſelice* and *Padua* runs along a narrow, artificial cauſeway, and ſo nigh to the river *Brent* or *Brenta*, that we choſe rather to quit our carriages, and walk ſeveral miles on foot, than run the riſk of being overturned in ſo dangerous a place. As we drew near to *Padua*, we met a great number of country-people returning from the market of that city. We obſerved that their oxen were dreſſed out with ribbons, bells, &c.—They had alſo ſheep, hogs, and poultry in great abundance with them.

The *Venetian* country women wear their hair plaited, and in general have nothing upon their heads but a ſtraw-hat, with the edge turned a little up: with this hat they ſalute after the manner of men. The women in the towns, dreſs much in the ſame way as thoſe at *Bologna*. There is a particularity in this country, which I never obſerved any where elſe, every poſt-chaiſe driver has always a dog to attend him. Theſe little animals are of great uſe to their owners, as they never fail, at the proper ſignals being made, to bark at the horſes, and by that means to puſh them forwards, as effectually, as if the rider had given them the ſpur.

Padua. We reached *Padua* before the gates were ſhut, and entring the city at that part of it called the *Holy Croſs*, paſſed by the church of St. *Juſtina*, which at a diſtance makes a moſt noble appearance, but upon coming near, you preſently diſcover that the original ſtone-work has been patched with rough brick, which gives a ſhocking deformity to the whole building. This edifice is remarkable for having ſix rotundas or cupolas, and is built in the form of a latin croſs: it was deſigned by *Palladio*, and is univerſally held in great eſteem as a maſter-piece of art. Like all other *Popiſh* churches, it is adorned with a variety of pictures; but the chief ornament of this kind, is the martyrdom of the ſaint, which was done by *Paul Veroneſe*, and is hung up over the high altar. *Padua*, though a famous city and univerſity, is neither ſo well built nor paved as that of *Bologna*. The houſes in general are old-faſhioned, and the ſtones uſed in the pavements are much too large. The walls alſo are built of brick, which gives them an odd appearance. *

This

* Mr. *Addiſon* ſays, that in the town-hall of *Padua*, there ſtands a ſtone ſuperſcribed, "*Lapis Vituperii.*" Any debtor that will ſwear himſelf not worth five pounds, and is ſet by the

This morning we hired a boat for two ſequins and an half (about 25 ſhillings) to carry us down the *Brent* to *Venice*. If we approve of it, he is to continue at *Venice*, and bring us back to *Padua*, for an equal ſum. The boat is called a *Centaur*, has a very commodious and large cabbin, and is drawn by a horſe on the bank. We got to *Venice* at five o'clock in the evening, and went in maſques to the opera. 1759. February 4. VENICE.

the bailiffs thrice with his bare buttocks on this ſtone in a full hall, clears himſelf of any farther proſecution from his creditors. ADDISON's *Travels, page* 55.—This cuſtom has been diſcontinued however many years.

CHAP. IX.

Deſcription of Venice.—*Journey from thence to* Vicenza, Verona, Borgetto, Trent *and* Inſpruck.—*Deſcription of the city of* Inſpruck.—*Occurrences from thence to* Augſburgh *and* Franckfort.—*Paſſage down the* Rhine *to* Cologne.—*Journey from that city to* Cleves *and* Nimeguen; *and paſſage afterwards to* Rotterdam *and* Helvoetſluys.—*Arrival in* England.

1759. Monday, February 5. THIS morning we waited upon Mr. *Murray* the *Engliſh* reſident, and Mr. *Smith* the conſul. We afterwards went to ſee the famous bridge of the *Rialto*, and St. *Mark*'s ſquare and church. In the evening we viſited another church called St. *George* the major, wherein is a much admired picture of the wedding feaſt, by *Paul Veroneſe*.

" *Venice* (according to Mr. *Addiſon*) has ſeveral particulars, which are not to be found in other cities, and is therefore very entertaining to a traveller. It looks, at a diſtance, like a great town half floated by a deluge. There are canals every where croſſing it, ſo that one may go to moſt houſes either by land or water. The ſtreets are generally paved with brick or freeſtone, and always kept very clean, for there is no carriage, ſo much as a chair that paſſes through them. There is an innumerable multitude of bridges, all of a ſingle arch, and many noble palaces. Their furniture is not commonly very rich, if we except the pictures, which are here in greater plenty than in any other place in *Europe*, from the hands of the beſt maſters of the *Lombard* ſchool, as *Titian*, *Paul Veroneſe*, and *Tintoret*. The rooms are generally hung with gilt leather, which they cover on extraordinary occaſions with tapiſtry, and hangings of greater value. The flooring is a kind of red plaiſter, made of brick ground to powder, and afterwards worked into mortar. It is rubbed with oil, and makes a ſmooth, ſhining, and beautiful ſurface. The particular palaces, churches, and pictures of *Venice*, are enumerated in ſeveral little books that may be bought in the place, and have been faithfully tranſcribed by many voyage writers." *

* *Addiſon*'s Travels, page 59.

We

We were employed this morning in taking a view of the arſenal, which has a line drawn round it of about three miles. Three thouſand artificers and labourers in the ſeveral naval branches, are conſtantly employed here. The expence to the ſtate, upon this account, amounts to about ſix thouſand ducats weekly. It is upon the whole, a neat and compact dock-yard, the whole navy of the republic, conſiſting of twenty-four ſhips of the firſt rate, which carry eighty guns each, and twenty-five galeaſſes, being kept herein. They all lie under cover, are finiſhed to the upper deck; and we were told, that in the ſpace of two years, they could be all fitted out, and ſent to ſea. The maſt-yard, rope-walk, ſail-lofts, ſmith-ſhops, founderies, and magazines of every kind are upon this ſpot; and as far as we could obſerve, every thing ſeemed to be ready at hand, and in exact order. We walked through that part of the arſenal where the ſmall arms are laid, and ſaw the complete ſuits of armour which the greateſt captains belonging to the republic formerly wore. Theſe are hung up as precious relicks; and are held in great veneration by the preſent race of *Venetians*. 1759. February 6.

We were afterwards ſhewn the famous *Bucentaur Galley*, which has two decks, and is truly a fine ſight. It is decorated with a great variety of curious carved work, repreſenting the different ſeaſons, the arts and ſciences, juſtice, charity, prudence, patience, and other virtues. The bare gilding of this veſſel coſt 12000 ducats of gold, which in our money amount to near ſix thouſand pounds. The *Bucentaur* is kept merely for ſhew, being ſeldom if ever uſed, but on the day of our Lord's Aſcenſion, the anniverſary of the *Doge*'s marriage with the ſea.

After taking our leave of the arſenal, we went to ſee the church belonging to the bare-footed *Carmelites*, which is a gay, handſome ſtructure, and has an altar-piece truly majeſtic. This church was deſigned by the ſame artiſt who built that belonging to the *Jeſuits*; and what is very remarkable in a place ſo confined as *Venice*, has a good and ſpacious garden adjoining to it. One of the brethren who ſhewed us the church, refuſed to take the money we offered him for his trouble.—A very extraordinary circumſtance this, and worthy to be noted!

We had the honour to dine this day with Lady *Wentworth* and her huſband; Mr. *Murray*, Mr. *Bridges* an *Engliſh* gentleman on his travels, and Mr. *Ducket* ſecretary to Mr. *Murray*, made up the reſt of the company. We had before been favoured with complimentary cards from Lord *Brudenel* ſon of the earl of *Cardigan*, Mr. Conſul *Smith*, Meſſrs. *Lyte*, *Frazier*, *Udney*, and *Seignior Sebaſtian Battagio*. This laſt gentleman is the ſame perſon who was mentioned in my friend Mr. *Doidge*'s letter. He tendered his beſt ſervices, and told me, that he had received a private letter of recommendation from Mr. *Smith* of *Aleppo* in favour of Mr. *Doidge* and me, with credit for whatever caſh we might ſtand in need of. This was the more

1759. kind in Mr. *Smith*, as he had done it without giving us the leaſt intimation of his friendly intentions.

In the evening we went in maſques to the *Ridotto*, or public gaming-houſe, which is here eſtabliſhed by authority. In it are ſeveral apartments; and in each apartment gaming-tables, loaded with either gold or ſilver. At each bank ſits a *Venetian* ſenator unmaſked, and arrayed in his ſcarlet robes. To him the adventurer repairs, trys his fortune at the game of *Baſſet*, and very often, in a few minutes is totally ruined. There is ſomething truly diabolical in theſe ſcenes. The maſques are commonly dreſſed in black; the rooms though large, are but dimly lighted; ſome people you ſee penſively ſitting, others gravely ſtalking along, or deſperately gaming. And all the while ſo profound a ſilence is kept, that ſcarce a ſigh or whiſper is ever to be heard. I left this place with abhorrence, being ſenſibly ſtruck with the proſtitution of magiſtracy, the encouragement of vice, and the ruin of families!

From hence we went to the *Buffo*, or comic opera, and were drolly entertained: then we adjourned to a grand *Feſtino* or ball, given by a *Venetian* nobleman of the *Veniero* family, in his own palace, upon his being lately elected *Procurator*. This feſtival continues three days and three nights. The magnificence and brilliancy of the preſent, is ſaid to equal any that has ever preceded it. Every apartment in the palace, intended for the reception of company, is illuminated with a vaſt number of wax-candles, placed in ſilver-branches, or glaſs-girandoles, finely cut; and has a band of muſick in it, conſiſting of at leaſt twenty hands. Only the native nobility, and gentlemen-foreigners of different nations who happen to be at *Venice*, are ever admitted to theſe feſtivals; for which purpoſe a detachment of ſoldiers is placed at the entrance of each paſſage to the ſeveral apartments, to prevent any improper perſon from going in. All who paſs by the ſoldiers are obliged to unmaſk, unleſs it be thoſe who are accompanied by ſome foreign miniſter, or by one of his houſehold. This happened to be our caſe; Mr. *Ducket* having been ſo obliging as to take us with him. He therefore, of our whole company, was the only perſon who found it neceſſary to unmaſk, and acquaint the guard, that we were "*Engliſh* Gentlemen."

In the ſeveral chambers of this palace, the greateſt profuſion of coſtly jewels were diſplayed by the noble *Venetian* ladies; they were all dreſſed either in black ſilks, or black velvet, except the lately elected *Procurator*'s wife, who upon this particular occaſion, is allowed to appear in colours, with the foreign princeſſes, the nieces or other near relations of the *Pope*, and the ladies of public miniſters. Every woman's hair was extremely powdered, and dreſſed either in the *French* or *Engliſh* taſte, and beſides the abundance of coſtly brilliants, rubies, &c. with which every part of their dreſs was ornamented, there was ſcarce a finger upon either of their hands

hands but what was loaded with rings of immenſe value. Dancing and cards made up the principal entertainment of the company, though many of both ſexes alſo ſeemed to be happily employed in chit-chat converſation. In ſome of the rooms, the ſeveral parties were regaled with tea, coffee, chocolate, ſherbet, wines, &c.; and in other rooms, were tables covered with the niceſt cold-meats of various ſorts, ſuch as poultry, wild-fowl, paſties, cuſtards, ſweet-meats, ſyllabubs, ſnow-balls, jellies, &c. 1759.

The *Pope*'s *Nuncio*, the *Engliſh* reſident, the *French* Embaſſador, and the reſt of the foreign miniſters and their families, and all the people of the firſt rank in *Venice*, were at this *Feſtino*: and the whole was ſo truly ſplendid, ſo politely, and ſo regularly conducted, that I never went away from any entertainment ſo thoroughly delighted. It may not be improper to add, that the laws of *Venice* ſtrictly forbid any of their nobility holding the leaſt converſation with the foreign miniſters but upon theſe public occaſions, or when national affairs are to be agitated between them. A detection of a breach of theſe laws, is ſure to be puniſhed with great rigour and ſeverity.

Mr. *Murray* the *Engliſh* reſident, is a polite, well-bred, ſenſible man. Mr. Conſul *Smith* has behaved with great good-nature towards us, and Mr. *Ducket* has fully anſwered the very amiable character given of him by Mr. *Doidge*. In a word, we have experienced at *Venice* every civility, which travellers could poſſibly wiſh for. At *Leghorn* we got letters of credit and recommendation to the ſeveral places we were to paſs through in *Italy* and *Germany*; but Mr. *Udney* of this place has been ſo obliging as to give us another on Mr. *Aman* of *Augsburgh*.

Both the reſident and conſul adviſe us not to be afraid of paſſing through *Franckfort* on the *Maine*, though it be now in poſſeſſion of the *French*. They ſeem ſorry that my friend *Doidge* and his party have taken another route from *Augsburgh*, as hereby their expences and difficulties will be conſiderably increaſed.*

By the advice of the ſame gentlemen, we ſupplied ourſelves with a paſsport from the *Auſtrian* Embaſſador reſiding here, as it was apprehended by them, that the *French* would pay but little regard to the one we had before gotten from the regency of *Florence*. This paſs-port from the *Auſtrian* Embaſſador, coſt us four ſequins, which was a great impoſition in his ſecretary, who was mean enough to declare to our ſervants, that we ſhould not have it for leſs money, becauſe we were *Engliſhmen*, and conſequently

* Mr. *Doidge*'s party, intimidated by *Franckfort*'s being in poſſeſſion of the *French*, quitted their intended route, and paſſed through *Germany* by way of *Nuremberg*, *Bamberg*, *Coberg*, *Munungen*, *Caſſel*, *Munſter*, &c.

1759. were real, though not open and declared enemies of his miſtreſs the Queen of *Hungary*.

February 7. PADUA. We embarked about nine this morning for *Padua*, having previouſly taken leave of all our friends at *Venice*. We got to *Padua* in nine hours, having hired a horſe extraordinary to draw our boat, that we might arrive there before the gates were ſhut.

February 8. This morning early, while our carriages were getting ready, we paid a viſit to the church of St. *Anthony*, the titular ſaint of this city. It is a very large, and magnificent pile of building, but in the gothic taſte. The outſide of it has rather a heavy appearance; within, it is richly adorned with grand marble altar-pieces, branches of maſſy ſilver, and many excellent paintings. The church, which was once dedicated to the *Virgin Mary*, beſides the tomb of Saint *Anthony*, has alſo an abundance of other elegant marble monuments, and ſeveral *Alto Relievo*'s, expreſſive of the miracles wrought by the ſaint; of *David*'s playing and dancing before the ark; of *Solomon*'s temple, &c. Here alſo the whole hiſtory of *Sampſon* is to be ſeen in braſs, *Baſſo Relievo*, finely executed. The pavement of the church is all of marble, of different colours, well poliſhed and cubically formed.

We left *Padua* about nine o'clock, and paſſing through the town of *Meſtrey*, got to *Sleſica* by eleven. We croſſed here the river *Teſin*, formerly VICENZA. the *Ticinus* *, by a ſmall bridge, and at one o'clock reached *Vicenza*. We found the ſtreets of this city narrow, the houſes irregularly built, and in an old-faſhioned taſte. A very few indeed which are modern, have a handſome appearance.

MONTEBELLO. We took freſh horſes at *Vicenza* for *Montebello*, where we arrived at a quarter paſt three o'clock, having had a good road all the way. At a quarter after five, we again changed our horſes at a place called *Caldier*, and VERONA. ſet out for the city of *Verona*, which we reached about ſix in the evening.

* *Silius Italicus* has given the following beautiful deſcription of this river.

" Cæruleas Ticinus aquas et ſtagna vadoſa
" Perſpicuus ſervat, turbari neſcia, fundo:
" Ac nitidum viridi lente trahit amne liquorem;
" Vix credas labi, ripis tamen mitis opacis
" Argutos inter (volucrum certamina) cantus
" Somniferam ducit lucenti gurgite lympham."

How ſhall we be able to reconcile the above deſcription of this river, with the account given us by Dr. *Burnet*, Mr. *Addiſon*, and others of our modern travellers, who have all repreſented it as running with an aſtoniſhing rapidity? The learned biſhop in particular ſays, that he was carried down this river at the rate of thirty miles an hour, by the help of a ſingle rower.

Very early this morning, we quitted our beds, and accompanied by Count *Lodovico Lazise*, a decayed man of quality, but a celebrated antiquarian, went in a hackney-coach to view the ruins of a *Roman* triumphal arch; before which, ſtands another of a more modern date, of the doric order, done by *Michael San Micchèli*. The pillars of this laſt, are without either pedeſtal or baſe, and are made to reſt upon rude, large ſtones only. You ſee ſome ſymbolical figures on the gate, which I could make nothing of, but a ſwan and a boar's head are very diſcernible. We afterwards went to ſee St. *Bernard*'s church, and its beautiful rotunda chapel, deſigned by the ſame *San Micchèli*. Its pillars are of the fineſt marble, of the Corinthian order, and held in the higheſt eſtimation. Some of them are fluted, others ſpirally worked, and others beautifully cut into foliages. We next took a view of a brick bridge of three arches, which is built over the river *Adige*. The firſt of theſe arches meaſures 142 *Italian* feet at the baſe; the ſecond 82, and the third 70. This bridge, and an old caſtle that ſtands near it, were both built in the year 1354. The principal arch is reputed to be the wideſt in the known world, that of the *Rialto* at *Venice* making only a ſpan of 86 feet. 1759. February 9.

We were then ſhewn the ruins of the *Arca Gaviæ* built by *Vitruvius*, A. D. 145. This (according to the accounts given us) was the entrance to the ſepulchre of the *Gavian* family. We were afterwards led to the hoſpital *di Miſericordia*, to ſee a much admired piece of painting of a Saviour juſt taken down from the croſs, done by *Alexandrino Veroneſe*. The bleſſed virgin, wringing her hands, and in an agony of grief, ſtands looking on the bloody corpſe, which is ſupported by *Nicodemus*. Our Saviour is repreſented of a ſhorter ſtature in this picture, than in any other painting I ever ſaw of him.—The laſt piece of antiquity we took a view of at *Verona*, was the famous *Roman* amphitheatre, the inſide of which is ſtill complete, but the outſide-work has ſuffered ſo much from time and weather, that a very ſmall part of the old, original wall, is now remaining. There are in all three walls, beginning from the ſtreet, and ending at the centre or area for the ſports. Within theſe walls, are ſtages of ſeats for four different ranks of people, and ſixty portals for their entrance, it being cuſtomary among the *Romans* for each order or tribe to go up by its own reſpective ſtair-caſe. The *Patricians* ſat on the firſt row of ſeats from the area or field of combat, and the *Plebeians* on the higheſt of all. There are forty-five of theſe ſeats, ranged circularly one above another, and will hold 22184 perſons. In the ſecond wall from the ſtreet, are ſeveral diſtinct apartments for keeping the wild beaſts, and in the third, or inner wall, are twenty eight priſons, four of which are entirely dark. Here the malefactors were confined, who were ſentenced to give diverſion to the *Roman* citizens, by combating the beaſts. Little channels of water run quite through the building, and were undoubtedly deſigned to carry off every kind of filth to the common-ſhore.

At

1759. At ten o'clock in the morning we left *Verona*, having hired what are here called *Veturine* horſes for the city of *Trent*. At twelve we paſſed over the rapid river *Adige* in a ferry-boat, whoſe current runs at the rate of ſeven miles an hour*. The roads now begin to be ſtony and hilly: and that beautiful country which has been ſo diſtinguiſhable in our whole journey from *Leghorn*, is now putting on a different aſpect, though even here, the vines hang like ſo many garlands, from tree to tree. We taſted ſome excellent white wine this day at a little obſcure village, which was the more extraordinary, as good wines are very ſcarce all over *Lombardy*.

Chuſa paſs. At three in the afternoon, we got to the remarkable paſs of *Chuſa*, where the road was ſo very ſteep, narrow, and rocky, that we were obliged to get out of our carriages, the horſes not being able to draw them over it. At this paſs are always kept ſome ſoldiers, whoſe aſſiſtance in dragging along the chaiſes, our poſtilions were obliged to purchaſe at the expence of ten pauls. The charge of our four horſes, of the ſeveral turnpikes, and of getting through this paſs, amounted in the whole to eleven ſequins; five and a half of which we depoſited before we left *Verona*, and agreed to pay the remainder on our arrival at *Trent*.

At half paſt ſix o'clock, we paſſed by the boundary ſtone, which divides the *Venetian* ſtate from the biſhopric of *Trent*. At eight in the evening, we reached *Borgetto*, which is one of the many little towns ſeated on this road among the *Alpine* mountains. Here we got a clean room, and ſome wholeſome food; were well attended, and (what is ſtill more extraordinary) our bill was very moderate.

Borgetto. *Borgetto* lies about twenty miles from *Verona*; and through the whole journey, a traveller's mind is very differently amuſed and agitated. At one time, he is wonderfully ſtruck, and pleaſed with the grand and romantic ſcenery that is every where about him. At another time, he is almoſt chilled with horror at the ſight of huge precipices of naked rocks hanging perpendicular over his head, and ſeeming ready to fall upon him. To this may be added, the extreme narrowneſs of the road, and the horrid *Gulph* of ſome hundred yards depth, all along on his left, at the bottom of which he diſcovers the river *Adige* running with great rapidity, between a double range of ſharp pointed rocks. It muſt not be underſtood however, that ſuch frightful ideas as theſe attend the traveller during the whole of this diſtance; for ſometimes the eye is entertained with a view of ſeveral ranges of mountains, covered with trees and paſturage, which form one of the moſt irregular, and at the ſame time one of the moſt pleaſing ſcenes in the world.

February 10. We left *Borgetto* at ſeven o'clock in the morning, and having paſſed through *Ald* at eleven, and *Roverido* at three (two conſiderable poſt towns)

* *Claudian* calls this river, "Velox Atheſis."

we

we got at ſix in the evening ſafe to the city of *Trent*. The ſeveral poſt towns we paſſed through between *Verona* and this place were as follows. 1759.

		Poſt.
Between theſe two is *Chuſa* paſs	*Valarnia*	1½
	Peri	1
	Ald	1½
	Roverido	1
	Trent	1½
		6½

This city, though not very large, is well built. It is ſituated in a pleaſant plain, and the river *Adige* runs by it, over which is thrown a wooden bridge of eight arches. While our carriages were fitting at *Trent* with an additional pair of wheels, I took a coach and viſited *St. Simon*'s tomb, who lies buried in a church dedicated to him. I ſaw the reputed ſaint's corpſe embalmed, lying on its back in a glaſs cabinet, that is lodged within the tomb. The room in which the remains are depoſited, is hung with pictures, badly painted, repreſenting the murder of the ſaint and his two ſons*. TRENT.

In another church, which we afterwards viſited, we were ſhewn a very handſome altar-piece of four ſpiral marble pillars; the ſquare they form is open at the top, and within it the altar is erected. We were told, that this altar-piece is done in imitation of one in *St. Peter*'s at *Rome*, which is in high eſtimation. We now repaired to a third church, much talked of in theſe parts for the excellency of its organ. The prieſt, at the time we entered the church, was ſaying maſs; and yet by virtue of a ducat ſeaſonably preſented to the organiſt, we were highly entertained by ſome mirthful tunes which he did not ſcruple to play at our requeſt. The organ, is a very good one, and moſt elegantly ornamented with five well finiſhed, gilded, pilaſters, which ſtand projecting out of a handſome gallery, the front of which is embelliſhed with ſome marble figures in *Baſſo Relievo*, done by *Vincent Vincenti*. In this church we were ſhewn a picture, repreſenting the magiſtrates of *Trent* ſitting in council; this picture they highly

* This *Simon* (who is here made a ſaint of) was, I apprehend, a ſovereign prince of the *Jews*, and greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in freeing his country from a foreign yoke. He and his two ſons, *Judas* and *Mattathias*, were at laſt barbarouſly murthered by *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Abubus*, who having married one of *Simon*'s daughters, and being appointed governor of *Jericho* under him, invited him to a caſtle he had built in the neighbourhood, to partake of an entertainment he had there provided. *Simon* and his ſons ſuſpecting no evil from ſo near a relation, accepted of the invitation, and went thither; but the perfidious wretch having laid a deſign for the uſurping of the government of *Judea*, hid men in the caſtle where the entertainment was made, and when his gueſts had well drunk, he brought forth theſe murderers upon them, and aſſaſſinated all three as they were ſitting at the banquet. See *Prideaux*'s Connection.

1759. eſteem, as they do another by *Paul Veroneſe*, the ſubject of which is, the bleſſed Virgin and her ſon *Jeſus* attended by angels, who, on their coming down from Heaven, ſhout forth "*Ecce Agnus Dei.*"

The commanding officer of the troops in *Trent*, ſtarted many difficulties to us relative to our future journey through *Germany*; and carried them ſo far, as to give us great uneaſineſs. He even adviſed our returning back again to *Leghorn*, and taking our paſſage from thence in ſome ſhip bound to *England*. In ſpite however of every thing he alledged to the contrary, we reſolved to purſue our plan, and agreeable thereto, this evening about five o'clock left *Trent*, in our way to *Inſpruck*. Betwixt theſe two cities are the following poſts.

		Poſt.		Hours.
From *Trent* to *St. Michael (Weliſchmicht)*	—	1	of	2
St. Michael to *Neumark*	—	1	—	1¾
Neumark to *Brandſol*	—	1	—	2
Brandſol to *Bolſang*	—	1	—	2
Bolſang to *Teutſchen*	—	1	—	2
Teutſchen to *Colman* (a poſt royal)	—	1½	—	3
Colman to *Brixen* (a city)	—	1	—	2
Brixen to *Mitlewald*	—	1	—	2½
Mitlewald to *Stertzingen*	—	1	—	2¼
Stertzingen to *Brenner*	—	1	—	2¼
Brenner to *Stainach*	—	1	—	1½
Stainach to *Schenberg*	—	1	—	3
Schenberg to *Inſpruck*	—	1	—	3
Total of poſts and hours	—	13½		29¾

February 11. At *Neumark* we began to pay forty-five creutzers for each horſe (ſixty make a florin) the ſame price was continued all through the Queen of *Hungary*'s dominions. On the other ſide of the city of *Trent*, we took notice, that both the men and women's dreſſes were made in the *Italian* faſhion, but ſince we left *Trent*, the *German* mode has taken place. The male peaſants all make uſe of gallowſes to keep up their breeches, and the females wear a thick quilted worſted cap upon their heads. They are alſo remarkably large and indelicate.

Monday, February 12. We ſlept laſt night at *Bolſang*, (which for a *Tiroleſe* town, is a very good one) and this morning ſet out again on our way for *Inſpruck*. In the road between *Brixen* and *Mitlewald*, we paſſed by an immenſe quantity of pine trees, many of which being felled, had impregnated the very air with their tarry ſmell. During this poſt too, we once more croſſed the river *Adige*, by a large bridge. Between *Stertzingen* and *Brenner*, we paſſed by the higheſt of all the *Alpine* mountains we had yet ſeen in our whole journey; and

* and at the foot of it, we loſt ſight of the river *Adige*, which riſes in ſome other mountains, to the weſtward of our preſent road. 1759.

We reached *Inſpruck* about four o'clock in the morning; where we had the pleaſure to reſt ourſelves in a bed, for the firſt time ſince our leaving *Trent*. February 13.

Inſpruck is the capital city of *Tirol*, and received its name from the river *Inn*, which runs near it. It has a noble caſtle or palace, formerly the place of reſidence of the dukes of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and a ſtately cathedral where they were buried. The houſes, though built in the *German* taſte, are rather handſome, and the ſtreets though narrow, are remarkably well paved. For the defence of this city, the inhabitants can place but little confidence in the ſtrength of its fortifications, which are very trifling; they ſeem rather to depend on the natural face and faſtneſſes of the country, which indeed form a barrier ſo perfectly inacceſſible to any enemy, that even the great *Guſtavus Adolphus*, after having over-run with his victorious arms the other parts of *Germany*, could never make any impreſſion upon this part of the empire. INSPRUCK.

We had ſcarcely alighted out of our chaiſes here, before we were viſited by the governor of two young *German* noblemen, who propoſed to us an exchange of carriages; and the reaſon he gave for it, was, that their own were not ſo well fitted for the *Italian* roads, as were ours: we deſired however to be excuſed from cloſing with this gentleman's propoſal.

At half paſt nine, we left *Inſpruck* for *Augſburgh*, between which two cities are the following poſts.

	Poſt.	Hours.
From *Inſpruck* to *Dorſtenbach* — —	1 of	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Dorſtenbach to *Payervis* — —	1 —	3
Payervis to *Nazareth* — —	1 —	4
Nazareth to *Heidervang* — —	1 —	3
Heidervang to *Fueſſen* — —	1 —	5
Fueſſen to *Saumeſter* — —	1 —	$2\frac{3}{4}$
Saumeſter to *Bruch* — —	1 —	4
Bruch to *Diſſen* — —	1 —	$3\frac{3}{4}$
Diſſen to *Hurlac* — —	1 —	2
Hurlac to *Augſburgh* — —	2 —	4
Total of poſt and hours —	11	34

* So pleas'd at firſt the towring *Alps* we try,
Mount o'er the vales, and ſeem to touch the ſky;
The eternal ſnows appear already paſt,
And the firſt clouds and mountains ſeem the laſt:
But thoſe attain'd, we tremble to ſurvey
The growing labours of the lengthen'd way;
Th' increaſing proſpect tires our wand'ring eyes,
Hills peep o'er hills, and *Alps* on *Alps* ariſe. POPE's Eſſay on Criticiſm.

1759. Between *Inſpruck* and *Dorſtenbach*, we found the road tolerably good, although the adjacent *Alps* were covered with ſnow, and the path in moſt places full of ice. We had fortunately taken care to have our horſes ſhoes well turned up and froſted, which prevented their ſlipping, and made us paſs over this otherwiſe troubleſome road with little interruption. We had no great reaſon to find fault with the roads between *Dorſtenbach* and *Payervis*; in both which places we obſerved, that the women wore the ſame frightful quilted cap, before noticed. Their petticoats were long before, but cut remarkably ſhort behind. Their ſtockings are very thickly quilted, which occaſions the ſmall part of their legs to appear monſtrouſly large and clumſy. Theſe ſtockings reach no farther up than the calf of the leg; ſo that whenever the women have occaſion to ſtoop forward, the naked thigh is almoſt entirely expoſed to the view of any perſon who happens to ſtand behind them. We were obliged to wait at the obſcure village of *Payervis*, full two hours, for a relief of horſes; and arrived at *Nazareth* village at eight o'clock in the evening.

DORSTENBACH.

NAZARETH.

For the little time we ſtayed, we were agreeably entertained with a *Tiroleſe* dance, by the young people of the place. At the opera at *Venice* we had a ſpecimen of this country manner of dancing, whoſe greateſt peculiarity ſeems to conſiſt in the noiſe made upon the floor with their wooden ſhoes. The figure is not much unlike that of our country dances in *England*. We might have had lodgings at the poſt-houſe in *Nazareth*, but choſe to ſet out for *Heidervang*; where we arrived at three o'clock in the morning. We here found, that we were now gotten out of the *Tiroleſe*, and had entered *Swabia*. During this laſt poſt, our paſſport was twice examined, (at *Erenberg* and *Crinberg*) two very narrow paſſages between the mountains. We found it neceſſary to give the corporal or ſerjeant who was on guard, a little money to buy liquor for him and his party: and indeed we were obliged to do the ſame at all places we paſſed through in the night, otherwiſe the opening of the gates would have been attended with great loſs of time, and other diſagreeable circumſtances.

HEIDERVANG.

February 14.

Heidervang is a large village, and can accommodate a traveller with a good bed. The road from this place to *Fueſſen*, is a very good one, where we arrived about eight o'clock in the morning, having firſt croſſed over the river *Lech*, which is here not very broad. *Fueſſen* is a large town; we ſtaid till nine at the poſt-office, and having refreſhed ourſelves, ſet off for *Saumeſter*, where we arrived at three quarters paſt eleven, over a very bad road. This village is an inſignificant one, and affords but indifferent accommodations. The women here, and for ſeveral poſts back, wear a long broad belt round their waiſts, with a ſtrap ſuſpended from it, which reaches almoſt down to the ground, and to this they tye their keys, knives, ſciſſars, *&c.* The quilted, woollen cap, which has hitherto given us ſo much diſtaſte, begins now to be no longer in faſhion; but a double one made of linen

FUESSEN.

SAUMESTER.

linen has taken place, whoſe ſhape is ſo very extraordinary, that it is difficult to ſay which of theſe two head dreſſes is moſt unbecoming. 1759.

We did not get to *Bruch* till four in the afternoon, the greateſt part of the road being very bad, and extending itſelf through woods of pine trees. After waiting there an hour and quarter for freſh horſes, we ſet out for *Diſſen*, where we arrived at nine o'clock in the evening; and as the roads were too bad for travelling any farther in the night, we put up at the poſt-houſe, and were accommodated with ſome excellent veal-ſoup, and tolerable good beds. BRUCH. DISSEN.

The road from *Diſſen* to *Hurlac*, which was our firſt ſtage this morning, is not bad; It lies partly over a plain or down, and partly through woods. We took freſh horſes at *Hurlac*, and about four o'clock in the afternoon, got ſafe to *Augſburgh*. February 15. HURLAC.

Augſburgh is a very large and handſome city, the metropolis of *Swabia*, and ſituated on that branch of the river *Lech*, which is called *Wertach*. It is a biſhopric under the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and was made a free imperial city in the ninth century. It has more than once felt the ſevere effects of war; but, like what is reported of the Phœnix, has as often riſen fairer out of its aſhes. The ſtreets in general are wide and ſpacious, and one in particular is the broadeſt and beſt paved ſtreet I ever ſaw. The houſes are built in the *German* faſhion; their fronts are ſo narrow, that they all appear like the gabel ends of buildings, and have ſuch deep roofs, that two, three, four, and ſometimes five ſtories of dormant windows are contained in them. The fronts of every houſe in the city belonging to people of faſhion, are painted. A great number of artificers are employed here, whoſe curious workmanſhip in plate, ivory cabinets, watches, *&c.* is every where admired. An univerſal liberty of conſcience is allowed and the Proteſtants and Papiſts have an equal ſhare in the government of the city. It is famous alſo for the *Confeſſion of faith* drawn up by *Melanchton* and other *Lutherans* and preſented to the emperor *Charles* V. at a diet of the empire, hence called the *Augſburgh* confeſſion; and for the *Confederate Treaty* againſt the growing power of *France* in 1683. AUGSBURGH.

Our firſt ſtep after our arrival, was to wait upon *Mynheer Libert*, a *Dutch* merchant reſiding here, to whom our letters of credit were addreſſed. We afterwards paid our reſpects to *Mynheer Aman*, another *Dutch* gentleman, to whoſe favours Mr. *Udney* of *Venice* had been ſo obliging as to recommend us. From both theſe gentlemen, we had the ſatisfaction to be aſſured, that we had nothing diſagreeable to apprehend from the *French* forces quartered at *Franckfort*; as the prince de *Soubiſe*, upon being applied to by a friend of his at *Nuremberg* to grant a paſſport for Mr. *Doidge* and his party, had written word, (though his anſwer unfortunately did not arrive till after Mr. *Doidge* had left the place) that it was quite unneceſſary, ſeeing they

1759. they were ſufficiently protected from every inſult by that which had already been given them by the *Imperial* embaſſador at *Venice*. We have often in our preſent journey experienced the good effects of the unparalleled ſucceſs attending the *Britiſh* arms this year in all parts of the world, having upon that account, been treated with the greateſt deference and reſpect in the ſeveral countries through which we had paſſed.

Between *Augſburgh* and *Franckfort* on the *Maine*, are the following poſts.

	Poſt.	Hours.
From *Augſburgh* to *Mittingen* — —	1 1/2	of 3
Mittingen to *Donawert* — —	1 1/2	— 4 3/4
Donawert to *Vendete* — —	1 1/2	— 4 3/4
Vendete to *Heyding* — —	1 1/2	— 5 1/2
Heyding to *Dinkeſpukel* — —	1 1/2	— 3
Dinkeſpukel to *Kreilſheim* — —	1	— 4
Kreilſheim to *Blaufelden* — —	1 1/2	— 5 3/4
Blaufelden to *Mergantheim* —	1	— 5 1/2
Mergantheim to *Bickhaſten* —	1	— 3
Bickhaſten to *Huntein* — —	1	— 2 1/2
Huntein to *Miltenbourg* — —	1	— 4 1/2
Miltenbourg to *Offenbourg* — —	1	— 1 1/2
Offenbourg to *Aſchaffenbourg* —	1	— 2
Aſchaffenbourg to Dettingen —	1	— 2
Dettingen to *Hanau* — —	1	— 1 1/2
Hanau to *Franckfort* on the *Maine* —	1	— 1 1/2
Total of poſts and hours —	19	55

February 16. We left *Augſburgh* a little before eight this morning, and did not get to *Mittingen* till eleven, having had a deep and heavy road to paſs over. The lands hereabouts are only in part cultivated, vaſt foreſts extending themſelves on every ſide, more particularly to the eaſtward. Indeed we have had foreſts in our view, with very little interruption, ever ſince we left the *Alps*.

DONAWERT. We reached *Donawert* * at half paſt three in the afternoon, and ſhould have taken freſh horſes for *Nordlingen*, and from thence to *Dinkeſpukel* (which was our proper road) but our *Swiſs* ſervant contenting himſelf with barely telling the poſt-maſter, that we were going to *Franckfort*, orders were given by him to the poſtilions to drive us to *Vendete*, which blunder was followed by great loſs of time, and the unneceſſary expence of a poſt extraordinary.

* A fortified town, and famous for two victories gained in its neighbourhood by the great duke of *Marlborough*. The firſt, was over the duke of *Bavaria*, who was intrenched at *Schellenberg* with ſixteen thouſand *French* and *Bavarians*. The ſecond was at *Blenheim*, where a *French* army of ſixty thouſand men, under *Marſhal Tallard*, was almoſt entirely deſtroyed.

The

The journey from *Donawert* to *Vendete*, took us up five hours and half. The firſt part of the road was hard and ſtony, the latter was deep, heavy, and ſloughy, ſo that we did not get to our inn till twelve o'clock at night. 1759. VENDETE.

Between ſeven and eight this morning, we ſet off for *Heyding*, and reached it about ten. This is a large garriſon town, and in coming to it, we paſſed over a river, which empties itſelf into the *Danube*. Without ſtopping long at *Heyding*, we drove on for *Dinkeſpukel*, and arrived there in about four hours. This is a conſiderable large town, and has a garriſon conſtantly kept in it. February 17. HEYDING. DINKESPUKEL.

The men of the lower claſs here, and in many other towns of *Germany*, wear a coat made of a coarſe green frieze cloth; while thoſe of the better ſort, make uſe of a ſuperfine one of the ſame colour, and line it with furs. The firſt imitate the *Dutch* in the cut of their clothes, the laſt the *French*. On the ſeveral roads in *Germany* you are ſure to find the image of a crucified Saviour nailed to a croſs, accompanied by the two thieves, cut out in wood as large as life; in the ſame manner as you meet with a *Virgin Mary* in *Italy*, ſtuck up in a caſe with the infant *Jeſus* in her arms.

We left *Dinkeſpukel* at a quarter after three in the afternoon, and got to *Kreilſheim* in four hours. This is a large town, and has two walls round it. We ſlept at the poſt-office, but met with very indifferent accommodations. KREILSHEIM.

At half paſt ſeven this morning, we left *Kreilſheim*, in our way for *Blaufelden*, which we reached at one o'clock in the afternoon. The firſt part of the road was good, the laſt ſcarcely paſſable. The poſt-maſter here was a very entertaining man, and gave us ſome excellent *Vine rotii*. Between ſeven and eight in the evening, we got to *Mergantheim*. Our being ſo long in travelling this poſt, was owing to a great deal of ſnow having fallen laſt night, and to-day: *Mergantheim* is a fortified town, and has always a good garriſon. The country round it is in general cultivated, but in a very ſlovenly manner. February 18. BLAUFELDEN. MERGANTHEIM.

We left our beds at one o'clock this morning, and ſet off for *Bickhaſten*, where we did not arrive till after ſix: the ſpring of my carriage unfortunately broke, by which accident more than an hour was loſt before it could be properly ſecured with cords. As ſoon as we had changed our horſes at *Bickhaſten*, we went on for *Huntein*, and reached it about a quarter after nine o'clock. The road we travelled over, was compoſed of ſtone and ſand, and in many places ſo rugged, as to be very trying to our carriages. During this poſt, we ſaw two or three flocks of ſheep, a ſight altogether new to us ſince we paſſed the *Alps*. In our whole journey hitherto through *Germany*, we have not been able to procure the leaſt morſel of mutton at any of the public Monday, February 19. BICKHASTEN. HUNTEIN.

1759. public houſes, veal being the only butcher's meat we have been ſerved with. Foreſts are ſtill about us, whoſe timber chiefly conſiſts of oak and fir. The ſides of the hills in this country are formed into regular ſtairs, and neatly diſpoſed into vineyards, which is a piece of huſbandry we have not before ſeen, ſince we left *Italy*.

The dreſs of the women's heads hereabouts, differs from that of the *Italians* and *Tiroleſe*. Their caps are of another make, and they keep their mouths muffled in the ſame manner, as the *Armenian* women do in *Aſia*. The laſt adopt this cuſtom through modeſty, but probably the reaſon for the *German* females doing it at this time, is to defend their lips from the ſeverity of the weather. The ſeveral apartments of the houſes in *Germany*, are all made warm by cloſe ſtoves. The fire is never ſeen in the rooms, neither have they any chimnies in them, but this occaſions the air to be diſagreeable and unwholeſome.

MILTENBOURG. We got to *Miltenbourg* from *Huntein* a little after one o'clock in the afternoon; from whence we ſet out for *Offenbourg*, and arrived there at a quarter after two.

OFFENBOURG. *Offenbourg* is ſeated on the ſouth ſide of the river *Maine*, a large, but old faſhioned, ill-built town. The houſes, like thoſe of the other places I have ſeen in *Germany*, have too great a quantity of timber in them; ſo much, that ſhould a fire at any time take place amongſt them, the conſequences muſt be dreadful! The country-houſes belonging to the nobility and gentry in the neighbourhood, are large, and heavily built; they have generally domes, and four towers around them.

At half after three o'clock in the afternoon, we left *Offenbourg*, and continued to travel on the left, or ſouth ſide of the *Maine*, whoſe banks are here neatly cultivated, and formed into the ſame kind of vineyards, before noticed, with flights of ſteps, all faced with ſtone, and therefore in the ſummer ſeaſon, muſt afford a very pleaſing view from the river. On the lands adjacent, many flocks of ſheep are now feeding, and various ſorts of wild-fowl ſwimming in the ſtream.

ASCHAFFENBOURG. At half paſt five we reached *Aſchaffenbourg*, a well-fortified town belonging to the elector of *Mayence* or *Mentz*, who has a ſpacious, but inelegant palace here. The place ſtands partly on a hill, and partly in a bottom, and has a good ſtone bridge of twelve arches built over the *Maine*. Fifteen hundred *French* troops were in garriſon, at the time of our arrival. We fell into converſation at the poſt-office with an obliging, ſenſible *Abbe* of that nation, who adviſed us not to entertain a thought of going farther than *Dettingen* for the night, as he was very confident that the gates of *Hanau* would not be opened for us until the morning. We left *Aſchaffenbourg* at ſix in the evening, and at eight reached the village of *Dettingen*.

This once obſcure village was made famous by the victory gained here in the year 1743, by King *George* the ſecond over the *French* army commanded by Marſhal *Noailles*. The fellow, at whoſe wretched cottage we lay, ſeemed very fond of relating the ſeveral particulars of this engagement, and was eſpecially ſolicitous to ſhew us a hole in one of the beams of his houſe, which, he ſaid, was made by a ball from the *Britiſh* artillery. He dwelt particularly, and with an apparent pleaſure, on the ſpirited attack of the *Engliſh*, and the confuſion of the *French*, when they made their precipitate retreat over the *Maine*. My fellow-traveller Mr. *Tottingham*, and I, were obliged to put up with one bed in this miſerable hovel; we lay with our clothes on, and our ſervants ſlept in the ſame room on ſtraw. Theſe were the beſt accommodations we could procure from our *Dettingen* hoſt; and yet, the money we paid the next morning (to the value of three ſhillings) did not ſatisfy, the woman of the houſe telling us, that as we were *Engliſhmen*, we ought to have depoſited a ſequin at leaſt (near ten ſhillings); and ſhe inſiſted that her bed was the beſt in the whole village, and that a great man, a *German Baron*, having lately ſlept in it, pronounced it to be a very good one. 1759.

At ſix o'clock this morning, we left the village of *Dettingen*, and at half paſt ſeven reached *Hanau*, which is a well-fortified city, having a double wall, and two wet ditches. The *French* are at preſent in poſſeſſion of it, and maintain a large garriſon here. The ſtreets are broad and well-paved, and the houſes large and handſome. The country around is well cultivated, and the town is ſupplied with water from the *Maine* by artificial canals. On our entring the inner gate, we were conducted by the ſerjeant ſtationed there, to the *French* captain who commanded the main-guard. He looked at our paſsports, and civilly diſmiſſed us. February 20.

The women in general here wear a quilted linnen cap, which coming a long way down the ſides of the face, even below the chin, is then turned back, and pinned over the ſhoulders. They make uſe of a long cloak alſo, made of quilted linnen. The women of better faſhion appeared to dreſs in the *Engliſh* and *French* manner.

At half paſt ten o'clock, we arrived at *Franckfort*; a free, imperial city, very large and populous; and the place where the Emperors of *Germany* were formerly always elected. It is well-fortified with a double ditch, baſtions, redoubts, and ravelins. The ſtreets are remarkably wide, and the houſes handſomely built. By means of the navigable river which runs through it, this city has great conveniency for carrying on an extenſive trade with the other parts of *Germany*, and the two fairs held here annually are very conſiderable. The ſuburbs are called *Saxenhauſen*, and are joined to the city by a ſtone-bridge, built over the *Maine*. Our firſt intention was to have proceeded immediately on, without making any ſtay at *Franckfort*; but Mr. *Hope*, who keeps a houſe of public entertainment there, perſuaded FRANCKFORT.

1759. ſuaded us to put off our going till the next day, becauſe it would take up ſome time to provide a proper boat, and to lay in ſuch proviſions as would be neceſſary in our paſſage down the *Rhine*. We begged alſo the favour of Mr. *Hope* to make an agreement for a boat, as the ſum demanded of us, 130 florins, appeared to be very extravagant, for carrying us only as far as *Cologne*. Mr. *Hope* informed us, that although 15 ducats had been the cuſtomary price, yet conſidering the great change which had lately happened in the country by means of the *French* army, and the extraordinary expence which the boatmen were now at for horſes to draw their boats back, he did not think we ſhould be much impoſed upon, if we could ſettle it at 18 or 19 ducats. We had no objection to his fixing the matter on this footing, but deſired him, that he would take particular care in making the agreement, that the boatmen ſhould not be allowed to encumber the boat with any kind of merchandiſe or goods. This, upon Mr. *Hope*'s propoſing it to them, they readily agreed to, and the terms were committed to writing.

February 21. A little after eight o'clock in the morning, we embarked, and to our great ſurprize found the beſt of the three cabbins or rooms as they are called, filled with merchants goods. The boatman, without paying any regard to our remonſtrances for the great injuſtice he had done us, very unconcernedly put off from the ſhore, and upon our giving him orders to land us again, he refuſed to do it, and kept ſailing down the river. We hailed ſome *French* officers, who were along-ſide of us in another boat, telling them how we had been treated, and deſiring their advice and aſſiſtance in the affair; who replied, that they themſelves were under much the ſame circumſtances, but that at *Mentz*, or *Cologne*, juſtice would certainly be done us.

MAYENCE or MENTZ. At half paſt three in the afternoon, we left the river *Maine*, and entered the *Rhine*, and by four, got to the city of *Mentz*, an archbiſhop's ſee, and the firſt of the electoral college. Its fortifications towards the river are inconſiderable, but we were told, that towards the land they are remarkably ſtrong. It is a very large populous place, built much in the ſame taſte as *Franckfort* and other *German* cities, and would have been eſteemed handſome in *England*, an hundred and fifty years ago. The ſtreets are narrow but well paved, and are all ſupplied with water from the river by means of artificial canals, which prevent any offenſive ſmells ariſing from the common ſewers.—A bridge of boats reaches from this city to the oppoſite ſhore of the *Rhine*.

In the way to our inn, from the river's ſide, we ſtept into two of the principal churches; they ſtand cloſe to each other, are both built in the Gothic taſte, and contain ſome altar-pieces and tombs which are well worth ſeeing. In the cathedral, we were ſhewn the monuments of many of the archbiſhops of *Mentz*, who were alſo electors of the empire. Over their

their tombs are ſeveral of their ſtatues cut out in marble, with the coats of arms belonging to their reſpective families. In this cathedral the bones of St. *Alexander* *, and two of his fellow-ſufferers in martyrdom, lie depoſited in three ſeveral caſkets, which are always ſhewn to the ſtrangers who viſit it. They are kept in the middle of a ſquare open *Mauſoleum*, within the choir, which is ornamented with handſome marble pillars at its four angles, and a beautiful carved foliage is carried from the architrave of one pillar to that of another. Here is alſo a well-toned, handſome organ, with a canopy of gold and ſilver tiſſue, in which the miracle of our Saviour's raiſing *Lazarus* from the dead, is curiouſly worked. The pulpit too is elegantly finiſhed, being ſet off with pillars and pilaſters made of alabaſter, on whoſe baſes are ſome good *Baſſo* and *Alto Relievos*. We did not ſee either the archbiſhop's palace, or the arſenal, becauſe the perſon whoſe buſineſs was to ſhew them, could not be found. 1759.

Mentz ſtands on the left hand, as you go down the *Rhine*, near the junction of that river with the *Maine*. Here our boatman diſembarked the merchandiſe which had ſo juſtly given us offence. He would have left the city early in the morning, as ſoon at leaſt as the gates had been opened, but was prevented by a very thick fog, which did not diſperſe till one o'clock in the afternoon, when we got on board again, but got no farther than *Bingen* that evening, our watermen refuſing to proceed but by day-light. *Bingen* is a conſiderable town, ſituate at the mouth of the river *Nabe*, which here empties itſelf into the *Rhine*. It is diſtant about 16 *Engliſh* miles from *Mentz*. February 22.

We left *Bingen* this morning, and had a thick, ſmall rain for the whole day. I mention this, becauſe it is the firſt rain we have met with, ſince our leaving the *Lazaretto* at *Leghorn*. We were almoſt continually paſſing by towns and villages on both ſides of the river. Vineyards alſo are all around us on the hills, and bear the appearance of hanging gardens even at this ſeaſon of the year; they form a moſt romantic and delightful proſpect. This day we ſailed by the famous iſland of rats, where *Hatto*, the wicked archbiſhop of *Mentz*, is ſaid to have been devoured alive by thoſe animals. February 23.

At ſix o'clock in the evening, we reached a ſmall town, called *Loenſtein*, from the river *Loen* which here falls into the *Rhine*, and continued there for the night.

* I apprehend that the St. *Alexander* here mentioned, was *Alexander the firſt*, *Pope of Rome*; who ordered holy water in its benediction to be mingled with ſalt, and ſprinkled in private houſes, "*Ad dæmona morboſque fugandos*," to drive away devils and diſeaſes; and water to be mingled with the wine, as a token of Chriſt's union with his church.—He was martyred in *Adrian*'s time. See Abridgment of Moreri's Dictionary, publiſhed in 1703.

1759. February 24. COBLENTZ. At ſeven this morning we put off our boats from *Loenſtein*, the weather very foggy, and at half after two got to *Coblentz*. This city is very large and populous, and the metropolis of the electorate and archbiſhopric of *Treves*. It is pleaſantly ſituated on a point of land, which is formed by the meeting of the *Moſelle* and *Rhine*. Over the firſt of theſe rivers, is a large ſtone bridge of twelve arches, built for the convenience of the inhabitants of *Coblentz*, and the adjacent places. A ferry machine is conſtantly going from the city to the other ſide of the *Rhine*, where is a little town, and a very ſtrong caſtle built on an eminence, ſtiled "The rock of honour;" in the *German* language, *Ehrenbrieſtein*. The ferry-machine is built on two boats in the form of a large ſquare gallery, encompaſſed with balluſtrades, and carries a tall flag-ſtaff, on which are diſplayed the arms of the electorate of *Treves*. This machine is put in motion, by the ferryman's pulling a rope, which is fixed to a ſtandard on each ſide of the river. The caſtle appears to be almoſt inacceſſible to an enemy, and entirely commands the city of *Coblentz*. The archbiſhop's palace ſtands at the foot of the ſame rock on which the caſtle is built, and the arſenal at a little diſtance from the palace.

ANDERNACH. At three quarters after eleven at night, we got to *Andernach*; which is a fortified town, ſituate on the weſtern ſide of the *Rhine*, and at the entrance of a fine open country, the mountains which hitherto had reached quite down to the river, ending juſt before we arrived at this place. Here our boatman paid a toll, as indeed he had done before at many other places in our paſſage down the river.

February 25. BON. At eight o'clock this morning we got to *Bon*, after having lain by, and ſlept all night in our boat. The city of *Bon* is the uſual reſidence of the Elector of *Cologne*, whoſe caſtle and gardens are very curious. The fortifications of the city at this time are very conſiderable, and in the year 1703 this place coſt the Duke of *Marlborough* twenty days open trenches before he took it.

COLOGNE. At half paſt one o'clock, we arrived at *Cologne*, a rich and populous city, and ſaid to be the largeſt in *Germany*. It is built in the form of a creſcent, and by ſome called the *Holy City* from the great number of churches in it, which amount to ſome hundreds; among them you are ſhewn the reputed tombs of the three wiſe men, who viſited our Saviour by the guidance of a ſtar, commonly called the three Kings of *Cologne*. It is well fortified towards the land, and has a ſtrong wall next the *Rhine*. Five regiments of *French* ſoldiers now make up the garriſon. Immediately on our landing, we repaired to the *Hotel d'Holland*, and after refreſhing ourſelves, intended to have proceeded directly on our journey by land; but on ſending our ſervants to the poſt-houſe for horſes, we had the mortification to find, that there was no poſſibility of getting any till the next morning, every one belonging to the poſt-

poſt-maſter having been hired yeſterday to carry people to *Bon*, where an *Italian* opera, and other diverſions, are to be exhibited this night. 1759.

Horſes were ſent to us this morning earlier than we expected, and we ſet off from *Cologne* at half after nine o'clock, with three to each carriage, the number which is commonly made uſe of on the *German* roads. The poſts from *Cologne* to *Cleves* and *Nimeguen*, are as follow, Monday, February 26.

	Poſts.	Hours.
From *Cologne* to *Dormain*	— 1	— 2¾
Dormain to *Nuys*	— 1	— 2
Nuys to *Hochſtrat*	— 2	— 9
Hochſtrat to *Santen*	— 2	— 6½
Santen to *Cleves*	— 2	— 4
Cleves to *Nimeguen*	— 2	— 3½
Total of poſts and hours	— 10	27¼

Nuys, *Hochſtrat*, *Santen*, and *Cleves*, are *Pruſſian* poſts, and not regulated by the *German* poſt-office. We pay by the ſtone, mile or hour, either of which is equal to about an *Engliſh* league.

We drove over a fine champain country, leaving the *Rhine* at a little diſtance on our right hand, and between eleven and twelve o'clock, got to *Dormain*; we ſtaid only a quarter of an hour to change horſes, and then ſet off for *Nuys*, where we arrived a little before two in the afternoon. *Nuys* is a conſiderable town, ſubject to the King of *Pruſſia*, but the *French* have made themſelves maſters thereof, and of the ſeveral other places belonging to that monarch in the low-countries. They have a regiment of cavalry quartered here at preſent, who, while we ſtaid to refreſh ourſelves, very agreeably entertained us with ſeveral tunes on their *French* horns. We left *Nuys* between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, and travelling over a moſt charming, and well-cultivated country, by eleven at night, we reached the ſmall village of *Hochſtrat*; and during the time that freſh horſes were getting ready for us, we threw ourſelves on ſome chairs, and took a little ſleep. Dormain. Nuys. Hochstrat.

Here we muſt bid adieu to the gay livery-dreſs of our poſtilions; and are now to be drove by plowmen both in dreſs and behaviour. In *Italy* the poſtilions wear a coat of blue cloth turned up with red, a laced hat, and carry a ſmall *French*-horn acroſs their ſhoulders, decked with taſſels. In the ſouthernmoſt parts of *Germany*, the poſtilion's livery is always of a red cloth. As you advance farther northward, it changes to a yellow faced with black, and the *French*-horn at every hundred miles diſtance, gradually increaſes in its ſize. Our preſent ſhabby poſtilions have the vanity alſo to carry a horn, and expect that the ſame reſpect ſhall be paid by all travellers to its ſound,

as

1759. as has been done to the horns of their well-dreſſed brethren. The fellow who drove us to *Hochſtrat*, did not ride one of the horſes, but ſeated himſelf on a low box, and made uſe of a long whip.

February 27. RHINEBERG. At half paſt two this morning, we left *Hochſtrat*, and at five got to the gates of *Rhineberg*. The *French* are alſo in poſſeſſion of this place, and have a garriſon quartered in it. The gates however were opened to us without a queſtion being aſked relative to our paſſports. This town is ſituated on the weſtern ſide of the *Rhine*, and at about a mile and half diſtance from it. The country round this place is very pleaſant, and well cultivated. Since we entered the *Pruſſian* territories, we have frequently met with direction poſts on the road, which though of great aſſiſtance to a ſtranger, are not to be ſeen in countries more to the ſouthward.

SANTEN. At twenty minutes after eight o'clock, we got to a ſmall eminence, and diſcovered the town of *Santen* lying at the foot of it. We had likewiſe in our view a moſt beautiful vale, very broad and extenſive, with the river *Rhine* running through the midſt of it. From this eminence, we could plainly diſcover ſeveral ſpires belonging to the churches in *Cleves*. We reached *Santen* at nine o'clock in the morning. This town alſo belongs to the King of *Pruſſia*, but is at preſent under the ſubjection of the *French*, who have raiſed enormous contributions here, to the impoveriſhment of the poor inhabitants.

CLEVES. We left *Santen* at half paſt nine o'clock, and at two in the afternoon arrived at the poſt-office of *Cleves*, which ſtands juſt without the gates of the city. From hence we were obliged to ſend a ſervant with our paſſports to the officer commanding the *French* garriſon, with a requeſt that he would give an order to the poſt-maſter to ſupply us with ſix horſes. The officer complied with our deſires, but not before he had put ſeveral queſtions to the ſervant relating to our journey and characters, and expreſſed great ſurprize at our thus venturing to paſs through the armies of the *Grand Monarch*.

Cleves is a conſiderable city, ſeated on an eminence, about four miles from the *Rhine*. We travelled towards it over a very ſandy road, of a long but gradual aſcent, having both on the right and left hand of us, a double row of fine elm-trees, which had a pretty effect, and greatly add to the agreeable ſituation of the place, and the beauties of its environs. We left *Cleves* at three o'clock in the afternoon, and at ſix arrived at *Nimeguen*.

NIMEGUEN. This city is large, and ſtrongly fortified, and the ſtreets are well paved and regular. It is under the government of the *States General*. Our ſtay at *Nimeguen* was ſo ſhort, that I will not pretend to give a particular deſcription

ſcription of it. I was exceedingly ſtruck however with the neatneſs and cleanlineſs of the houſes, for which, here, and indeed throughout the whole of the United Provinces, the *Dutch* are ſo juſtly celebrated *. 1759.

Between ten and eleven o'clock this morning, we embarked in a boat we hired here to carry us to *Rotterdam*, for which we agreed to pay forty guilders; and at half after five in the afternoon, we got to a conſiderable town ſeated, as *Nimeguen* is, on the left-hand ſide of the river *Waal*, called *Bommel*. The wind not being fair for us, our ſkipper ſteered the boat to the right-hand ſide of the river, to lie by for the night: we therefore went aſhore, and repaired to a ſmall neat public-houſe, where we met with the beſt accommodations. February 28. BOMMEL.

We reimbarked this morning at ſeven o'clock, and at ten paſſed by *Loveſtein* caſtle. In half an hour more we reached *Gorcum*, a conſiderable town, ſeated on the right-hand ſide of the river. The whole country about us is flat and low, but at the ſame time looks extremely rich. An infinite number of willows are regularly planted all along the banks of the river, which in the ſummer ſeaſon muſt form one of the moſt delightful proſpects in the world. At two o'clock in the afternoon, we got abreaſt of *Dort*, a large town, and very conſiderable port, famous for the Proteſtant ſynod held here in 1618. At half paſt ſix we arrived at *Rotterdam*, where we had the ſatisfaction to receive letters from our families and friends in *England*, agreeable to inſtructions we had given them from *Leghorn*. March 1. GORCUM. DORT.

This is the richeſt town of the ſeven united provinces, except *Amſterdam*, with clean, regular ſtreets, and canals ſo cut that the largeſt ſhips can come up to the very doors of the merchants. We viſited their anatomical ſchool, and were ſhewn the moſt curious preparations laid up there, but did not find them comparable to ſome we had before ſeen in *England*. This city being the birth-place of *Eraſmus*, we had the curioſity to go and ſee his ſtatue, which is well executed in bronze. We viſited alſo the ex- ROTTERDAM. March 2.

* "The extreme moiſture of the air I take to be the occaſion of the great neatneſs of their houſes, and cleanlineſs of their towns. For without the help of thoſe cuſtoms their country would not be habitable by ſuch crowds of people, but the air would corrupt upon every hot ſeaſon, and expoſe the inhabitants to general and infectious diſeaſes, which they hardly eſcape three ſummers together, eſpecially about *Leyden*, where the waters are not ſo eaſily renewed; and for this reaſon, I ſuppoſe it is, that *Leyden* is found to be the neateſt and cleaneſt kept, of all their towns.

The ſame moiſture of air makes all metals apt to ruſt, and wood to mould; which forces them, by continual pains of rubbing and ſcouring, to ſeek a prevention, or cure: this makes the brightneſs and cleanneſs that ſeems affected in their houſes, and is called natural to them, by people who think no further. So the deepneſs of their ſoil, and wetneſs of ſeaſons, which will render it unpaſſable, forces them, not only to exactneſs in paving their ſtreets, but to the expence of ſo long cauſeways between many of their towns, and in their high-ways: as indeed, moſt national cuſtoms are the effect of ſome unſeen, or unobſerved natural cauſes or neceſſities."

Sir *W. Temple*'s Obſervations on the United Provinces, vol. 1.

1759. change for merchants, and the great church, whoſe foundation we were told gave way ſo much, ſoon after the edifice was finiſhed, that it appeared to be in great danger of falling; by a proper and curious application however of the mechanical powers, the defect was perfectly remedied, and this building now ſtands as upright, as any other of the churches in the city.

At *Rotterdam* we intended to have diſpoſed of our *Italian* chaiſes, which had coaſt us near forty pounds each, but not being able to get more than about eight ſequins for them, we reſolved to have them conveyed to *England*, in expectation that it would anſwer better to ſell them there. And Mr. *Roſe* (a *Britiſh* merchant who reſided here) was ſo obliging as to agree with the maſter of a ſhip to land mine at *Portſmouth*, for three pounds ten ſhillings. We had been told at *Leghorn*, that we ſhould be able to ſell our carriages at *Rotterdam* for two-thirds at leaſt of what they coſt us; but we experienced quite the contrary, and the reaſon is, becauſe our *Engliſh* gentlemen, who uſed to be travelling abroad, are by the preſent war confined at home; conſequently theſe foreign carriages are now of little uſe or value.

March 3. HELVOETSLUYS. At nine o'clock in the evening, we embarked in a ketch for *Helvoetſluys*, and by three quarters after nine in the morning, arrived there, diſembarked, and put up at a public houſe kept by Mr. *Fell* an *Engliſhman*. *Helvoetſluys* is a clean, little ſea-port town, where the packet-boats, which paſs between *England* and *Holland*, are always ſtationed. At the upper end of the town, is a large baſon, in which lie three or four *Dutch* ſhips of war, in ordinary.

March 4. At eight this morning, we went on board the packet-boat, and made ſail for *England*; but at five in the afternoon, the wind coming from the weſt, we were obliged to put back, and in a few hours got again to *Helvoetſluys*.

Monday, March 5. This morning at eleven o'clock, we once more put to ſea, and in a few hours diſcovered a ſail, bearing down towards us, whom we ſuſpected to be an enemy. The maſter of a *Dutch* veſſel aſſured us, that the ſhip in ſight was a *French* privateer, upon which we altered our courſe, and pretended as if we were putting back to *Helvoetſluys*; but at ſix in the evening, when it became dark, the maſter put the packet about, and ſtood for the northward, by which means we had the good luck to eſcape the enemy, and at half paſt eleven the next morning, had the unſpeakable joy of entering the long wiſhed-for port of *Harwich*. HARWICH.

Thus after an irkſome abſence of more than five years, and a journey attended with ſuch a ſeries of diſappointment, difficulty, and illneſs, I once more ſafely landed on my native ſhore; and in thirty-ſix hours afterwards, was made

completely happy in the ſight and embraces of my family and friends at *Titchfield* in *Hampſhire*. On ſuch an occaſion, could I help adopting the ſentiment and expreſſions of the Pſalmiſt? " Praiſe the Lord, O my " ſoul, and forget not all his benefits. I will publiſh with the voice of " thankſgiving, and tell of all his wonderful works. For he hath defended " me from the peſtilence that walketh in darkneſs, and from the de- " ſtruction that waſteth at noon-day. He has given his angels charge over " me, and at length brought me to the deſired habitation." 1759. TITCH-FIELD.

APPENDIX.

N°. I.

MEDICAL and CHIRURGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

TO avoid interruptions in the narrative, I omitted to enlarge on the ſeveral diſeaſes with which the ſquadron was afflicted. I ſhall now treat of that ſubject more diſtinctly, as ſomething of this kind will certainly be expected from a perſon of my profeſſion; and I flatter myſelf, that, although I mean to be conciſe, yet, what I have to offer will be of ſome ſervice to the general intereſts of the navy.

On this occaſion I beg leave to carry the reader as far back as the 9th of *March* 1754, when Mr. *Watſon* left *Plymouth* with all his ſhips companies in perfect health. In the months of *May* and *June* following, ſeveral diſorders took place in the ſquadron, and in ſpite of the united efforts of all our officers, who ordered the decks to be conſtantly ſwept and ſcraped, and the ventilators to be daily uſed, by the 9th of *July*, when we arrived at *Madagaſcar*, they had increaſed to ſo great a degree, that the *Kent* alone had buried twelve men, beſides a large number who were reduced to ſuch an extremity, that they muſt have died, had we continued only a few days more at ſea.

The diſorders under which the *Kent*'s people laboured at this time, were principally *Putrid Fevers*, and *Putrid Fluxes*; which though common to hot climates, were, I believe, conſiderably increaſed by the great quantities of ſtock-fiſh and other proviſions ſtowed in the fiſh-room and between the guns of the lower deck: the fiſh becoming putrid by the heat of the weather, and by their long continuance there, emitted ſuch a noxious ſmell, as made the air, in every part of the ſhip below, unfit for reſpiration. Beſides, by this time the ſea water had unavoidably made its way through the chinks of the ports and hawſe-holes, and by its ſtinking effluvia had greatly added to the contagion.

It would be almoſt needleſs to deſcribe the particular manner in which I treated thoſe patients, while they lay on board, as there was nothing uncommon in my practiſe; it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that I made it my principal care, to keep them as clean in their perſons and births as poſſible; to purify the air around them as much as lay in my power; and not only antiſeptic medicines were adminiſtered, but wines, punch, and culinary aſſiſtances were daily ſent them from the admiral's, captain's, and lieutenants ſtores. Indeed, it is to theſe acts of humanity in the officers, and to the unwearied diligence of the ſurgeon's mates in ſeeing theſe ſupplies properly applied, that the preſervation of many of their lives muſt be attributed. I have obſerved in the voyage, that at our landing on the iſland of *Madagaſcar*, where we met with a variety of freſh proviſions and vegetables, eſpecially thoſe of the acid kind, our ſick people were reſtored to their health and ſtrength in a very ſhort time; and only four of thoſe who were put on ſhore from on board the *Kent*, died. The ſquadron left that iſland on the ſeventh of *Auguſt*, and arrived at *Fort St. David* on the 10th of *September* following, in a condition as to health, that was by no means to be called bad; but we thought it prudent, (notwithſtanding we were ſo ſoon to ſail for *Bombay*) to ſend on ſhore to the hoſpital 78 of the moſt ſickly of our ſhips crews, moſt of whom were labouring either under ſcorbutic or bilious complaints; for bilious diſorders begun to make their appearance among us ſoon after our getting to *India*. The ſcurvy however was now become the moſt predominant diſtemper, which was undoubtedly owing to our ſea paſſage from *Madagaſcar* to *Fort St. David*.

Between the 14th of *November* 1754 and the 14th of *February* in the following year, 104 patients were ſent from two ſhips to the hoſpital at *Bombay*, who chiefly laboured under ſcurvies and fluxes. There were ſome alſo very ill in bilious fevers; the fluxes were either of the ſcorbutic or bilious ſort. At this period likewiſe, the ſcurvy appears to have been the moſt prevailing diſtemper, which perhaps was in a great meaſure owing to its being the winter ſeaſon.

On the *Coromandel* coaſt, between the 24th of *January* 1755, and the 24th of *October* following, we received at the hoſpitals, from the *Kent*, *Cumberland*, *Tyger*, *Saliſbury*, *Bridgewater*, and *King's-fiſher*, 1214 * patients, of whom 168 only were in ſcurvies; the much greater part of the reſt were down in bilious fevers, bilious fluxes, or ſome other diſorder that diſcovered an overflowing of the bile in the conſtitution. As this was the ſummer

* The reader is not to ſuppoſe by 1214 patients, that ſo many diſtinct perſons were ſent ſick from the ſhips; for the compliment of the whole ſquadron at any one time did not exceed 1800; he is to be appriſed, that the ſame man may have been ſent to the hoſpital, and after being cured, diſcharged; then ſent again on account of a relapſe, or his being ſeized with another diſorder, within the time mentioned in this account.—This obſervation is to be applied on every future occaſion.

ſeaſon, it will ſufficiently account for the number of my ſcorbutic patients being very trifling, in compariſon of thoſe who were afflicted with bilious complaints.

At *Bombay*, between the 10th of *November* 1755, and the 27th of *April* 1756, we received into the hoſpital from the whole ſquadron 1334 patients, of whom 514 were in ſcurvies, and ſcorbutic fluxes. The reſt were diſeaſed with various hepatic complaints, common diſorders, or caſes of ſurgery. Here it is worthy of remark, that this was the winter ſeaſon, when the ſcurvy again became the predominant diſtemper among us.

On the *Coromandel* coaſt, between *April* 1756, and the 12th of *October* following, we received into the hoſpital from all the ſhips 847 patients, of whom 132 were in ſcurvies, 108 in bilious fevers, 163 in bilious fluxes, and 223 in bilious obſtructions. The remaining 221 were down in various diſorders, but even in moſt of theſe, the bile was predominant. A very few chirurgical and venereal complaints are to be excepted.—This again was the ſummer ſeaſon, and we ſee plainly, that bilious diſorders were by much the moſt prevalent during this period.

On board the *Protector* an occaſional hoſpital ſhip in *Bengal* river, and at the hoſpital at *Calcutta*, between the 25th of *December* 1756, and the 8th of *February* 1757, we received 455 patients from the king's ſhips, of whom 72 were in the worſt ſtage of the ſcurvy, 27 in convulſions of the bowels from a ſcorbutic caſe, co-operating probably with the muddy water of the river; 12 in putrid fevers, and the remaining 104 were ill of various diſorders, all of which, except a few caſes of ſurgery, partook of the ſcurvy. Out of the whole number received into the hoſpital here, I find, that at the cloſe of the firſt quarterly account, we buried 27 men: a particular mention of the number of the dead, may be proper to exhibit a comparative view of the mortality attending the diſeaſes of the ſquadron in *Bengal*, and our other ſettlements in *India*. Here my former obſervation reſpecting the difference of ſeaſons, once more holds good, for theſe being the winter months, the ſcorbutic diſorders greatly increaſed, while thoſe of the bilious kind decreaſed in the ſame proportion. I muſt add, that the ſquadron juſt before had a long and fatiguing paſſage of ſeven weeks from the *Coromandel* coaſt to the river of *Bengal*; which doubtleſs was an additional reaſon why the ſcurvy ſo greatly prevailed at this time.

At *Calcutta*, between the 8th of *February* 1757 and the 7th of *Auguſt* following, we received into the hoſpital 1140 patients, of whom 54 were ill in ſcurvies, 302 in bilious fevers, 109 in intermittents, 16 in meaſles, 32 in bilious and bloody fluxes, 56 in bilious cholics, 21 in venereal complaints; and 155 were chirurgical caſes. Out of the whole number we buried 52 men. It is neceſſary here to obſerve, that much the greater part of this time, the weather was exceedingly hot and dry; conſequently,

during

during that ſeaſon, bilious diſeaſes were moſt predominant: afterwards, when the rains had ſet in, the intermittents began to make their appearance.

At the ſame place, between the 7th of *Auguſt* 1757, and the 7th of *November* following, (during the greater part of which period, the weather being ſultry and rainy), we received into the hoſpital 717 freſh patients, beſides 430 who were there before; ſo that in the whole we had in this interval 1147 on ſhore. Among the 717 which were taken in laſt, there were 20 only in ſcurvies, 147 in putrid fevers, 304 in intermitting fevers, 19 in putrid bloody fluxes, 155 in putrid fluxes; 10 in bilious obſtructions, 6 in inflammations of the bowels; 6 in conſumptions, and 19 caſes of ſurgery. The 41 unaccounted for, were made up of men labouring under various diſorders, but ſuch as in general diſcovered a putreſcent diſpoſition in the conſtitution. Out of the whole number that were in the hoſpital at this time, we buried 101, which added to thoſe we had before loſt in the *Protector*, and in the hoſpital, ſince our arrival in the river, (which took in no more than 10 months and 13 days) make our whole loſs to amount to 180. And this is excluſive of ſuch as had been ſlain in battle, or who had died on board their reſpective ſhips before a proviſion had been made for their reception in the *Protector*, or on ſhore. So that (as will ſoon be ſhewn) the number of men buried in *Bengal*, amounted to more than half of all who died in the ſeveral hoſpitals in *India*, during the whole time of Admiral *Watſon*'s command, and for ſome ſhort time after his death, including a period of three years, one month, and 14 days.

Thus far it is evident, that in the *winter ſeaſon*, and during *a long continuance at ſea*, the *ſcurvy* is the diſeaſe to which ſailors are moſt ſubject in hot climates; that in the *ſummer months*, when the weather is *hot* and *dry*, *bilious fevers* and *fluxes* are the prevailing diſtempers; and that *putrid fluxes* and *intermittents* are particularly incidental to *European* ſailors in the *ſultry* and *rainy* ſeaſons at *Bengal*.

I ſhall now produce as exact an account as our hoſpital books will admit, of every patient received at different times into the ſeveral hoſpitals in *India*, from the 13th of *September* 1754, to the 7th of *November* 1757, which includes the whole of the time they were under my care; and to each particular diſeaſe, I ſhall put the number of thoſe who died in it. The whole number received into the hoſpitals, amounted to 6062. Among theſe, there were ill in

Fluxes under different names 1819, of whom died 97.
Scurvies 1103, died 11.
Fevers of different ſorts 900, died 42.
Intermittents 547, died 17.
Bilious obſtructions 536, died 10.
Rheumatiſms 103, died 2.

Inflammations

Inflammations of the bowels 83, died 5.
Conſumptions 47, died 3.
Bilious colics 62. Meaſles 16. Inflammation of the eyes 24. Coughs 24. Spittings of blood 7. Pleuriſies 28. Died 11.
Aſthmas 14, died 1.
Quinſies 8. Convulſive fits 5. Suppreſſions of urine 3. Cutaneous eruptions 6. Palſey 1. Hæmorrhoides 4. Itch 4. Worms 7. Dropſy 2. Gravel 33. Died 1.
Weakneſſes from various preceding diſeaſes 57, died 1.
Venereal caſes 58, died 2.

The following chirurgical caſes muſt be added.

Ruptures 18, died 1.
Ulcers 166, died 2.
Contuſions and other common accidents 147, died 5.
Diſlocated and fractured bones 28, died 1.
Gun-ſhot wounds 131, died 17.
Stumps after limbs amputated 15, died 9.
Blown up by gun-powder 13, died 3. Scalds 4.

By the foregoing account, the number of dead amounts to 241; but beſides theſe, there were alſo 87 perſons who died chiefly in fluxes, fevers, intermitting, or bilious diſorders: but as at the time of their deaths they ſtand on the hoſpital books under the article of "ſundry perſons remaining for a conſiderable while in the hoſpital in various diſeaſes;" ſo at this time it is not practicable to exactly aſcertain what were their reſpective complaints, or to fix a name to thoſe diſorders that carried them off.

I once intended to have written very particularly of the ſeveral diſeaſes to which *Europeans* are ſubject in the *Eaſt Indies*; but having again and again read over, and always with freſh delight, that excellent eſſay on this ſubject publiſhed by my ingenious and learned friend Dr. *Lind*, I am obliged to confeſs, that I find myſelf altogether at a loſs for new matter. Inſtead therefore of offering any thing of my own on this head, I think it will anſwer a better purpoſe to make a few abſtracts from the doctor's very valuable book, and for more particular information refer to the work itſelf.

* "Next to *Bencoolen*, of all the *Engliſh* factories, the climate of *Bengal* proves the moſt fatal to *Europeans*. The rainy ſeaſon commences at *Bengal* in *June*, and continues till *October*; the remainder of the year is healthy and pleaſant.

* Eſſay, p. 78.

" During the rains, this rich and fertile country is quite covered by the *Ganges*, and converted as it were into a large pool of water. In the month of *October*, when the ſtagnated water begins to be exhaled by the heat of the ſun, the air is then greatly polluted by the vapours from the ſlime and mud left by the *Ganges*, and by the corruption of dead fiſh and other animals. Diſeaſes then rage, attacking chiefly ſuch as are lately arrived. Here, as in all other places, ſickneſs is more frequent and fatal in ſome years than others. The diſtempers are fevers, of the remitting or intermitting kind: for though ſometimes they may continue ſeveral days, without any perceptible remiſſion, yet they have in general a great tendency to it, and are commonly accompanied with violent fits of rigors and ſhiverings, and with diſcharges of bile upwards and downwards. If the ſeaſon be very ſickly, ſome are ſeized with a malignant fever, of which they ſoon die. The body is covered with blotches of a livid colour, and the corpſe in a few hours turns quite black and corrupted. At this time fluxes prevail, which may be called bilious * or putrid, the better to diſtinguiſh them from others which are accompanied with an inflammation of the bowels. In all diſeaſes at *Bengal*, the lancet is cautiouſly to be uſed.

" But to quit *Bengal*, let us proceed to obſerve—That though the air in the *Engliſh* preſidentſhip of *Bombay* is not ſo pure as at *Madraſs*, yet it is much more wholeſome than at *Bengal*; the coaſt of *Malabar* being pretty healthy, though inferior in this reſpect to the coaſt of *Coromandel*.

" The iſland of *Bombay* has of late been rendered much more healthy than it was formerly, by a wall which is now built to prevent the incroachment of the ſea, where is formed a ſalt marſh, and by an order that none of the natives ſhould manure their cocoa-nut trees with putrid fiſh.

" At *Surat* and *Tellicherry*, on the ſame coaſt, *Europeans* generally enjoy a good ſtate of health.

" *Madraſs* is eſteemed the moſt healthy government belonging to the *Engliſh*: and indeed the air of the whole coaſt of *Coromandel* is in general pure and temperate, in reſpect of many other parts of *India*, not only *Madraſs*, but *St. David's*, *Cuddalore*, and *Negapatnam* the *Dutch* preſidentſhip on this coaſt.

" Beſides theſe malignant and remitting fevers, which rage during the wet ſeaſon, and ſome time after it, in the unhealthy parts of the *Eaſt Indies*,

* In my hoſpital accounts there is a diſtinction made between the bilious and putrid flux. In the firſt ſort there was always heat and ſome degree of inflammation in the conſtitution and bowels, accompanied with a full pulſe. In the latter the patients had chills, their ſkins were clammy, and pulſe feeble. And what was commonly underſtood to make the diſtinction, was, that in the bilious ſort, the bile was not in a corrupted or putrid ſtate, in the other it was.

Europeans,

Europeans, eſpecially ſuch as live intemperately, are alſo ſubject to fluxes, and to an inflammation or diſeaſe of the liver; which laſt is almoſt peculiar to *India*, and particularly to the *Coromandel* coaſt.

" Fluxes are ſeldom here accompanied with inflammatory ſymptoms; the diſcharge being chiefly of a putrid or bilious nature, they are removed by adminiſtering firſt a vomit, then rhubarb, and laſtly ipecacuanha in ſmall doſes. After the bile and other putreſcent humours have been thus ſufficiently evacuated, opiates, with a diet of rice, and ſuch food as is antiſeptic, muſt be preſcribed.

" The diſeaſe of the liver is generally preceded by a high fever, a difficulty of breathing, and a violent pain fixed in the right ſide upon the ſeat of the liver, to which the ſick perſon often applies his hand, ſeeking for relief*. On its firſt attack the patient ſhould loſe blood, and the part ought to be bathed with a warm, relaxing and diſcutient fomentation; or a bliſter may be applied to it. When by bleeding, the fever is ſomewhat abated, a gentle purge or clyſter being previouſly adminiſtered, immediate recourſe muſt be had to mercury, as a ſpecific for this diſeaſe. A gentle ſalivation of 15 or 20 days muſt be raiſed by means of the mercurial ointment rubbed upon or near the affected part, together with the uſe of mercurial pills of calomel taken occaſionally."

To theſe obſervations of Dr. *Lind*, I beg leave to add my own teſtimony, that I almoſt always found a ſalivation to be a ſpecific in ſuch complaints. Now and then it happened, that in the height of a ptyaliſm, the mercury turned on the bowels, and brought on a fatal bloody flux; but notwithſtanding this, upon the whole I will venture to pronounce mercury to be the moſt efficacious of all medicines in ſuch caſes. I may add, that it is the only medicine yet known which gives a patient any chance for his life, ſince without his undergoing a ſalivation, an abſceſs of the liver is almoſt ſure to take place, and which in the end proves fatal.

For inſtances of ſuch abſceſſes, I muſt refer to two or three, which have been particularly ſtated, and with great care and judgment, by Mr. *John Bogue*, now ſurgeon of Admiral Sir *Robert Harland*'s ſhip in the *Eaſt Indies*, and which are preſerved in Dr. *Lind*'s eſſay.

I cannot finiſh this ſubject without obſerving, that about the time Mr. *Watſon*'s ſquadron entered *Bengal* river, a moſt melancholy ſcene was exhibited by the ſcurvy: It raged with ſuch violence, as to make great devaſtation among us. This malady (as before obſerved) was entirely owing to the very long paſſage we had in our voyage from the *Coromandel* coaſt to

* And he always complains of a pain in one or both of the ſhoulders.

Bengal, and in the *winter ſeaſon*. The *Kent* it is true loſt but few of her people in this diſorder, but the other ſhips of the ſquadron buried a great many; which difference, I am perſuaded, was occaſioned by the large quantity of orange and lemon juices that I had preſerved in a half hogſhead during our ſtay at *Madagaſcar*, and which I now ordered to be daily given them in their common liquor.

At this time, not only moſt of the ſad ſymptoms of the ſcurvy, which have been ſo accurately enumerated by Dr. *Lind*, made their appearance, but two others, not mentioned by him, were unfortunately ſuperadded; viz. the *Scrotum* in many patients was ſwollen to an enormous ſize, equal to that of a globe of 12 inches diameter, and the contents of this ſwelling was *water*, as appeared upon our tapping the *Scrotum*. The other unuſual effect was a convulſive ſpaſm of the inteſtines, which ſuddenly carried off ſeveral men. Some who were thus attacked, recovered, but others remained in the moſt exquiſite torture for twenty-four hours, and then expired.

From the foregoing obſervations, and from others taken notice of in the courſe of the narrative, theſe four general inferences are indiſputably clear.

Firſt, That ſhips bound to the *Eaſt Indies* ſhould be as little incumbered with ſtores between decks, as poſſible.

Secondly, That dryed ſtock-fiſh, which upon the account of having no ſalt uſed in the curing of them, are ſometimes put on board our ſhips of war, to prevent the ſcurvy breaking the amongſt our people, by their ſoon corrupting and growing putrid, are ſo far from anſwering the good intention, that on the contrary they are productive of much evil.

Thirdly, That as but few, if any, of the *Kent*'s people died in the ſcurvy during our winter's paſſage to *Bengal*, whilſt the other ſhips of the ſquadron buried many; ſo this difference can no other way be accounted for, but by the antiſcorbutic quality of the orange and lemon juices. It therefore follows, that if government would be ſo far attentive to this ſubject, as to order all ſhips bound to the *Eaſt Indies* to ſtop at *Madagaſcar*, or any other proper place, and take in ſome pipes of theſe juices, which might be made up into punch, and ſerved to the ſeveral crews inſtead of *grog*; they would certainly be the means of preſerving many lives, and greatly redound to the emolument of the nation *.

* This obſervation will hold good in every other country that abounds with theſe fruits. See Dr. *Lind*'s laſt edition of his Treatiſe on the Scurvy, p. 541, where my remarks on this intereſting ſubject are more fully ſet forth.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, Since intermittents, and other putrid diſorders, are found to be ſo prevalent in *Bengal*, ſhips deſtined to the *Eaſt Indies*, ought therefore to be ſupplied with a very large quantity of the *Peruvian bark* and *Ipecacuanha root*; and (as Dr. *Lind* has juſtly obſerved in reſpect to the firſt article) the ſurgeons of the navy ſhould on that account be excuſed from taking with them other drugs, not wanted, or which may at a little expence be procured by themſelves in the *Eaſt Indies*.

I think it my duty alſo to inſert in this place ſuch directions and obſervations, as my own experience and reflection have furniſhed me with during my long ſervice in the navy, with reſpect to the moſt eligible method of managing the wounded in the time of action; a point of ſuch importance as equally demands the attention both of the *ſurgeon* and the *commander*.

The firſt engagement I was in, was that between the late excellent and well known naval commander Commodore *Barnet* and the *Chevalier de Caylus* in the *Mediterranean*, in the year 1741, when ſeveral of our men were wounded by the ſhot of the enemy, and others blown up by ſome cartridges of gunpowder taking fire. At that time I too ſenſibly experienced the very great inconvenience of the ſurgeon's attending the wounded in the *Cockpit*, the place then, and in the late war, too commonly allotted for this important buſineſs.

At the very inſtant when I was amputating the limb of one of our wounded ſeamen, I met with an almoſt continual interruption from the reſt of his companions, who were in the like diſtreſsful circumſtances; ſome pouring forth the moſt piercing cries to be taken care of, while others ſeized my arm in their earneſtneſs of being relieved, even at the time that I was paſſing the needle for ſecuring the divided blood-veſſels by a ligature.

Surely, at the time when ſuch operations are in contemplation, the operator's mind as well as body ought to be as little agitated as poſſible; and the very ſhaking of the lower gun-deck, owing to the recoil of the large cannon which are placed juſt over his head, is of itſelf ſufficient to incommode a ſurgeon, and in a conſiderable degree prevent the ſkilful performance of his duty.

I muſt add, that a place of *entire ſecurity* to the ſurgeon and his aſſiſtants in the time of an engagement, is an object of the greateſt conſequence, how much ſoever it may have been hitherto overlooked or diſregarded. In the two laſt wars we met with ſeveral inſtances of ſurgeons or their mates being wounded in the *Cockpit* by cannon balls, which plainly

evince that this cannot be a proper ſtation for men, upon, whoſe perſonal ſecurity, the lives of ſo many brave ſeamen entirely depend. I would earneſtly recommend it therefore to the *Commanders* of our ſhips of war, that the printed inſtructions of the navy, relative to the place in which the ſurgeon is to be ſtationed, during the time of action, be *literally* carried into execution: and that inſtead of the too common and abſurd cuſtom of confining him to the *Cockpit*, a platform be erected for his uſe in the *Hold*, where being as much as poſſible ſecured from all apprehenſion of danger, his mind will be quite calm and ſerene, and his judgment undiſturbed; conſequently he will be more capable of performing thoſe difficult operations, which he is always ſure to meet with in a ſevere engagement.

This point, it muſt be owned, is a very delicate one in reſpect to the ſurgeon, who, ſhould he make an application to his commanding officer for this purpoſe, might ſubject himſelf to the jocoſe ſmiles of ſome of his ſhipmates, and to the unkind ſarcaſms of others, who would be rather apt to impute his ſolicitude on this head to the care he takes of his own perſon, than to any good conſequences he thinks may hence ariſe to the public. This was exactly my caſe in the ſeveral ſhips I ſerved on board of; and yet in ſpite of cenſure on one hand, and ridicule on the other, I had always reſolution ſufficient to declare my ſentiments openly on this ſubject; and never once failed in the end to convince the commander, of the unſpeakable advantages that neceſſarily muſt attend it.

As many able, but modeſt practitioners, however, may, through the fear of being thought over ſolicitous about their own ſafety, too timidly give up ſo important a point; I take the liberty in their behalf, of thus publicly addreſſing myſelf to the commanders of our navy in general, beſeeching them, that for the ſake of their own and their crew's lives, and for the ſake of their country, they would take this matter into their moſt ſerious conſideration, and in times of war order a proper platform to be laid in the *Hold* for the reception of the wounded, without waiting for any application from the ſurgeon of the ſhip.

As an inducement for their ſo doing, I beg leave to ſet before them the example of the late Admiral *Leſtock* (who was univerſally allowed to be as good a ſea-officer as any of the age) and who upon the proſpect of his ſhip's coming into action in the year 1744 (though at that time he was laid up with a ſevere fit of the gout) cauſed himſelf to be carried into the *Neptune*'s *Hold*, that he might be an eye-witneſs of the platform being properly conſtructed, which he had before particularly ordered for that place. And this able and judicious officer was often heard to declare, that in the courſe of his early ſervices he had fully experienced the ill conſequences of a contrary meaſure, and therefore always recommended this for which I

am

am pleading, to thoſe gentlemen who ſerved under him, as a matter of the higheſt importance.

The brave Captain *Speke* (a man as much diſtinguiſhed by his prudence in adviſing, as by his activity in executing) did not ſcruple to own himſelf thoroughly convinced by my reaſoning on this ſubject; and though much innocent pleaſantry had occaſionally fallen from him whenever this became the topic of our converſation, yet afterwards, at the attack of *Chandernagore*, when he himſelf was brought down wounded into the *Hold*, and there ſaw the neceſſity of the arrangement I have been recommending, he with great ſerioufneſs made the following declaration to me: "No ſurgeon, my friend, ſhall ever again be put to the pain of applying to me for a platform in the *Hold*; for I now too well perceive what diſtreſs and embarraſſment muſt have attended both you and the wounded, had you been obliged to receive and dreſs them all indiſcriminately in the *Cockpit*."

The method which was at that time taken, and which with ſubmiſſion, I think always ſhould be taken, was, all the wounded were ſent into the *Cockpit*, until that place could hold no more; afterwards a part of them were conveyed into the *Cable Tier*. Two of my mates were ſtationed there, to examine into the nature of their wounds. Such as were deſperately hurt, and whoſe caſes, in the opinion of thoſe gentlemen, required an immediate operation, were brought by the aſſiſtants to me and my other mates, who were waiting for them on the platform in the *Hold*. Thoſe who were leſs wounded, were dreſſed by my two mates in the *Cockpit*, and then placed on the ſail, ſpread there for that purpoſe; or on a floor made of boards, and covered with canvas, in the *Cable Tier*.

I cannot conclude, without hinting to my brethren the ſurgeons of the navy, that had I in my earlier years known the conſequences of a hot and bloody engagement, as well as I do now, I never would have embarked on board a large ſhip of war, without furniſhing myſelf with ſix or more amputating knives inſtead of two or three; having learnt from experience, that the beſt of knives after an operation or two quite loſe their keenneſs; and unfortunately, the exigency of the time is ſuch, as will not admit of their being properly reſtored by the hone. The ſame reaſon holds good with reſpect to the number of ſaws, which in like manner ought to be increaſed, for to diſplace the old, and to put the ſpare ſaw to the frame, is equally inconvenient in the time of action. I would alſo adviſe every ſurgeon to furniſh himſelf with a greater number of crooked needles than have been commonly thought ſufficient; for unleſs he has experimentally known it, it is impoſſible for him to conceive, how many of theſe are either loſt or miſlaid during the noiſe and confuſion of an engagement.

Having given the beſt directions in my power, for the better management of the wounded in a day of battle, with a few hints to the captains of our men of war; I could wiſh to aſcend to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and other gentlemen to whom the conduct of our naval affairs is committed, and pray them to take into conſideration the preſent diſcouraging ſituation of the ſurgeons of the royal navy.

It is univerſally allowed, that many of theſe gentlemen, are men of the greateſt abilities in their profeſſion; and the importance of their ſtation, to a kingdom whoſe very exiſtence depends on the welfare of its ſeamen, appears at firſt ſight, without the trouble of entering into a long chain of reaſoning. It is alſo as true, that the ſcanty proviſion at preſent made for the ſurgeons of *this* * ſervice, when they are out of commiſſion, gives but little encouragement, either for retaining thoſe who are now on the liſt, or for the acquiring other able ones, ſhould there be occaſion by the breaking out of a new war; for only fifty of the ſeniors out of three hundred and upwards whoſe names are mentioned on the naval liſt, have any claim to half pay; while the others are put to the moſt wretched ſhifts to earn even a precarious ſubſiſtence. And what adds greatly to the hardſhip of their caſe, is, that a great majority of them are gentlemen, who have had the advantages of a good education, and been regularly brought up in their profeſſion; who embarked in the ſervice in their youth, or prime of life, have done their duty for ſeveral years with great credit, and at laſt after the war was ended, were left to the mercy of a wide world, as much, or more at a loſs to get their daily bread, than they were the firſt day after their apprenticeſhip expired.

It muſt be confeſſed, that a few of them out of ſo large a number, by their own merit and aſſiduity, or by the deaths of old practitioners in the ſeveral places where they fixed themſelves after the peace was made, have at this time the happineſs to acquire a comfortable ſubſiſtence. But can it be imagined, that theſe men will ever engage in the navy again (tho' their inclinations may poſſibly lead them to do it) unleſs they could depend on a more certain proviſion being made for them after another war was ended? It cannot, it muſt not be expected from them.——And how much the public ſervice will ſuffer in the want of ſuch experienced ſurgeons, I need not mention. For though, upon the breaking out of a new war, there is no doubt but that many young men bred up to this profeſſion, would offer themſelves as candidates for a naval employ, yet being new to the ſea, and quite unacquainted with practice, they cannot poſſibly be put in competition with thoſe older ſurgeons, who have been long inured to the ſervice, even on the ſuppoſition that their reſpective educations were exactly the ſame.

* Every ſurgeon of the army is intitled to half pay.

I intreat the liberty therefore, (after above 30 years ſervice as a ſurgeon in the navy, and when no advantage can poſſibly ariſe from it to myſelf) to recommend it as an object worthy of the attention of government, that a greater number of *Naval* ſurgeons be put upon the half pay liſt. An effort of this kind, will not fail of proving highly honourable to its chief promoters; and as hereby a great many excellent practitioners will be ſecured in the ſervice of the public, it is ſufficiently evident, that in the end it muſt redound to the advantage of *Great Britain*.

APPENDIX,

N°. II.

INDIAN TREES, SHRUBS, PLANTS, and MEDICINES.

COCOA-NUT TREE.

ALTHOUGH mention hath already been made of the Cocoa-nut tree, yet as its productions are of ſuch great conſequence to the natives of the *Eaſt Indies*, I cannot avoid preſenting it a ſecond time to the notice of the reader. It has neither bark nor branch, increaſes annually, and at length gets to a prodigious height. Some of the trees are of 50 years ſtanding, and 60 feet high, but none are ever more than 18 inches diameter. The root is compoſed of a great number of black ſoft fibres, which are tough, 15 or 16 inches long, and of the thickneſs of a gooſe quill. The body, or ſtalk, is ſingle, and full of tough, perpendicular, and oblique fibres. A bundle of leaves ſhoot out annually in a kind of ſpatha from the top of the ſtalk, and is concave towards the centre of the plant; when theſe leaves firſt ſhoot out and open fully, they are perpendicular, and then the leaves of the laſt year are gradually forced from them, and become horizontal. Thoſe of the preceding year fall off, or are cut down by the *Toddy* gatherers. The old leaves are compoſed of a ſtrong and large middle rib, which ſometimes next to the body of the tree is as thick as a man's thigh, and 18 or 20 feet in length. From the bundle all around the tree, leaves of two feet or more in length ſoon grow, theſe are double at the baſe, affixed to the rib, and grow taper to a point at the end; theſe leaves ſtand very cloſe together, and at the top of the tree form an almoſt perfect, and pretty looking circle. The flower comes out from the concave part of the leaves on the top of the tree; the footſtalk of which is as thick as a large man's wriſt, and nearly round; this divides and ſubdivides into many branches, among which are the flowers, and which in ſome ſort reſemble the ſeed-veſſel of our common plantain.

When

When the flowers fall off, the fruit which is called the cocoa-nut, are in great numbers affixed to the ſame branches; they grow to the ſize of a boy's head, and are at firſt full of a fine pleaſant limpid water, which gradually grows thicker, and at length hardens to a firm nut.

The *Indians* make boats, conſtruct the frames of their houſes, and make rafters, of the body of the tree; and by ſplitting the centre fibre of the leaf, and weaving the pinnæ together, they cover or thatch them alſo, by which they effectually keep out the wet, even in the rainy ſeaſon. They likewiſe make mats and baſkets of the leaves ſplit lengthways. They cut off a branch, or two, of the flower-ſtalk, and hang to the ſtump of it an earthen pot, in which they collect every day, from half a pint to a quart of *Toddy*; this looks like clear whey, and when freſh, being ſweet and gratefully acid, is extremely pleaſant: if kept, it eaſily ferments, and then it is uſed by the baker in fermenting his dough for bread. Good *Arrac* is diſtilled from this fermenting juice, and alſo that fiery, ſingle and ſimple diſtilled ſpirit, called *Fool*, with which our ſeamen were too frequently intoxicated.

The nut, when thoroughly ripe, is thin, and of a yellowiſh colour. The coat or huſk of the ſhell, is compoſed of a large quantity of ſtrong fibres folded from end to end, and is two or three inches thick. With theſe fibres, after ſoaking them ſome time in water, they make cables and cordage even for their largeſt ſhips; and yarns alſo, which are uſed in the conſtruction of their ſhips, boats, houſes, &c. theſe they call *Kiar-Yarns*, as the firſt is called *Kiar-Cables*. To attempt to enumerate all the ſeveral ſorts of yarns, would be endleſs; it is ſufficient to ſay, that nails are ſeldom made uſe of in any of the country people's buildings, and that in their ſtead ropes and yarns are ſubſtituted. The ſhells of the nut, ſerve for bottles, cups, glaſſes, lamps, &c. and at laſt they make of them lamp-black for painting.

The contents of the ſhell in its firſt ſtage is drank as a pleaſant, cooling, refreſhing beverage; in its riper ſtate, it is uſed to fatten hogs, eaten as a part of the natives diet, and put as a thickner in all their curries: by heating it gently over the fire a large quantity of oil is alſo extracted, with which the natives rub their hair, and ſay that it makes it black, and ſometimes they make uſe of it in their diet. This oil has no diſagreeable ſmell or taſte, and I do not doubt, but if procured by expreſſion, it would be exceedingly good.

After breaking the ſhells and expoſing the kernel for ſome time to the ſun, they procure a ſtill larger quantity of oil, but which is of a coarſer kind than the former; this they uſe in lamps, and for their common ſervices. When the tree is cut by accident, or blown down, the rudiments of the leaves which nature had in ſtore for the enſuing year, are found to be of

a conic ſhape, and when cut tranſverſely, appear like the folds in a hard cabbage, though not ſo thick; this is brought to the table in thin ſlices, and taſtes like young almonds or filberds.

BRABB, ſo called at *Bombay*; PALMIRA, on the Coaſt; and TALL, at *Bengal*.

This grows much in the ſame manner as the cocoa-nut tree, though, I think, in general, ſomewhat taller. The veſtigia of the leaves of former years remain longer on this than on the cocoa-nut tree, and when the tree is 18 or 20 feet high, make it look as if it was covered with ſcales. The fibres of the wood are rigid, as thoſe of the cocoa-nut are tough; the ſtalks of the leaves grow out in the ſame manner, and are all as thick at the baſe, but they are naked ſix feet or more from the baſe. The leaf grows round its own end, like a fan from its centre, and being doubly inſerted into the end of the footſtalk, it appears open almoſt to a circle; the leaves grow together thus for two-thirds of their length, then they ſeparate, and each duplicate of the leaf goes gradually to a point, which makes each leaf appear like the rays painted round the ſun, or the heads of *Romiſh* ſaints, ſpreading four feet in diameter: but the aggregate of leaves form a head on the tree, in the ſame manner as on the cocoa-nut. The flower ſtalk appears like that of the cocoa-nut, but is ſomewhat thicker. The fruit is as big as the fruit of that tree, but the huſk is not ſo fibrous, and lightly divided into three lobes, in each of which is a ſingle fruit, of an oval form, as big as an hen's egg, and when ripe as ſubſtantial as a cheſnut; theſe are eaten by the poor, and the natives feed hogs with them, but, before they are in a ſtate of maturity, there is, as I was told, a jelly-like ſubſtance round the kernel which is eaten particularly by the rich. The body of the tree is converted to the like uſes as the cocoa-nut, and is of a ſtronger contexture, the *Palmira* rafters being eſteemed ſufficiently ſtrong for the beſt houſes on the *Coromandel* coaſt. The flower-ſtalk or ſtalks are cut for the extraction of *Toddy*, in the ſame manner as are thoſe of the cocoa-nut tree; the *Toddy* of the *Palmira*, is held in ſtill higher eſtimation, than that of the cocoa-nut tree, and from this extracted juice, a ſugar is made, which is finer and better than that made from the juice of the ſugar-cane.

DATE TREE.

This tree grows much in the ſame manner, though not ſo high, as the two former, only that the veſtigia of the leaves of ſome former years remain longer on this, than on the other trees, and almoſt always give to the tree a ſcaly-like appearance: the leaves grow out of the head in the ſame manner as they do from the others. The main fibre is full as long as the cocoa-nut's, but much ſmaller, ſince it ſeldom exceeds two inches in diameter. The ſide pinnæ are not above four inches long, they are inſerted doubly into the baſe,

baſe, where they touch each other, but are far aſunder at their points, which are hard: the duplicate of the baſe of the leaves is continued along the main fibre, ſo that it appears ſomewhat alated. The flower is like the former, but more ramous: the fruit are very numerous, their ſhape almoſt every body is acquainted with, and it is well known that they make a great part of the diet of the inhabitants of *Arabia*, and part of *Perſia*, but not to ſo great a degree as *Pomet* has related. The numerous fruit on the trees in the *Peninſula* of *India* are never perfectly ripe, although the trees are in great abundance there.

Arica Tree.

This has been fully deſcribed in the 184th page of this work. I ſhall only add, that it is a fine ſlender tree, and grows in much the ſame manner as the date, &c.

Bonana and Plantain Trees.

Theſe grow ſo much alike, and the fruit only differing in ſize, that it is needleſs to make a diſtinction; they are alſo in many places commonly confounded one with the other. Generally the *Bonana* fruit is the ſmalleſt, and of a round form, whereas the *Plantain* is angular; there are of them from three inches in length, and one in diameter, to eight inches long, and two and a quarter diameter, but the larger ſort are coarſe. In general, when ripe, they are of a fine yellow colour; yet ſome are green, and others of a bright red, eſpecially the *Tanjourine Plantains*, which are held in the higheſt eſtimation. The *Plantain* tree is not ſo tall as the cocoa-nut or *Brabb*, and thick pedicles ſurround each other at their baſe, and continue that appearance to the diſtance of ſix, eight, and ten feet, when they ſpread, but then the pedicle is contracted, and forms the middle rib of the leaf, which leaf is ſix or eight feet long, and 18 inches wide, of a beautiful green colour, and entire, but eaſily to be ſplitted croſsways; the natives ſplit them, in order to make of the leaf, diſhes and plates for putting their boiled rice upon. (The leaf is alſo uſed for dreſſing bliſters with, in the *Weſt Indies*.) The flower grows out from the centre of the leaves on a very long ſtalk, which is as thick as a large man's wriſt, of a deep purple colour, a conic ſhape, and about 10 inches in length; when this appears, you ſee the fruit ſurrounding the ſtalk in great numbers; 1500 of great and ſmall fruit, have been ſeen on one ſtalk, but not more than 100 in general come to perfection.

Banian Tree.

Although this tree hath already been taken notice of in page 199, I ſhall here preſent to the reader, a more particular deſcription of it.

This is the *Indian*'s ſacred tree, but they do not, as is commonly ſuppoſed, pay adoration to it: the root ſpreads a great way; the bark is a reddiſh brown; the wood is white and ſpungy; the tree grows to a prodigious height, and its branches ſpread a great way. The limbs drop down fibres, which take root, and become another tree, united by its branches to the firſt, and ſo continue to do until the many trees cover a great extent of ground: the arches which thoſe different ſtocks make, are gothic, and as before obſerved, ſomewhat like thoſe we ſee in *Weſtminſter Abbey*; the ſtocks not being ſingle, but appearing as if compoſed of many ſtocks, are of a great circumference. There is a certain ſolemnity accompanying thoſe trees; nor do I remember that I was ever under the cover of any of them, but that my mind was at the time impreſſed with a reverential awe! The leaves are of a bright, ſhining green colour, fleſhy, oval, and about ſix inches long. The fruit is a fig, but of what kind I cannot ſay; it was with difficulty I ſaw thoſe which grow on that ſpecies of the *Banian*, called the little *Banian* tree, (mentioned in the marginal note, page 199, whoſe fibres had not entered the ground, and formed other trees) on account that the birds eat them almoſt as ſoon as they appear.

I know of no quality this tree has in medicine, but have been told, that the dropping ſhoots, when young and tender, and boiled in milk with the flower of the cocoa-nut tree, is a cure for a *Gonorrhœa*.

Little Banian.

This is a very large ſpreading tree. I have ſeen them 20 feet round the ſtock, which carried the appearance of being many ſtocks cloſely united. The outer bark is of a whitiſh, the inner is ſpungy and of a reddiſh brown colour. Shoots drop from the branches, and look as if they were deſigned to touch the ground, and take root, in order to form another body, but I never ſaw that they did ſo. The leaf is of a deep ſhining green above, but very pale below, and highly ribbed on the upper ſide; it emits a milky juice. The flowers I could never find, but I imagine they are the ſame as thoſe of the common fig. The fruit is a fig of the ſize of a ſmall hazel nut, of a pale fleſh colour, ſpotted with a deep purple. This tree grows all over *India*, and was curſorily mentioned in my note made at *Gombroon*.

Poon Tree.

This tree grows very tall and ſtrait; the bark is greyiſh; the wood light, but tolerably ſtrong; it is frequently uſed for maſts, but unleſs great care is taken to keep the wet from the ends of it, it ſoon rots. I meaſured one of thoſe trees in *Mahim* wood on the iſland of *Bombay*, which though but 14 inches in diameter near the ground, yet was full 50 feet high, and gradually taper. On and near the top, on the ſeveral branches,

grow the leaves, which are long and ſlender, ſeven on each petiole in a ſtellated form, and affixed by ſhort pedicles. The flowers which this tree produces, I have not ſeen. The fruit is in a hard pod, opening in two of its convex ſides, ſhaped like a pear, but only a little flatted; it is five inches long, of a fine crimſon colour, containing two rows of circular flatted ſeeds, as big as a boy's marbles, and of a crimſon colour.

Red Wood Tree.

This grows to near 30 feet in height, it is full of ſhort branches ariſing from the very root. The bark is red, and of an aſtringent taſte; the leaves are ſhining, and thick like our bay, oval, and about three inches long. The flower has eſcaped my notice. The fruit is yellow, of the ſize and ſhape of a very ſmall olive, pulpy, very ſweet, and contains a milky juice. The ſtone is large for the ſize of the fruit, and of a deep brown colour; the kernel white, and taſting the ſmalleſt bit of it nauſeates the ſtomach.

Tulip Tree, called Bendar.

The branches of this tree may eaſily be cut into a fine thick, ſpreading head, and it naturally ſpreads a great deal. It is planted by the *European* gentlemen in *India*, for forming their ſhady walks. The bark of it is brown, the leaves are pretty large, and undulated, with a long ſlender point at the end. The flowers are like tulips in ſhape, though the corolla are not ſo fleſhy as thoſe of the tulip, and are often curled on their upper part: ſome are of a yellow, ſome of a red colour only, but moſt of them are variegated. The ſeed-veſſel is a round pod, a little pointed, not very hard, and divided lightly into three lobes, which contain a ſmall black ſeed of a cotton-like ſubſtance.

Euphorbium.

On the iſland of *Ceylon*, this tree grows to a tolerable ſize, and is to be found in great plenty. The bark is grey, wood white, and pretty firm; all the ſmaller limbs and branches, which are very numerous, are compoſed of triangular, fleſhy, ſolid, deep green ſubſtances, each about three inches long, affixed to the ends of each other, where they are ſmaller than in the middle: at the joints, there come out oppoſite to each other, ſometimes four very ſmall fleſhy leaves, and little red fibres, which are all the appearances of flower or fruit that I have ever ſeen. The joints near the ſtock of the tree, are much thicker and longer than the others, and ſometimes near the extremity of the branches, they are a little flatted. The branches ſpread a great deal, and the whole and every part of the tree yield a large quantity of a cauſtic milky juice, which ſoon grows tough and ropy like bird-lime, clogging up the wound you made in the tree to let it out, and ſoon hardening to the *Gum-Euphorbium* of the ſhops. I could not find that any

of

of the trees yielded the *Euphorbium* ſpontaneouſly, and all the gum juice that at any time was found about the ſtem of the tree, might eaſily be traced as coming from a wound.

In all the other parts of *India* except *Ceylon*, I never ſaw any part of the tree that was woody, but the plant from the very ground was compoſed of thoſe late mentioned joints. At *Bombay*, and ſome other places, there is a ſpecies of it, which the natives plant around their fields and gardens, and which grows three or four feet high; this is of a yellowiſh colour, and as thick as a large man's wriſt, ſquare, but as it were a little twiſted; on the angles grow very numerous ſharp ſpines, and round thoſe ſpines very ſmall leaves and flowers, ſuch as are between the joints of the ſort before deſcribed; the juice of this, is of the ſame kind as that of the other ſort.

Milky Hedge.

This is rather a ſhrub, which they plant for hedges on the coaſt of *Coromandel*; the root of it grows in all directions, and is woody. In theſe hedges the ſtems are not to a great degree woody, but where they are ſo, then the bark is grey and cracked, the wood white, and pretty ſolid. The whole ſhrub grows very buſhy, with numerous erect branches, which are compoſed of cylindrical joints, as thick as a tobacco pipe, of a green colour, and from three to ſix inches long; the joints are thicker than the other parts, but upon any accidental violence, the plant always breaks firſt at thoſe joints, and then it yields an exceſſive cauſtic milk, which prevents any human being going through the hedge, for it bliſters whatever part of the ſkin it touches, yet I have ſeen buffaloes and goats to eat of it. When the joints are broken off at each end, the tube then contains but very little of this milk, with which I once ventured to touch my tongue, and found it a little ſweet. At *Bombay* it grows to the ſize of a ſmall tree, and the wood is greatly valued there for burning to charcoal for the fineſt gunpowder. As to the great medicinal virtues which it is ſuppoſed to contain, it will be neceſſary, in order to convey an idea of them, to relate the ſtory that gave riſe to its fame.

There was in my time a poor *Portugueze* widow woman, who was the oldeſt female of her family, and had wrought ſurpriſing cures in the moſt inveterate venereal diſorders, many of which had been pronounced by all other practitioners, even *European* phyſicians, as incurable; theſe notorious facts had induced the company's ſervants, and particularly their ſurgeons, to offer a very conſiderable premium to the woman, for a diſcovery of her medicine, but ſhe always refuſed to comply, aſſigning for her reaſon, that while it was a ſecret, it was a certain proviſion for the maintenance of the family, as well in the preſent as in future generations. On account of this denial, our ſurgeons, when a particular caſe has been under her management, have been at the expence to have her motions without

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out doors carefully watched, and as they were not able to diſcover that ſhe ever gathered of any other plant or tree but this, they conjecture that it is the juice thereof, with which ſhe performs her extraordinary cures.

I interrogated ſeveral of the black doctors, who all agreed that it will cure the *Lues Venerea*, but differed as to the manner of adminiſtring it; ſome ſaying that a joint of it ſhould be eaten every morning, others that the milk only ſhould be dropped on ſugar, and then put into milk, oil, &c. and given daily to the patient.

Jallap Plant.

The root grows perpendicularly, of the ſhape and ſize of a carrot, tough, black without, and white within. The plant is robuſt, and ſhrubby, and is planted in the *Eaſt Indian* gardens for borders to their partitions, and is cut like our box or quickſet hedges. The flowers are the *Belle de nuit* of our gardens; they grow in great numbers on the plant, and are of various colours. The ſeed remain after the falling off of the flower, naked, ſingle, and of the ſize, colour, ſhape, and ſtructure of a large pepper corn. Twice the quantity given by us for a doſe of our *Jallap*, is required in general of this, but as it grows wild in ſome parts of *India*, an equal quantity of that wild ſort is ſufficient.

Doll.

The root is perpendicular and woody, throwing off ſome lateral fibres. The plant grows in height to eight feet, and is ſhrubby. The leaves are of a pale green, and ſomewhat woolly, but do not grow very thick on the plant. The flowers are yellow, and of the ſhape of our pea-bloſſoms: the pod and ſeed reſemble our pea-pods and peas, and theſe ſeed are ſplit, and uſed as peaſe, and next to rice, are the principal part of the *Indian* ſeamen's food.

Mungoose Plant, or Cassunda.

The root grows perpendicularly, and throws off ſome fibres; it is ſmall and woody. The plant is erect, the lower part of it naked and woody; the upper part divides into many branches, in proportion to the goodneſs of the ſoil: it grows about two feet high, and ſpreads much, when in a rich ſoil. The flowers are yellow, and like the pea-flower, they grow on ſpikes, and at a diſtance make a ſhowy appearance. The pods are very narrow, and about ſix inches long, containing ſeveral ſmall ſeeds. The whole plant yields a nauſeous diſagreeable ſmell. The root, is what the *Mungooſe* (a brown animal of the ferret kind, an enemy to ſnakes, rats, and mice) retires to when wounded by the *Covra Capella*, which he digs for,

and eats ſome of, and then returns to the fight, and generally kills his antagoniſt. Theſe circumſtances I cannot ſay I ever ſaw, but received the account from perſons of undoubted credit.

Mulberry Tree.

This tree reſembles thoſe of the ſame ſpecies in *England*, but the fruit is much ſmaller in *India*, than in *Europe*.

Conissie,

Is a ſhrub, which grows like a currant buſh on *Malabar* hill, in *Bombay*. The roots run horizontal in the ground, and, if broken, emit a little milky juice: the bark of the root is a fine bitter, and ſomewhat of an aromatic taſte. A decoction of it is given with ſucceſs in fluxes. This bark is rougher, and not of ſo deep a brown colour, as that which is commonly called at *Bombay* the *Coniſſie*-bark, at *Tellicherry* the *Congerie*-bark, and by the late Mr. *Swan*, *Cort de palla*; which is a thin, dark brown bark, with a whitiſh moſs on it, a ſcruple of which is given every evening as an excellent medicine in confirmed dyſenteric fluxes, as well as in agues, and which is ſaid to be taken from a large tree, the common ſupporter of the pepper about *Tellicherry*, as mentioned in page 191: the leaves of which tree are oval and indented, and the fruit are like an orange in ſhape and colour.

Doctor *Hill* mentions the *Malabar* ears as the fruit of the tree, from which he ſuppoſes the *Coniſſie*-bark to be taken; but the bark yielding thoſe ears has little or no taſte, as will hereafter appear; what it has, is neareſt to that of the liquorice root.

After all, the indefatigable Mr. *Thomas* was of opinion, that the *Coniſſie*, which grows on *Malabar* hill at *Bombay*, is the very ſhrub from which that excellent bark, mentioned in the preceding part of this work, is taken, and he believed that *Don Diego* the *Portugueſe* doctor at *Bombay* (by whom we uſed to be ſupplied with it, and as he pretended from *Tellicherry*) deceived us in the accounts he gave concerning it. Mr. *Thomas*'s words are: "It grows on *Malabar* hill, though *Diego* endeavoured as much as poſſible to hide it from you and me, but I once ſaw ſome of the branches of the ſhrub with the uſeful bark on it, by accident in his ſhop, and afterwards found the ſhrub on that hill, the whole of which affords a milky juice. *Diego* ſays, that he gives the *Congerie* or *Tellicherry* bark (he choſe not to ſay the *Coniſſie*) in intermittents *only*, and that it anſwers as well as the *Jeſuits* bark; but from experience you and I know that it anſwers alſo in old fluxes, and its virtues are well known to every practitioner in *India*, as well as to many in *Europe*."

Codagi

Codagi Palli, called by Mr. *Swan* Cort de Palla.

This is a ſmall tree, or very large ſhrub. The bark is of a duſky white without, and white with a greeniſh caſt within, (it grows at St. *Thomas*'s Mount near *Fort St. George*); the leaves preſent themſelves on the branches in pairs, and are at the diſtance of four inches from each other; they grow with ſhort pedicles, are of an oblong form, pointed, and of a fine graſſy green colour. The flowers I never ſaw. The ſeed-veſſels grow from a ſhallow cup, on a footſtalk of three inches; they are double, 14 inches long, green, ſmooth, and as thick as a ſwan's quill: when ripe, they are black, and longitudinally furrowed, ſometimes forming nearly a circle, ſometimes an ellipſis, at other times they are nearly parallel, but always touching at their ends, and at their ends only. From their ſhape they are called *Malabar-ears*, on account of the reſemblance they bear to the ears of the women on the *Malabar* coaſt, which from the large ſlit made in them, and the great weight of ornamental rings put into them, are rendered very large, and ſo long as that they ſometimes touch the very ſhoulders. Theſe veſſels have brown ſeeds, of the ſhape of our oats, contained in a fine fibrous ſilky ſubſtance of a pale colour. I could not find that the bark is at all uſed, and what Dr. *Hill*, and the author, have before called *Codagi Pallis*, is the bark of a large timber-tree with indented leaves, on the *Malabar* coaſt, commonly named the *Congerie* bark. The ſeeds however are uſed as carminatives, and on the coaſt of *Malabar* are highly valued for their medicinal virtue in the cure of fluxes, for which end they chew a few of them morning and evening.

Beetle.

This is a volubilis, and is ſupported on ſticks, like *French* beans, and runs 12 feet high; the leaf is fleſhy, and of a pleaſant green; its uſes have been related in p. 184 and elſewhere.

Tamarind.

This tree is very large, and has been well deſcribed by Dr. *Hill*.

Mussendell.

The root is fibrous, perpendicular and woody. The ſtalks grow double from the root, are woody and tough, with a thin brown bark over the green: the leaves grow in pairs, are ſoft, of a bright green, whitiſh above, and hoary below: the flowers grow on umbels in the alæ of the leaves near the top of the branches.

Talmoolie.

The root is like a radiſh, but ſmaller; brown on the outſide, and accompanied with many ſmaller roots, from which grow the leaves. I have never ſeen any flower or fruit on them

Agnus Castus.

This grows to a ſmall tree, it is well deſcribed by Dr. *Hill*, its leaves are uſed in diſcutient fomentations.

Cinnamon Tree.

This grows only in *Ceylon*; it will increaſe to a very large tree, but when large, the bark is of no uſe (as it grows very thick and ſpungy) except when they diſtil it for its oil, or for cordial waters, of which laſt the *Dutch* have great variety, and very fine. The bark of the branches is the firſt year of an elegant green, and almoſt tranſparent. The ſecond year it is brown; the third, they take it off for cinnamon. That the root of an old tree produces camphire, has already been noticed. The natives make an oil from the fruit, which fruit is hard, and has the appearance of old caſtile ſoap, and when ſcraped yields an agreeable fragrancy. The *Dutch* are very careful that no cinnamon or oil be carried from the iſland by foreigners, and cinnamon ſells in any *Dutch* ſettlement in *India* for two dollars per *lb.*

Glantigura or Gocrow.

This is a handſome plant, grows 16 inches high, the root ſtrikes perpendicular into the ground, is yellow, and throws off ſome looſe fibres; the ſtalk is ſingle, erect and ſucculent, but ſoon divides and ſubdivides into a number of branches which are alſo green and ſucculent. The leaves are of a pale but pleaſant green, ſomewhat thick. The flowers are yellow, and campaniform; they grow in the alæ of the leaves, and at the diviſion of the branches; the fruit is only a huſk, which contains one ſtellated ſeed, whoſe points are very ſharp, and when dry it falls into ſeveral pieces, each having two ſpines; the make of the huſk is adapted to the ſhape of the ſeed. A ſmall branch of this plant, when freſh, dipped two or three times into a baſon of water, changes the water to the conſiſtence of the white of an egg, changes milk to the thickneſs of rich cream, and gives to both a very agreeable ſmell and taſte. Half a pint of this cream drank every morning, in the courſe of 10 days, as I, and Mr. *Thomas* too, experienced in our practice, often cured a *Gonorrhœa* without the aid of any other medicine; the firſt account we received of the virtues of this plant was from Dr. *Diego*, whoſe name has already occurred.

Mr. *Thomas*, in a letter he favoured me with ſoon after his arrival in *England* from *India*, wrote thus; "The mucilage plant, you well remember we ſucceſsfully tryed in *Gonorrhœas*, dipped in milk agreeable to *Diego*'s directions, as well as with ſome advantage for diſorders in the breaſt. I muſt now inform you, that the *Indians* uſe it to purify their foul water. On the coaſt of *Coromandel*, where it grows in great abundance, they call it *Glantigugla* or *Grantigugra*. At *Bombay* Dr. *Diego* called the ſeeds *Rouſette*, and ſaid he gave a decoction of them to promote ſpitting in a ſali-

vation. The *Perſees* and *Portugueſe* women cultivate it in their gardens, call it *Gogruc*, or *Gocruc*, and give it infuſed in wine to their huſbands, "*To make back ſtrong*;" and as I thought this intention conveyed an idea of its poſſeſſing a ſtyptic quality, I grew fearful of adminiſtering it in venereal diſorders, but an incident ſoon happened to diſſipate my fears, and to reſtore to my mind its former favourable impreſſions. A friend of yours and mine, under my care, who had been vexed with an obſtinate indurated venereal *Bubo*, from which only a green fetid diſcharge could be procured, hearing of the virtues of this plant, and being ſtruck with the ſimplicity of the promiſed cure, reſolved, contrary to my advice, to make uſe of the mucilage plant in milk, and truth obliges me to ſay, that he had not taken it more than three days before the *Bubo* ſubſided, the matter became pure, and ſoon afterwards he was perfectly cured by this medicine only."

Burno,

Is a large tree. The leaves grow in bunches on the top of the branches, three together, on a pedicle of 6 inches; they are ſoft to the touch, of a bright green, and which the natives give as a cooler in fevers.

Woolat Congwill.

This grows to a ſmall tree; it is a kind of mallows.

Naloe Uſitica,

Is a very ſmall plant, does not grow erect; the natives make uſe of it as an aſtringent in fluxes.

Jackaile.

This grows to 10 inches in height, and three or four ſtalks come from one root; they give the whole plant as a febrifuge.

Sambramac.

They give a draught of a decoction of this plant over night for a *cathartic*.

Palhair.

This has many ſharp ſpinous ſeeds, and is given in a *Gonorrhœa*.

Chatrass.

Dip this plant in boiling water and then rub it on the tongue, afterwards waſh the mouth with the impregnated water, and it will cure excoriations from lime, pepper, *&c.*

Dousrac.

Is a volubilis with blue flowers, and five ſeeds in a bunch that are like the ſpice cloves. A decoction made of the plant, it is ſaid, will cure a *Gonorrhœa.*

Jummie.

A decoction of this plant is given to cure agues, and fevers that are attended with ſhiverings.

Havisac.

This is a laxative, given in decoctions to remove the effects of a debauch.

Chaddock.

This is a tree which grows like the lemon-tree, the fruit is alſo of that kind, grows as large as a man's head, and is round; it is a fine pleaſant fruit, is eaten at our tables, and reckoned as wholeſome a fruit as any in *India:* there are plenty of them at *Ceylon* and other places, and they commonly are called pumple or pimple-noſes.

Colocynth.

This is well deſcribed by Dr. *Hill.* I have ſeen them at *Fort St. David* ſpread full twenty yards in diameter; they lie cloſe to the ground, and generally fill the whole ſpace of ground they run over, forming an almoſt perfect circle. The *Cathartic* quality of this plant is too well known to need a deſcription.

Bonnee.

This is a robuſt ſhrubby plant, grows to two feet in height, and ramous. The root goes perpendicularly into the ground, and is as thick as a ſwan's quill, but divides below. The leaves on the branches are pretty numerous. The flowers are of a fine purple like our pea-flower. The root powdered and mixed with pepper, is given by way of ſnuff to clear the head when ſtuffed.

God's Pipull.

This is a ſhrub which grows four feet high; its root, which is an inch in diameter, is of the tap kind, of a reddiſh brown on the outſide, and white within. The leaf is of a bright green. The root bruiſed, and applied as a cataplaſm, the natives ſay, will cure pained limbs.

Maccumseem.

The root, which grows like the liquorice, is as thick as a man's finger, fibrous, in colour ſomewhat grey, but tinged yellow. The ſtalk is round

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and green. It grows to a conſiderable height, but the ſtalk is ſo ſlender that it is not able to ſupport itſelf. The leaves grow three together on moderately long pedicles; they are of a deep green colour above, but paler below. The flowers I have not ſeen. The fruit is a pod, of the ſhape of that of the pea, about five inches long, and two wide. The ſeeds are encloſed in a double membrane, are of an oval ſhape, a little flatted, and half an inch long. The juice of the root is given in a dropſy.

Racalcurry.

This has a tap root, which nevertheleſs throws off many fibres that are nearly as large as itſelf, but not much bigger than pack-thread. The ſtalk grows 18 inches high, but is procumbent; it has five deep furrows running along all its length; the ſtalk, which is of a green colour, throws out many branches. Leaves of different ſhapes, grow from the branches on pedicles of four inches. At every joint of the main ſtalk are two ſmall cordated leaves ſurrounding it by their baſe, and, as the joints are near each other, theſe appear like ſquammæ. The flower is a ſmall bilabeated corolla; I could find no ſtamina: the ſtyle is pyramidal, with many fine fibres on the top of it. The fruit is a pod about three inches long, as thick as a crow's quill, and ſtrait, containing about ten black ſeeds; three of theſe pods grow from the top of every branch. The juice of this plant given with honey, is eſteemed to be a great cooler.

Harrijose.

The root is fibrous; the plant is compoſed of a number of ſquare hollow joints four inches long and $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch wide, of a deep green colour; it ſeeks ſupport from buſhes and trees, and grows pretty long, and is much divided. When near the ground it throws out roots at its joints, and emits a milky juice. At every joint is one leaf, (on ſhort, ſucculent, and bright green petioles) and a flower. The flowers are red, and umbelliferous, but I have not ſeen them perfect. The whole plant is uſed as a repellent and diſſolvent.

Acknok.

The root grows perpendicularly, and is of the thickneſs of a crow-quill. The plant is a creeper, which throws out roots at its joints, and runs up trees, *&c.* to the height of 12 or 14 feet. The leaves are of a deep green, grow regularly at four inches diſtance from one another. The juice of the plant is given with pepper for the cure of an anaſarcous ſwelling; one table ſpoonful and half is eſteemed to be a ſufficient quantity for a purging doſe.

Lajutee.

This is a pretty little plant with a perpendicular root as thick as a ſmall pack-thread, but which divides. The ſtalk is naked for about two inches,

reddiſh at bottom, but woolly above, where it forms a kind of head, and throws out above twenty erect fibres four inches long, round, red, and woolly: on two thirds of the outer ones are the leaves, of a fine green colour. On the top of the remaining third part of the fibres are the flowers, five on each, the calyx is green, corolla yellow. The root is powdered and applied to wounds.

Kaoon.

The root is tuberous and like ginger: the ſtalk grows upwards five feet, and is $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in diameter, of a browniſh green colour, jointed regularly at the diſtance of three inches. The leaves grow near the top alternately, diſtant from each other three inches; they are ſoft, and ſurround the ſtalk at their baſe. The flower is compoſed of a few green-coloured ſquammæ on the top of the ſtalk. The fruit is a triangular pod, which contains numerous black angular ſeeds.

Dunqueen.

The root is as big as a gooſe-quill, goes down perpendicularly, ſending off lateral ſhoots. The ſtalk is round, green, and of the thickneſs of the root, but ſoon divides into five or ſix branches. The leaves grow at the joints, at the diſtance of five inches from each other, upon a petiole of three inches; they are hairy and of a deep green colour; in the alæ of theſe grow the flowers. The juice of it allays thirſt in fevers.

Soonrage.

The root is a bundle of thick ſhort perpendicular fibres. The ſtalk is as thick as a man's finger, grows erect, and to the height of two feet, but naked $\frac{2}{3}$ of its length, jointed regularly at the diſtance of one inch. On the upper third joints, the pale green leaves alternately grow, and ſurround the ſtalk. The flowers grow in ſquamous heads on the top of every ſtalk. The juice is given in fevers; and the leaf and root when pounded is applied as a repellent to ſwellings in the groin.

Conic Champow.

This grows to a tolerable large tree, and ſpreads very much; its leaves will diſcover it from every other tree; they are of a pale but ſhining green, and ſix of them grow round the end of every branch in a radiated manner. When the leaves fall off, the part they broke from becomes a ſeparate branch, at the end of which, ſix other ſuch leaves ſhoot out. In the center of thoſe radii, another branch is produced with ſix more leaves, and were it not for accidents the tree would grow regularly tall. The flowers I have never ſeen. The fruit conſiſts of many long ſlender pods, which are but very little thicker

thicker than pack-thread, in length ſix inches; theſe are round, and contain oblong ſeeds, but opportunity did not offer for my ſeeing them when ripe. There are various ſorts of this ſpecies of trees.

Kol Meg, in *Bengal*; Creat, in *Bombay:*

The root is fibrous and contorted. The plant grows 15 inches high. The leaves feel very ſoft. It is exceſſively bitter, and given as a ſtomachic and vermifuge.

Esurmool.

The root is long, and about $\frac{1}{4}$ an inch in diameter, and without leſſening its ſize runs like liquorice a good way into the ground, being brown on the outſide, and yellow within: as the root is ſomewhat contorted, plants ariſe from different parts of it, and theſe grow ſo as to be 18 inches high, but as they are ſlender they require to be ſupported. The leaves are of a light green, fleſhy, and grow but thinly on the plant. The root is powdered and uſed in foul ulcers; but its moſt excellent quality is, that if a piece of it is held in the hand, it will drive the covra capella ſnakes away from you in great haſte, as they will not come near the place where the root is.

Durka Jomp.

The root is black, ſmall, contorted and tuberous, thickly ſet with numerous black rigid fibres. From each branch of the root grow ſingle, hard, ſquare, black ſhining ſtalks, naked about a foot from the ground, then at every three inches diſtance grow, in pairs, the leaves; it riſes to two feet. The ſeeds, I think, are round the margin of the leaf.

Durka Jomp, 2d.

The root conſiſts of a number of very fine, ſmall, black fibres; from theſe grow ſeveral fine black ſhining ſtalks, 10 or 12 inches high, as thick as a pack-thread at bottom, but gradually leſſening upwards.

Calka Jomp.

The root is compoſed of a number of ſmall black rigid fibres from a kind of head, from which alſo grows the ſtalk; this ſtalk is perfectly round, woody and ſtrait, and grows to 14 inches in height; on the top, it is divided into two branches, and thoſe again into two others, on the top of which branches are the leaves, which are of a pleaſant green colour. The three laſt plants are reckoned to be great pectorals.

Shawlpon.

This grows from the ground three feet, but not quite erect. The root is ſmall and fibrous yet perpendicular. The leaves grow alternately and are of

of a pale green. The flower I have not ſeen. The parts where the fruit are produced are above the leaves. This, and half a dozen more cooling plants are made into a decoction, and given in *India* as their greateſt febrifuge.

Sutta Mullie.

The roots are very numerous; they hang from the baſe of the plant by thin fibres, which gradually enlarge to the ſize of a man's finger, then taper gradually to a point, they are about eight inches long, white and ſucculent, eaſily dividing lengthways. There is alſo amongſt them, here and there, a ſmall fibre which runs off to a conſiderable diſtance, and from this grow freſh bundles of roots which ſend up plants. The ſtalks are of the ſize of a ſwan's quill, woody and ſpinous, and ſome of them grow 12 feet high, then come branches which are very like the aſparagus, but ſpinous, and are an inch aſunder. Indeed the firſt ſhoots from the ground, which are alſo ſpinous, bear likewiſe ſome reſemblance to the aſparagus. The quantity of roots which was brought to me, and was the produce of one original plant, would more than fill a peck meaſure. The juice of the root is given in *Gonorrhœas*.

Nawpetkee.

This is a beautiful little creeper, and ſpreads a good deal. The flower and fruit anſwer the character of Dr. *Hill's Cordioſpermum*, only that the ſeed is a beautiful blue.

Bale Tree.

This grows to a large tree and is ſpinous: under each ſpine grow the leaves, which are of a pale green. It bears fruit, ſome of which are as big as a boy's head; when ripe they are of a greeniſh yellow; the ſkin is very thin, and ſmells like a citron, under which is a hard woody ſhell $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch thick, full of a fine pulp, of an high flavour, and which is eſteemed to be very nutritive; in this are very bitter ſeeds covered with a fine balſamic ſubſtance, of the colour and conſiſtence of *Venice* turpentine. The whole when dry is red and granulated, and given on the *Coromandel* coaſt in the laſt ſtage of a fever, and is called *Billapatree*.

Doomar.

This is a ſmall tree, or rather ſhrub, growing in hedges, or out of walls; the bark is grey and rough. The leaves are of a pale green; the upper part of the leaf is paler than the under part, the latter is very harſh and rough. The fruit is a yellow fig of the ſize of our fig in *Europe*. It grows all over *India*, and on the coaſt of *Malabar* they uſe the leaf to poliſh their *Black-wood*.

Scar-

Scarlet Fig.

This is a very ſpreading tree, the branches generally growing in a circular manner as if cut by art, the under part of the limbs making almoſt a plane at the diſtance of 10 or 12 feet from the ground, affording fine ſhelter for the cattle; the upper part is convex, and of a conſiderable height. The ſemidiameter of one near *Calcutta* in *Bengal* is full 20 yards. The bark is brown, the ſkin next it, and alſo the wood, is of a bright reddiſh brown. All the figs from their limbs drop ſhoots which take root. The leaf is of a fine deep ſhining green above, but ſomewhat paler below. It flowers as the other figs do; the fruit is a fine ſcarlet fig, whoſe diameter is an inch.

Coddam.

This is a large timber-tree which grows to 40 feet in height; the root ſpreads much. The bark is grey, and much cracked; the wood is of a pale yellow, and cloſe grained. The leaves are of a fine green colour and elegantly ribbed, they grow in pairs. The flower grows at the end of the branches, it is round and of the ſize of a tennis-ball, and almoſt as hard, excepting the ſtyle, which is much longer than the cup, and being perfectly white, ſtanding out of it, makes it look as if it was larded: the ſurface of the ball is made up of fine yellow monopetalous cups, $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch long, divided into five parts for a third of their length; and their five ſtamina are ſhorter than the cups. Stigma are oval; theſe are ſo very cloſe together as to make it of the hardneſs above-mentioned; within this, of the ſame length, is another ſeries of white flowers: the reſt is a fibrous white ſtuff, without any appearance of ſeed; the flower is fixed to a long and ſlender peduncle. This tree is planted for ornament and ſhade, on the ſides of the walks at *Bengal*.

Singo, on the *Malabar* coaſt; Morunga, on the *Coromandel*.

This tree grows up to 20 feet, and ſpreads a great deal. The bark is nearly white, the ſkin that is next to it, reddiſh; the wood is whitiſh and ſpungy. The leaves are of a pale green, very tender, and pinnated farther than Dr. *Hill* deſcribes them to be, but I think what he calls the ramoſe leaf of the *Ben*, comes neareſt to a true deſcription. The flowers are white, and grow on large ſpikes almoſt covering the tree, yielding a beautiful appearance. The fruit is a long triangular pod, which contains in its cavities hard, angular, alated nuts, and which I apprehend to be the *Ben* nuts. The root of this tree is uſed as horſe-radiſh, and taſtes very much like it. The leaves mixed with a little ſalt, and taken after a ſurfeit, vomit ſmartly. The fruit when green the *Indians* eat in their curries, and ſo they do the flowers. The tree affords a reddiſh gum, in ſhape and quality like gum *Tragacanth*. *Query*, if the wood be not the *Lignum Nephriticum?* It grows all over *India*.

Jack.

Is a large ſpreading tree, the bark is brown and rough, the wood of a fine bright yellow, and takes a good poliſh, the leaves are of a deep ſhining green. The flowers grow out of the ſtock and large branches on ſhort foot-ſtalks; they are white, very fleſhy, and ſhaped like a tulip. The fruit is large, rough, and of an oblong figure, containing three ſeries of ſeeds, which are about the ſize of a bergamote pear; within theſe, is a large kernel which fills the Jack to within a third of an inch of its diameter; the coat of this is what is eaten, and which is extremely ſweet and luſcious; it feels in the mouth like preſerved citron, though ſomewhat tougher and harder. Some of theſe capſules weigh more than 20 pounds. The tree grows in every country in *India*, but the *Dutch* are more fond of the fruit than any other of the *Europeans*.

Chulta.

An elegant flower tree. It grows near *Surman*'s bridge in *Bengal*, and has been fully deſcribed in p. 184.

White Champowe.

This is a ſmall tree, but it ſpreads much; the flowers appear firſt round the ends of the branches, and are of the ſhape and ſmell of a jonquil, but of a white colour; after the flower, the leaves come out in the ſame manner round the ends of the branches, but no where elſe, ſo that on the outſide, the tree looks well covered, but if you look from under, it is a ſhell: when the leaves are off it appears like a tree diveſted of all its ſmall branches, there being none that are leſs than an inch in diameter, nor are there many of theſe. The wood is ſpungy; the bark ſmooth and brown, it ſmells very ſweet. This tree grows all over *India*.

Yellow Champowe.

This is the *Michilia* of Doctor *Hill*, and by him has been well deſcribed. This is the fineſt ſort of all, and its flowers perfume the woods.

Mango, vide p. 184.

Dolcorunda or Chetha.

This grows to 12 and ſometimes to 20 feet in height, and is in its growth, and the colour of its bark ſomewhat like our hazel; the leaves are of a dirty green above, and of a whitiſh colour below, highly ribbed, and to the touch are rough and harſh. I have never ſeen the flower, but the fruit is a long flat pod containing ſome ſeeds. In dry weather, the leaves double, when they appear oval with one ſide ſtrait. The natives ſmoke the leaves over a lamp, and apply them to the eyes in order to remove a dulneſs of the ſight occaſioned by a fever, &c. They alſo rowl their *Charoots* in them (or *Segars* as they are called in the *Weſt Indies*).

Bedam.

This grows in ſome places very tall even to 50 or 60 feet, and where it does not ſhoot high it ſpreads much. The branches are horizontal, and the leaves grow round their ends, and are of a bright green colour. The flowers are ſtaminous, growing round the end of the branches among the leaves. The fruit are like almonds, and alſo are contained in huſks, the inſide of which are red, and of an acid taſte. The kernel taſtes like a young almond, and is compoſed of fine cloſely-compacted ſcales.

Custard Apple.

This grows as large as our apple tree. The bark is brown and ſmooth. The leaves are of a deep green colour, deeply furrowed, and highly ridged; they grow alternately on the branches. The flowers are monopetalous and cup-like, having many ſtamina. The fruit is like the cone of a pine, of a ſoft green colour, but white inſide, having many oblong ſeeds intermixed with its pulp, the latter taſting very much like a rich cuſtard. There is another ſort of this kind of fruit which is ſomewhat ſweeter than this, but grows altogether in the like manner.

Atlas.

This is a very large and ſtrong tree, with leaves conſiderably large, which are of a pale dirty green colour. The flowers grow on ſpikes greatly ramified, and look well on the tree; on each ſubdiviſion of the ſpike is a flower, whoſe calyx is ſimple and green; the corolla is a white monopetalous cup with four ſmall hooked filaments. The fruit is a hard green ball, as large as a cricket ball, incloſing two hard ſeeds of the ſhape and ſize of nutmegs.

Fig.

This is a large tree, and drops fibrous ſhoots from its branches like the other fig or Banian trees. The bark is brown. The leaves are of a bright ſhining green. The fruit is round, an inch in diameter, and of a pale fleſh colour.

Trepalta or Morroock.

It grows to be about 16 feet high, the bark is whitiſh, armed with ſtrong ſpines. The wood is ſoft, ſpungy, very light, and fit for being made into ſcabbards for ſword blades. The leaves are of a pale green, and ſome of them have long pedicles hanging to their points like thoſe on the little *Banian* tree. The flower (which commonly by us is called ſhoe-flower, becauſe uſed to black our ſhoes,) is very large, of a deep but beautiful crimſon colour: Corolla, of the ſhape of a pea-bloſſom, containing numerous ſtamina, which are alſo of a crimſon colour. The fruit is a pod, about 7 inches long, near one in diameter, and which contains five or ſix red ſeeds of the ſhape of a kidney-bean.

OMRA.

This grows to a large tree, the bark is brown, and yields a gum which ſmells ſtrongly of garlic. Before the tree vegetates the limbs look remarkably blunt; round their ends fibres of 10 inches long ſhoot out in all directions, theſe have knobs upon them in which the young fruit are encloſed, and ſoon after theſe appear, the leaves ſtart out amidſt the ſhoots, and are pinnated; on each pinna, which is in length 14 inches, there are four pair of leaves and an odd leaf. The fruit, when ripe, is of the ſhape and ſize of our muſcle-plumb, but not eatable.

AARON at *Bombay*, BERINDA at *Bengal*, and ARMEDILLA at *Madraſs*, by ſome *Europeans* called GRANA REGIA.

This grows to be 12 or 14 feet high, and ſome get to the ſize of a middling tree; in the latter ſort the bark is brown and ſmooth, but the wood is tender; the ſtalk is of a green colour, grows erect, but alſo tender. The leaves are ſmall, of a bright green, growing on a ſingle petiole longer or ſhorter in proportion to the ſize of the leaf. The flowers grow in pyramidal ſpikes on the top and large branches of the plant, and after they drop off the fruit remains, which are prickly green capſules divided into three lobes, each of which contains an oblong ſeed about half an inch in length; the huſk is of a purple colour ſtreaked with white. The kernel is white and oleous, and the *Indians* make uſe of its oil for burning in their lamps; they alſo give it to their children in the earlieſt ſtate of infancy, looking upon it to be the moſt lenient and innocent of all other laxative medicines. The leaf pounded is often applied to the belly for the cure of worms. It grows all over *India*.

TATOON, vide p. 185.

RUSSA, vide p. 185.

LAOOD, by the *Gentoos*: HERPAWL, *Moors*: CHERMELLE *Portugueſe*.

This grows to a tolerable large tree, and ſpreads much. The bark is whitiſh, and wood ſoft; the leaves, which are of a pale pleaſant green, are pinnated, each pinna is about 14 or 15 inches long, growing very thick around the ends of the branches. The flowers grow in long ſpikes hanging down from the body or large branches of the tree, after which comes the fruit; this, when ripe, is of a pale greeniſh yellow, round, but divided down to the ſtone, (which is hard, and to which the fleſh firmly adheres) in eight lobes, flatted at each end; theſe the *Europeans* at *Bengal* make tarts of, and call them gooſeberry tarts, on account of their reſemblance in taſte to the gooſeberry.

Guava.

This tree grows to the ſize of our apple-tree. The bark is of a light brown: the leaves grow in pairs along the branches, are of a bright green, thick but ſoft, (not eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed from the cuſtard-apple otherwiſe than by their growing oppoſite to one another.) The flower is monopetalous, cup-like, white, and full of ſtamina. The fruit is of the ſize of a golden pippin, green at firſt, but when very ripe, yellow without, and generally red within: this is a pleaſant but mealy pulp, containing a great number of ſmall hard white ſeeds of the ſize of a large pin's head. The fruit, before it is quite ripe, is very aſtringent, if eaten with the ſkin. It is eſteemed a good fruit, but the ſmell of it is not agreeable to every one.

Bier.

This grows to the ſize of our largeſt plum-tree, and is a good deal like it. The leaves are of a pale dirty green, almoſt white below, where it is alſo ſomewhat hairy. The tree has many ſpikes. The flowers are ſingle. The fruit a plum of the ſize and ſhape of a yellow bullace, but eats more like an apple than like a plum. It grows in every part of *India*.

Gum Arabic.

Some of theſe grow to large trees. The bark is brown without, but reddiſh within, and yields a great quantity of gum. There are three ſorts of theſe trees, all of which are full of ſharp ſpines, and the leaves are altogether alike, except that ſome may be a little longer than others. The flowers grow on foot-ſtalks from two to five inches long, are round, yellow, and of a fine ſmell, and reſemble the tufts on the hangings of old-faſhioned beds. The fruit are not all alike; the 1ſt ſort, or thoſe which grow on the ſhorteſt peduncles, are oblong, round, black pods of the ſhape of that of a pea, three inches long, and of the ſize of a man's little finger, each containing five or ſix round, dark brown ſeeds. 2d ſort grows on ſomewhat longer peduncles from different parts of the branches like the former, and the fruit is an oblong flatted pod, in length three or four inches, and half as broad, containing five or ſix dark brown flatted ſeeds, with the impreſſion of a heart, or rather of the letter V on each ſide of them. On the 3d ſort, the flower grows on ſpikes at the end of the branches, and the fruit is a flat pod full 12 inches long, appearing like a ſtring of buttons, and contains 10 or 12 round flatted ſeeds, convex on each ſide; the pods are of a whitiſh hoary green, very gummy, and hang on the ſpikes in cluſters. With theſe pods, and the fruit they call *Packekaile*, the *Indians* tan and dye their leather.

Lien Cauta.

This is a moderately large ſpreading tree. The bark is of a bright brown, and ſmooth. The branches are full of ſhort ſpines. The leaves a pale green.

Flowers,

Flowers, which are very ſmall, grow on ſpikes like an amentum or the hazel catkins, but longer: the calyx is green. Corolla white and monopetalous, containing a number of fine filaments a little longer than the corolla. The fruit I have not ſeen.

Ge-il.

This grows to be a pretty large tree, the leaves are of a bright green colour, but ſomewhat woolly. I know not of any uſe to which the two laſt deſcribed trees are converted.

Cotton.

This tree grows very large, and ſpreads much. The bark is whitiſh, and full of ſtrong ſhort ſpines. The wood is white and ſpungy; when the tree is young, it has a beautiful appearance, the limbs then growing horizontally, bow down, and around the body of the tree; at five feet above theſe, there is another circular row of branches of leſs extent, and in this manner they proceed on to the top, ſo that the tree appears at a diſtance like a pyramid. The campanulated flower however appears before the leaves, and is as large as a tulip: its calyx is ſingle, green, and fleſhy; corolla is compoſed of five oblong thick petals, which are of a deep crimſon colour: the ſtamina are 15 ſubalated filaments, attached to each other in five bundles, and theſe again to the petals of the corolla. The fruit is a pod, of the ſhape of a ſhort cucumber, divided in three ſeveral parts, containing ſome roundiſh black ſeeds, involved in a ſilky cotton-like matter. After theſe, come the leaves, which are of a pale green colour; by the time that theſe are all out, the pods ſplit longitudinally in three places, and then the cotton ſoon eſcapes, and is carried to all places with the wind. Of that ſubſtance which adheres to the ſeeds, they make mattreſſes, pillows, &c. And a decoction of the leaves, will cure in the laſt ſtage of a dyſenteric flux, attended with a *prolapſus ani*, and other fatal ſymptoms, as hath been experienced by Mr. *Thomas*, when deprived of all other hopes of ſaving the patient.

Mergoosa, or Nun.

It grows to the ſize of our large apple trees. The bark is brown, and rough, yielding a gum of the flavour of garlic. The wood is brown. The pinnæ grow very thick about the limbs and branches, and becauſe the trees make a good ſhade, they are planted in the ſtreets and walks at *Cuddalore* and *Madraſs*, on the *Coromandel* coaſt. The leaves are of a deep green, the flowers grow on ſpikes, and are numerous. The fruit, when ripe, is yellow, half an inch long, and of the ſhape of an olive cut off at its end; theſe are very ſoft, and almoſt inſipid: they grow in thick bunches, and contain a ſmall oblong hard kernel, of which they make a very

very bitter oil, and give it to cure many diſorders, particularly thoſe of the venereal kind. They rub it alſo into the joints of people ſtruck with the *Barbiers*. They mix the pulp of the ripe fruit, as I have been informed, with their cream, in order to increaſe the quantity of their butter for the markets.

Physic-Nut.

This grows eight or ten feet from the ground. The bark is brown. The wood ſpungy; when there are no leaves on it, the tree looks like ſeveral bundles of blunt ſticks ſtuck into the ground, and I believe is what *Pomet* has taken his draught of the *Gamboge* plant from. The leaves grow thick on every part; they are undulated, and of a pale green. The flowers grow on ſpikes, on the top of the branches. The fruit is in bunches, of the ſize of apricots, and as it ripens looks like them; when quite ripe, it is a black roundiſh pod, dividing into three parts, and containing three oblong ſeeds, with a black huſk. The kernel is white, and divides like an almond; between the diviſions, is a fine membraneous ſubſtance, in which lies its violent emetic, and cathartic quality; for when that is taken away, the kernel is as innocent and pleaſant as an almond.—Every part of this plant yields a greyiſh or milky juice, which will ſo ſeparate the globules of quick-ſilver, that it is not eaſy to make them unite again.

Soonatulla.

This grows to a pretty large tree. The leaves are of a bright green colour, grow on very long ſtalks, and look like thoſe of green elder; they are triplicately pinnated, and on each pinna are three pair and one odd leaf. The flower is a club on a long pedancle, bearing a number of large purple campaniform monopetalous flowers. The ſeed-veſſel is a large flat pod, four feet long, and five inches wide, but not quite an inch thick, and which very often grows ſingle on the top of all the branches of the tree, when it gives the appearance of a ſcythe; this divides longitudinally on its edges, and contains a great number of very fine, thin, white, membraneous ſeptæ, about two inches wide, among which are numerous ſeeds incloſed in the ſame membraneous coverings; the ſeeds are flat and brown, of the ſhape of two kidneys united by their concave ſides, each lobe being ſeparate.

A-Cunn.

This grows two feet high. Its bark is browniſh, and wood very ſoft; the branches, before the leaves ſhoot, appear as a parcel of old ſtumps. The leaves are a pale green, very ſoft, fleſhy, and ſucculent, without furrow or fibre except in the middle rib: the whole of this tree is full of a milky juice. I have never ſeen the flower or fruit of it. The *Gentoos* in *Bengal*, plant it by their *Pagodas*, and look upon it as a ſacred tree.

Rackta Camull.

This is the water lilly, with the deep red flower; they make uſe of the root with pepper, as a cure for the bloody flux.

Racalsussa.

This is our water arrow headed graſs. The *Indians* uſe the root with ginger, as a great ſtrengthner.

Chandool.

This plant grows upwards to 20 inches or more. The root is of the ſize and colour of that of the *Gentian*, but is contorted, and throws out many fibres; from the root and fibres, three or four ſtalks are produced, which are robuſt, erect, and ſometimes ramoſe. The leaves grow three at a joint by pedicles, which are half an inch long; they are of a pale green, ſomewhat fleſhy, and of a lanceolated ſhape. It flowers like the honey-ſuckle, but is not ſo abounding in flowers as that is on the head.

Doolacur.

This is a tolerable ſized tree. The bark is brown on the outſide, then a whitiſh colour appears, but yellow within. The leaves grow two or three from one foot-ſtalk, they are of a light green, oblong and pointed. The fruit is a green huſk with a ſhell, incloſing a large kernel. The bark of this tree when powdered, is given in rheumatiſms.

Conta Cochu.

This plant grows in mud-ditches. The root is an inch and quarter in circumference, running with the ſame thickneſs a long way into the mud, throwing out ſome fibres, and has at irregular diſtances, ſome rough annular prominences, which are green within, and white without. The ſtalks are numerous, and of the ſize of a man's finger; round, green, ſucculent, and three or four feet in length: on the top of each ſtalk, there is either a leaf or ſeed. The leaf is 16 inches wide, divided to the ſtalk in ſeven places, and ſome of thoſe are ſtill further divided, in two or three other places: the leaf is rough, and ſerrated. The whole root, ſtock, and ſtalks of the plant are ſpinous. The flower is four inches long, and two thick, and grows round the upper part of the ſtalks, like the *Indian* corn.

Paw Paw.

This tree riſes to 20 feet, ſometimes ſingle, at other times it is divided into ſeveral bodies. The ſtems have the appearance of the cabbage ſtalks, but are not ſo eaſily cut through, as Doctor *Hill* apprehended. On the top of, and round each ſtalk ariſe, on ſtrong and ſingle pedicles of two feet, many very large ſerrated ſharp-pointed leaves, which are of a bright green colour

colour above, but paler and hoary underneath, the larger ones having the greateſt number of diviſions. The male flowers grow out of the top of the branches, and hang down in ſtrings. Each flower is ſmall, monopetalous, and cup-like, divided on top in five parts. The female flowers grow between the pedicles of the leaves, from the ſtock of the tree; they are of the ſame ſhape as the male, but larger, and grow on ſhort peduncles. The fruit is yellow when ripe, ſomewhat of the ſhape of a pear, and many of them in their biggeſt part, are four inches in diameter: they are mealy, and rather an inſipid fruit, but by mixing with them ſome lime juice or *Tamarinds*, they make tolerable good tarts.

Smalloo.

This grows to a ſmall tree. The wood is as pliable as the willow. The leaves grow in pairs on the ſmall branches; and are ſoft, woolly, and of a pale green colour. The *Moors* bruiſe, and apply them to the temples, to cure the head-ach.

Bamboo.

This grows to a prodigious height, topping almoſt all the other trees. The ſtalk is hollow, jointed, &c. and well known. The leaf is a bright green, has no petioles, but in part ſurrounds the ſtalk at its baſe. The ſtalk is very uſeful, being exceedingly ſtrong, very hollow and light; with it they often build the frames of their houſes; on this they carry their burthens, and when properly carved (which is done by art whilſt it is growing) they arch, and carry their palanquins with it. Some, when highly, and moſt regularly arched, will ſell at a prodigious price, eſpecially on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, where 20 pounds ſterling have been given for one of them.

Yam, or Alloo.

This is the potatoe of *India*, and after being firſt boiled, and then well dried in hot aſhes, eats very well. The root ſometimes weighs 20 pounds: It is of an oblong ſhape, and of a blackiſh-brown colour on the outſide, but within, it is a white mixed with red. The ſtalk runs up any thing it chances to lay hold of. The leaves are of a deep green above, with a mixture of the purple; but below, they are paler; the whole leaf is thick and rigid.

Nauta.

This grows a little more erect than our bramble buſh. The ſtalk, branches, leaves, and ſeed-veſſels are armed with ſtrong and ſharp ſpines, which readily lay hold of any thing that is in their way; the pinnæ grow oppoſite each other, and on them alſo grow others in the ſame manner. The leaves are of a pale, but pleaſant green; the flowers grow on a ſpike,

on top of each pinna, and are yellow. The fruit is a round compreſſed pod, containing four round, hard bluiſh ſeeds; the pod opens at its convex edge. The leaves mixed with ſalt and pounded, is applied by way of cataplaſm to ruptures: the ſeeds bruiſed, and infuſed in milk, are given in the *Weſt Indies*, (where the ſhrub is alſo to be found) as a purge: in the *Eaſt*, they powder and adminiſter them as a cure for the itch: the ſeeds alſo are ſometimes diſguiſed, and ſold for *Bezoar*.

Nanjaroota,

Is a creeper like an ivy, and grows about *Anjengo*. The whole of this plant made into a ſyrup from a ſtrong decoction, it is ſaid, cures moſt kind of fevers. For further particulars, not having had an opportunity of ſeeing the plant, I was directed to enquire of *Salvadora de Ricas* at *Anjengo*.

Columbo-Root, Rad. India. Amar.

This is the root of the *Coculus Indicus*; when quite freſh it is an *emetic*, when dry a *cathartic*.

Chenderoos.

They ſell it in *China* for amber, but it is truly the *Gum-Copal*.

Bang.

This is the ſtalk of the hemp-plant; the *Indians* ſmoke and chew it, until they are intoxicated.

Becce.

This I am told is a root that grows near *Patna*; what was brought to me appeared like ſoft opium, but was rather whiter than opium, inveloped in a piece of ſkin; if it be truly a root, the bark of it is thin, and of a dirty grey colour, with a yellow caſt; the root itſelf is ſoft and tough, or rather gummy. I could learn nothing concerning the growth of the plant. A *Gentoo* doctor told me it was a poiſon, but that when compounded, as below, he had adminiſtered it with ſucceſs for curing the putrid fever, accompanied with bleeding at the noſe, &c.—Take of it, the weight of one ſilver rupee, or 90 grains; of pepper, the weight of two rupees; of calcined cowrie-ſhells, half a rupee's weight; mix theſe, and with water make the maſs into middling-ſized pills, of which let the patient take one, with a bit of candied ginger every morning, and which may be repeated in the evenings, if the ſymptoms be alarming.

Datura.

Datura, ſo called by Doctor *Hill*; *Stramonium ferox*, by Doctor *James*, who has given a full account of its inebriating and intoxicating

qualities, &c. It grows erect to four feet. The leaves are ſoft, and of a pale bluiſh green colour; the flowers, which are large, and bell-ſhaped, are ſometimes white, and ſometimes yellow. If the *Indian* women have poſſeſſion of any ſecret poiſon, it is the ſeed of this plant.

PARRUL.

This is a volubilis, which runs up the higheſt trees. The ſtalk is round, whitiſh, and woolly. The leaves, which are very ſoft, grow ſingle at the joints, are of a browniſh green colour above, but whitiſh below.

AGUMHEE.

A volubilis, with numerous tendrils. The ſtalks are round, and hairy. The leaves are hairy too, and of a deep green colour. The flowers are yellow, in large green hairy cups, divided in five parts. The ſtamina conſiſt of three very ſmall filaments. The fruit is yellow when ripe, and of the ſize of a ſmall gooſeberry, but not with ſo much pulp; the ſeeds however are larger than thoſe of the gooſeberry. The *Gentoo* doctors ſay, that the juice of this leaf given in goats milk, cures putrid fevers.

FROGBOOTEE.

This is a volubilis. The root though tortuous, grows perpendicularly, and is as thick as a tobacco pipe, brown without, but paler within. The leaves grow alternately on the ſtalk, and are of a bright green colour. The powder of theſe leaves, is one of the many medicines the *Indians* give to cure a *Gonorrhœa*.

CHACULCA.

This too is a ſmall volubilis. The root is fibrous. The leaves, which are thin, rigid, and of a pale green, grow at the joints of the ſtalks. The flowers grow on the top of the ſtalks, in ſquamous cottony heads, are very ſmall, and of a bright purple colour. The juice of the leaf mixed with a little ſalt, and rubbed on the ſkin, relieves it from any itching diſorder.

ANTIMOOL.

A ſmall volubilis. The root is brown, ſmall, tortuous, and grows perpendicularly. The leaf is of a deep green, with ſome white ſtreaks. If the whole plant with its root be pounded, and made into pills, and a middling ſized pill be taken morning and evening, the *Indians* ſay, that it will cure the itch.

Gundy Bedell.

Another volubilis. Its leaves grow in pairs, are thin, and of a deep green colour; they ſtink worſe than a putrid cabbage. When pounded with ginger, it is adminiſtered as a cure for the flux.

Cutchoo.

This grows like our *Aaron*, though its leaves are ſomewhat larger than the *Aaron*'s: the ſtalks are either of a deep green, or deep purple colour. It grows in damp places. The natives eat of the root boiled, as a part of their diet; and externally uſe it as a repellent.

Wien Champowe or Ground-Flower.

The roots are whitiſh and tuberous, with ſeveral others hanging to them by ſmall appendices. The leaves feel ſoft, and are of a pale green above, but purple below, they ſurround each other as they come out of the ground. I could not procure either the ſtalk or flower.

Rangchitta.

I could not ſee this plant, but the leaves I have had; they are of a deep green above, but paler below. When the leaves are bruiſed, and applied to an extravaſation of blood, they will diſſolve it.

Thusmicundy.

The root is of the nature of ginger, and tuberous, having a bunch of looſe fibres affixed to the top, from which the plant grows. The root is brown on the outſide, but yellowiſh within, and like the ginger feels warm in the mouth. The culm grows to five feet. The leaves are a pale green. On top of the culm are the flowers; they are four fleſhy yellow filaments, in green cups. The root and leaf pounded with pepper, are given in colds.

Eddy.

This is a potatoe, eaten by the natives. The root is round, with ſeveral excreſcences about its ſkins, from the ſize of an hazel-nut, to that of a walnut, which excreſcences are pulled off, and planted. It is of a pale brown on the outſide, and whitiſh within, but a good deal intermixed with red. It ſometimes weighs 20 pounds or more. The leaves are of a pale ſhining green, fleſhy, and frequently extremely large; ſo much like the *Rhubarb* leaf, that *Europeans* frequently miſtake, and until they ſee the root, take it for that plant. The natives boil and eat this root in the ſame manner, as they do that of the *Cutchoo*.

Orriol.

This grows to a pretty large tree, which ſends forth long branches almoſt from the ground. The leaves are rigid, and of a bright green colour; they grow

grow in pairs oppoſite each other, the whole length of the branches. The flowers I have not ſeen. The fruit, which is of an oblong figure, is about two inches in length, and three fourths of an inch broad, green, ſucculent, and contains ſome ſmall ſeeds; they are alſo alated lengthways, and have four rows of membranes. The whole of the fruit is acid. They uſe the fruit in their curries and tarts, and ſay, they alſo give the juice of it in the gout.

African Plant.

This is the ſame as that which we have in *England*, and needs no deſcription.

Mouselle.

This tree grows to a tolerable ſize, and makes an agreeable ſhade in walks and gardens, eaſily yielding to be cut into any form, that fancy ſhall dictate. Its bark is brown, the leaves of a deep green above, but of a paler below, they are rigid, very bright, ſhining and thick. Flowers are a radiated green calyx, on which is the pyramidal germen; the corolla is a ſhort white tube over the germen, with its upper part radiated: theſe fall off in great plenty every day, are of an agreeable ſweet ſmell, and the *Gentoos* are very fond of them, ſtringing and hanging them about their necks, arms, &c. The fruit is a pale red cherry, of the ſize and ſhape of our white heart cherry, but the footſtalk is not quite ſo long: the cherry grows in the alæ of the leaves, and taſtes like hips, containing a ſtone, whoſe ſhell is tender, brown, ſmooth, and ſomewhat longer than our cherry-ſtone, but in the ſhape of the almond's: the kernel is bitter and oleous. With the oil extracted from this kernel, the natives rub the part that has been bitten by the *Scorpion* or *Centipede*, and which it ſoon cures. The crows are very fond of this fruit.

Curringe.

This is a pretty large tree, but buſhy; it is planted in ſome of the gardens at *Bengal*, but for what uſe I could not learn; the rigid leaves are of a dark ſhining green colour, and grow on woody pinnæ upon the limbs and branches; there are four pair and an odd one on each pinna; neither the flower nor fruit have I ſeen.

Volubiles.

Theſe grow in ſuch plenty, and there is ſo great a variety of them both in the hedges and gardens, that the natives have ſcarcely proper names for any, but thoſe which are uſed in food or medicine.

Sett Moorga.

This plant is of the *Aloe* kind. The root is double, and like a pair of horns, a foot in length, ſucculent, and as thick as a man's finger, reddiſh

without, and white within. The leaves are not ſpinous, and are 18 inches long; the baſe, is one inch broad, and of a deep green, ſpotted with a purple colour. The flower-ſtalk is near two feet long; the fruit grow round it from top to bottom, theſe are ſmall berries, each containing one ſeed. The juice of the leaves ſweetened is a great reſtorative.

Bonchurrilly.

The root conſiſts of ſeveral bulbs of a pyramidal form, and half an inch in diameter, with ſome long fibres, of the ſize of a gooſe-quill. The plant is graſſy; the culm part is about 14 inches high; the leaves are oval, and 11 or 12 inches long. The flower-ſtalk is in the middle of the leaves, erect, green, and of the thickneſs of a large gooſe-quill. The flower grows like our Fox-glove. The fruit are ſeven or eight green oval pods, one inch long, and deeply divided in ſix parts. The root with ſalt in the form of a cataplaſm, is applied to bruiſes.

Arra Chitta.

This grows five feet high, but muſt be ſupported; the perpendicular root is as thick as a man's finger, and ſends forth five or ſix ſtalks, which cling to any thing they chance to meet with, and near their tops they divide. The leaves grow alternately on the ſtalk, or the branches; they are pinnated, and three pair and an odd leaf grow together; in ſhape they are oval and pointed, and two inches long. The flowers are blue, and of the ſhape of pea-flowers. The ſeed-veſſel is a pod, four inches long, containing 10, or a greater number of kidney-ſhaped ſeeds. The juice of this plant, the old women give in the bleeding fever.

Dulcamunda.

The root grows perpendicularly, is in common 12 inches long, and two thick, but ſometimes it is ſtill much longer and thicker; it is brown without, and red within. The ſtalk is erect, and one inch thick, deeply furrowed, as are the petioles of the leaves. The plant grows to four feet in height; there are generally four leaves on the ſtalk, growing together in an alternate manner, and theſe are of a bright green, and cordated, 16 inches in length, 12 in breadth, and highly ribbed. The flower is an umbel, not unlike that of the elder before it is in full bloom. The root of it, with pepper, is given in pills to diſcuſs ſwellings; and a cataplaſm of the ſame applied to ſwoln parts, is uſed with the like intention.

Bora Conkrill.

This is the largeſt of the ſpecies; it is a procumbent plant, and throws out roots at its joints. The leaves are angular, and of a bright green. The flowers I have never ſeen. The fruit is oval, and larger than an oſtrich's

oſtrich's egg; of a fine orange colour, armed with thick and ſtrong ſpines, full of a ſoft white pulp, in which are the ſeeds, which are flat and black, of the ſize of ſixpence, and as thick as a crown-piece. Thoſe ſeeds ground on a ſtone with honey, are an excellent laxative in fevers.

Tobacco.

Is too well known, to need a deſcription.

Ole.

In the beginning of the rainy ſeaſon, the leaves of this plant being folded together, riſe out of the ground, and when they are gotten to the height of ſix inches, then the ſtem appears, ſoon afterwards the leaf unfolds, and divides in three ſeveral parts, and theſe go again into many other diviſions; but there is a continuation of the leaf through every ſubdiviſion of the three firſt parts. The ſtalk grows to two feet or more, and is as thick as a man's wriſt, ſucculent, and of a pale green; ſpotted very copiouſly with a deep purple colour. The leaves are of a pale, yet bright green. The root is a large ball of 10 inches diameter, and round, with ſeveral excreſcences on its ſurface, each of which becomes a freſh root when planted: it is reddiſh on the outſide, and red within, very pungent to the tongue; but yet the natives boil and make uſe of it, and alſo of the ſtalks, as a part of their food.

Umbel Cootcha.

This grows almoſt erect; the leaves on the pinnæ are much ſmaller, but more numerous, and of a finer green than thoſe of the *Nauta* or prickly plant; in every thing elſe, as its manner of growing, its ſpines and flower, they are exactly alike; the fruit of this I could never meet with.

Colure.

This runs up a great way on trees or hedges; the leaf is of a deep green, ſhining, ſmooth, and tender. The flower is white, monopetalous, and divided in ſix parts down the cup; the ſtamina are rough double filaments, in number ſix; the antheræ on top of the filaments, are bearded like an arrow. The fruit is an apple of the ſhape of a cucumber, and the ſeeds are like it: the fruit is firſt green, and afterwards of a beautiful bright ſcarlet colour, or between that and crimſon; the parrots, and many other birds feed on them, yet it is not the bird pepper.—The leaf of this plant when young, is exactly like the leaf of the Phyſical Cucumber, when old, it is like the leaf of the *Dootra*.

Dootra.

This is a garden volubilis.

Carilla.

This is alſo a garden volubilis, and runs up ſtakes or trees, but not to a great height. A leaf and a tendril grow at every joint, that is to ſay, regularly at about the diſtance of four inches from each other. The leaf is of a deep green, and made like that of the cucumber. The fruit is about three inches long; ſharp at each end, and more than an inch in diameter, with four ridges on its ſurface, running from one end to the other, rough, and ſerrated, like a cock's-comb. It is a cucumber, and eaten by the natives in their curries.

Burnee.

This is a ſmall plant, which grows to about eight inches in height; it is found in watery places. The ſtalks are ſingle, erect, and ſucculent; the leaves grow thick on the plant, are ſuboval, and one third of an inch in length. The juice of this, they tell me, they give in *old fevers*, by which I believe they mean conſumptions.

Ogg.

It appears to me, that this is the Dogwort Cotton. This plant grows to ſix feet in height and more: it is buſhy, and many ſtalks ariſe from one root, which ſtalks are ſlightly divided; yet ſometimes I have ſeen only a ſingle ſtalk to riſe from the root, and then it has ſpread ſo much, as to give the appearance of the plant's being a ſmall tree. The leaves are ſoft, and fleſhy; of a pale ſhining green above, whitiſh, and cottony below; the limbs are alſo ſoft and ſpungy. The flowers grow in an umbel on the top, and on the diviſions of the branches; there is no calyx, and the corolla is ſingle, bell-ſhaped, with the upper part divided in ſix places, down to the tube; thoſe lie horizontal, are fleſhy, and of a fine purple colour. The ſtamina are ſix filaments, joined by a membrane in the center, on the top of which is a round, flatted, ſtellated anthera. The fruit is an oblong, fleſhy pod, three inches long, containing ſome round black ſeeds, and is full of a cottony matter. Every part of this plant, on being broken, emits an hot pungent milk, which the natives mix with oil, and with it rub the hands for cure of the itch; I have ſeen them uſe it for the ſame purpoſe without oil.

Gualia.

The root of this is very large, brown without, white within; ſoft and ſucculent. The ſtalk is round and woody, and runs a long way amongſt buſhes; the leaves grow at every joint, attended by a tendril, are hairy, and of a pale green colour. The root bruiſed, is uſed as a cataplaſm to cure any pains of the joints, thoſe proceeding from the gout excepted.

Pot Sag, and Lol Sag.

Theſe are the common greens which ſpontaneouſly grow all over *India*, very much reſembling our ſpinage, and are by the *Europeans* called *Callaloe*; of which mention was made in the firſt book.

Dodmurden.

This is a ſhrub, which ſpreads conſiderably. The bright green leaves are pinnated; there are ſix pair on each pinna, whoſe ribs are of a black colour. The flowers grow on a thick ſpike, from the alæ of the pinnæ, and are of a fine yellow: the calyx is a fine yellow rounded perianthum, and the leaves are affixed to the peduncle by a ſhort ſlender unguis: the corolla is compoſed of ſix round concave petals, of half an inch broad, whoſe ungues are alſo very ſhort and ſlender. The flower conſiſts of ten ſhort and ſlender ſtamina, whoſe antheræ are double, and coronated; two of the ſtamina are larger than the others, whoſe antheræ are not only double, but of a ſemicircular form, and nearly one third of an inch in length; another of the ten ſtamina, is longer and thicker than all the reſt, but its antheræ differs not from the ſmall ones. The ſtyle is ſhort; the ſtigma triangular, and near an inch long. The leaves, when pounded, the natives apply by way of a cataplaſm to the ringworm (which is a very troubleſome and common diſorder in the *Eaſt Indies*); it makes a hard cruſt over the affected part, and whenever any of this cruſt breaks, they lay on more of the pounded leaves, and continue ſo to do until the whole cruſt falls off, not neglecting to give at proper intervals cathartic medicines. This Mr. *Thomas* ſaw uſed with ſucceſs, but he was alſo informed in *India*, that the late gallant Admiral *Boſcawen*, when in that country, was cured of a vexatious and obſtinate ringworm, by an application of the ſhoe-flower.

Muckmull.

This volubilis climbs up high trees; its ſtalk is round, and very woolly: the leaf which is alſo very woolly, is green above, and almoſt white below. The flowers are umbelliferous, campanulated, and of a fine purple colour. The limbs are much curled and extended. Stamina, are five, (anthera oblong, and erect) affixed to the upper part of the tube of the corolla. Style is ſingle, and ſubulated. Stigma, oval, and double.

The green ſide of the leaves, digeſt; and the white, dry, old ulcers.

Turmerick.

This is too well known, to need a deſcription; as is alſo

Ginger.

Bonadda, Wild Ginger.

This plant grows to five or ſix feet in height. The root is like ginger; the ſtalk a culm, pale green, and a little woolly; flower, a club of ſix inches in length, and formed like that of the other ginger.

Bisnagullie.

The root is tuberous and white; from which ariſes a ſingle ſlender ſtalk, naked about two feet from the ground, then at alternate diſtances of half an inch, grow the leaves, which are of a pale green colour, and ſupport themſelves by the tendrils at their ends; they are continued to the height of 10 feet, growing in an alternate ſucceſſion, as well on the diviſions as ſtalk. Several flowers grow at the extremities of thoſe diviſions, on footſtalks of five inches, three leaves forming a cup for them, which ſhut up in the day, and open at night; theſe are compoſed of ſix graſſy flowers, one half inch long, of the ſhape and colour of the plant. The ſtamina are ſix green ſubulated filaments, of half an inch in length: antheræ are double, almoſt as long as the filaments, yellow, and affixed by their middle to the top of them. The germ is oblong, divided in three parts, and the ſtyle ſubulated and bifid. The root is eſteemed a great cooler.

Lillicant.

The root of this plant is tuberous, as warm as ginger, but more pleaſant, of the length and thickneſs of a man's little finger; the outſide is whitiſh, the inſide of a beautiful blue, with a mixture of clear white. The ſtalk is a culm, ſurrounded by leaves, of a deep green colour, with ſome purple on their edges. This remarkable root grows at *Bengal*, and is given, mixed with pepper, in the form of pills for the ſore throat in the ſmall-pox, which they ſay it certainly cures. Mr. *Thomas* procured ſome roots, and carefully dried them with the deſign of bringing them to *England*, but the damp in the ſhip ſoon deſtroyed them.

Maccalfull.

The root is fibrous. The ſtalk procumbent, and takes root at the joints. The leaves are of a pale green above, ſtill paler below, and feel rough; they grow on petioles of three inches. The fruit is an apple, as big as a large lemon; of the lemon's ſhape, with a beautiful orange colour, containing a number of flat oval ſeeds, nearly half an inch in length, and a deep green pulp. The root pounded, and mixed with ginger, is given in fevers. There is another of the ſpecies, much like this in its leaves and fruit, and which runs up very high on walls, trees, &c.

Ractagaroo.

The root of this creeper is near a foot long, one fourth of an inch thick, white and fibrous within. The ſtalk is round, procumbent, and green.

Leaves, of a deep green above, but paler below. The root bruiſed and mixed with pepper, they give in the gout.

Bawmanhutta.

The root grows perpendicularly, is an inch or more in diameter, brown, two feet long, white within, and woody. The ſtalk is woody, and jointed, growing in height to ſix feet or more, but naked nearly half way, then it divides into ſeveral branches. The leaves grow in pairs, on ſhort pedicles, and are very thick together, of a bright green, ſucculent, and of tender make. The flowers grow on ſpikes, round the upper part of the branches, are of a pale yellow colour, and ſomewhat of the ſhape of our honey-ſuckle. Stamina, are four in number, but the ſtyle is ſingle. They give the root powdered, in the moſt dangerous ſtate of the ſmall-pox, at the ſame time hanging a piece of it about the neck.

Getkull.

This plant grows to three or four feet in height. The ſtalk is woody, erect, and ſpreads a good deal. The leaves on long petioles, are ſomewhat duſty, of a pale green, and feel harſh: the flowers grow in umbels, on top of the branches; they are of a deep red, or crimſon colour, monopetalous, divided to the cup in five horizontal ſegments, which when in full bloom, cloſe upon the fruit. The fruit is a ſoft berry, of the ſize of a large currant, and when ripe, is of a dark green colour.

Jamblan, or Mirabolans.

There are various ſorts of theſe, which grow to middling ſized trees, whoſe leaves are ſmooth, ſhining, and poliſhed.

Sereece.

This is a large ſpreading tree, which is planted in walks, and grows very tall. The bark is brown and cracked; the leaves are pinnated, grow along every branch, and are of a pleaſant graſſy green: the flowers grow on ſpikes at the ends of the branches, on ſhort footſtalks. The calyx is a thin perianthum. The corolla is alſo green, and very ſmall, with numerous petals. The flowers have very long fine filaments, which are of a whitiſh green colour, and fine ſmell; and ſo numerous, as to give the flower the appearance of an hemiſphere.

Bonaranga.

This is a very ſmall, buſhy tree; it grows ſometimes to the height of 20 feet, but is full of branches from its very root. The leaves grow very thick, and alternately on the branches; above, they are ſmooth, and of a bright ſhining green, but below, they are paler, and ribbed. The limbs of the tree grow to a great length. The flowers I have not ſeen.

The fruit is a round huſk of an orange colour, about an inch in diameter, and divided pretty deep into ſix lobes. When ripe it falls into three pieces, in each of which is a pulpy fruit, with a black nut containing a white kernel. The whole of the fruit pounded with pepper and made into pills, the natives give to patients in the ſmall-pox accompanied with ſore throats.

Beringjole.

This is a robuſt ſpinous plant, which grows two feet high. The rough leaves are of a pale dirty green, with rough ſpines upon the middle and larger ribs. The flowers I have not obſerved. The fruit is oblong, of a pale green, mixed with a purple colour; ſometimes the purple is the prevailing colour: at the bottom the fruit is larger than it is at the ſtem. The inhabitants of *India* in general eat of this fruit in their curries; they boil them alſo as we do turnips, but many perſons prefer them when broiled and ſeaſoned with pepper and ſalt.

Pulsa.

This grows to a tolerable ſize. The bark is of the colour of our hazel, and indeed the tree looks like the hazel; the leaf is ſoft, woolly, and of a pale green colour. The flower I have not ſeen; the fruit is a kind of olive, of a red colour; when ripe a little downy, and of an agreeable acid taſte. I never ſaw any of them but in *Bengal*, and there, only in a garden belonging to *Omichund* the *Gentoo* merchant.

Punshulbe.

This is a ſmall tree or ſhrub whoſe limbs grow very long and are full of pinnæ. The leaves are a fine pleaſant green, what the flower is I cannot ſay, having never ſeen it. The fruit is a ſmall berry which grows at the ſtalk of every leaf; it is firſt green, then red, and when perfectly ripe, black. The boys paint their kites with theſe berries.

The Gregorian or Wild Cucumber, called in *Bengal* Teetpulta, and lately by ſome *Europeans* in *India*, the Vomiting Bird-Nest.

This plant grows like our cucumber plant, and climbs high on trees; like the cucumber it alſo varies in its ſpecies, though I ſaw no very material difference amongſt them. When the fruit is green it is made uſe of as an ingredient in *curries*, and cuts like our cucumber. When dry, it conſiſts of a number of fine longitudinal and tranſverſe fibres finely interwoven with each other, and forming three cells the whole length of the fruit, remarkable for having the longitudinal fibres more numerous on the inſide, and the tranſverſe ones on the outſide, and which are full of roundiſh black ſeeds: thoſe cells open at the end in one hole, whoſe circumference is that of a ſhilling, and which is firmly and exactly ſtopped by the ridged ſkin,

ſkin, rind, or coat of the fruit. In the center of this hole, is the piſtil, which is a continuation of the ſtalk, and drops out juſt before the rainy ſeaſon ſets in, and then the ſeeds alſo fall; but before that ſeaſon commences, the ſkin remains perfectly whole; which happy circumſtance ſeems to be a peculiar care of providence for the preſervation of this valuable vegetable; the fibres are what we commonly called, the *Birds-neſt*, and when dipped in boiling water, and repeated to be dipped, until the water becomes of the colour of fine hyſon tea, is certainly a powerful and ſafe emetic, not at all inferior in its virtues to the ipecacuanha root, or any other medicine whatever. It is truth, that wonderful cures to perſons labouring under ſlow nervous fevers have been wrought by this cucumber, whoſe excellency doth not meerly conſiſt in its emetic and purgative qualities, but is alſo indiſputably fraught with ſtomachic and reſtorative virtues: it is alſo a gentle ſudorific, and the ſeeds are eſteemed as a powerful vermifuge; 30 drops of a tincture made of the fibrous cells infuſed in *French* brandy, and taken in a glaſs of *Madeira* wine before dinner, ſeldom fail to cure the moſt violent pain of the ſtomach, which Mr. *Thomas* often experienced.

The virtues of this plant ſeemed to be totally unknown to our brethren of the faculty in *India*, until Mr. *Thomas* (who reſided with me at the hoſpital) was informed of them by the black doctors of the country that we employed for collecting of ſimples, and of whom we endeavoured to get all the information we could relative to botany and the phyſical practice of the country. To me, this gentleman ſoon imparted his intelligence, and after repeated and ſatisfactory trials had been made, I collected a conſiderable number of the dried cucumbers, and made uſe of them with great ſucceſs, as well in my private, as in the hoſpital practice. I ſhall only add on this ſubject, that the emetic quality contained in the cells of one of thoſe cucumbers, is ſufficient to ſerve for many vomiting doſes; the perſon uſing it, has only to take care, that after having dipped the ſame in water, it be ſuſpended in the air in order to its being dried, leſt from the aqueous particles which may be remaining in the cells it ſhould chance to become corrupted.

Bosna, by us called Sodom and Gomorrah.

This is a tolerable large tree, grows pretty thick, and is doubly pinnated. The leaves of the pinnæ are tender, of a fine green colour, about 1½ inch long. Some of the flowers are white, ſome red, whilſt others are variegated; they are three inches or more in length and nearly two in width, of the ſhape of the pea-flower, with numerous ſtamina. The fruit is a pod of 14 inches long, flat, and no thicker than a gooſe-quill, containing from one end to the other, ſmall ſeeds of the ſhape of a kidney.

Chutta,

Chutta, by us, Cock's-comb.

This is a ſhrub-like plant, and common to all the gardens in *India*. It grows to be 10 feet high, and is doubly pinnated. The ſtalk is robuſt and woody. The bark of a brown colour. On each pinna are 10 or 12 pair of fine green tender leaves, which are one inch in length. The flower is of a fine crimſon colour. The fruit is a flat pod, four inches long, and ½ of an inch wide, containing ſix oval, flatted, greeniſh ſeeds.

This is the *Poinciana* of Dr. *Hill*.

Wild Pine-Apple.

This grows on the ſides of watery places, is often planted for hedges, and anſwers the purpoſe exceedingly well, it being thick, cloſe, and full of ſpines. The root runs a great way under the ſurface of the ground; the branches of it, which are from half an inch to three or four inches in diameter, continue to be of the ſame thickneſs for a long way; theſe are hard, but not woody, of a greeniſh colour without, and white within. The plant grows in the ſame manner as other pines do, but the old leaves of this are ſomewhat longer than thoſe of the other, and at the ſame time ſpinous; as theſe drop off, there is a kind of ſtock remaining which is five or ſix inches in diameter, and not unlike the *Bamboo*; and whenever theſe have been ſuffered to remain uncut for any length of time, if you lift upward the outer leaves, you will ſee a number of thoſe ſtocks, or ſtems, and a large cavity in the middle of them, which is always proportionally correſponding to the height of the hedge, as there are no leaves but what are near the ſurface of the hedge. At *Madraſs* you ſee a remarkable high hedge of this kind, (originally planted for limiting to the northward the boundaries of that ſettlement,) which is nearly 20 feet high, and hollow enough for ſheltering many hundred men, but their general height is no more than five or ſix feet. The flower is an erect ſpike, very thick and ſoft, of a brown colour, and like our graſſes it grows in a double ſtrong and fleſhy ſpatha, yielding a ſweet and highly perfumed odour; and which, if dried and put amongſt linen clothes, will prevent their being injured by the ant, or any other deſtroying inſect or vermin. The fruit, which is eaten by the poor people, reſembles the other pine-apple, but is ſhorter than that.

Cow-Itch.

This is the down found on the outſide of a pod, which is about the length and thickneſs of a man's little finger, and of the ſhape of an *Italian S*. The plant grows to a great height amongſt trees and buſhes; the leaves grow in pairs with a ſingle one at the end, are of a deep green colour, cordated ſhape, about four inches long, with the main fibre running near the upper ſide of the leaf. The flowers grow thick on a ſpike which is nearly an inch in length, of a fine deep purple colour, and bilabiated in a green cup; after the flowers fall off the pod remains. The leaves bruiſed, are eſteemed an excellent application for wounds in cattle.

Gingilla Seed.

This is the *Seſamum* of Dr. *Hill*. They uſe its oil to fry their fleſh or fiſh in, and preſerve the ſeeds as ſweetmeats, and deem them to be ſtrengthners.

Saume de Chute.

This is a very pretty ſhrub-like plant, in height ſometimes more than 12 or 14 feet. The bark is grey below, and green above. The leaves are very ſmall and tender, of a pale but pleaſant green colour; oval in ſhape, and half an inch in length; doubly pinnated, with eight or ten pair growing on each ſide-pinna. The flower is ſometimes yellow, ſometimes purple, grows on ſpikes, and is of the ſhape of the pea-bloſſom. The fruit is a ſlender pod, of the thickneſs of a pack-thread, containing oblong truncated ſeeds; they are firſt of a browniſh black, but when ripe, are brown, and look on the tree, where they plenteouſly hang, like ſo many pieces of pack-thread. The leaves fried with *Ghee* are uſed as a ſuppurating cataplaſm.

Marricallanga. *Semen emeticum novum.*

I have never ſeen the tree, but they tell me that it is a large one. I had ſome of its branches brought to me, which were like the branches of our *Barberry*, and equally as thick; they are of a great length, and ſend forth but a ſmall number of the ſmaller branches. The bark is greyiſh, the wood is tough; at the diſtance of two or three inches throughout the branches, there grow two very long ſharp ſpines, which are oppoſite to each other, and under each of theſe, ſhoot out five or ſix ſmall ſuboval leaves; the ſmalleſt end being elongated ſerves as a pedicle in the manner of our thorn. In the middle of thoſe leaves on a ſhort pedicle ſtand the fruit, which when green are oval, and have an eye like the pomegranate; when ripe, they are nearly round, and of the ſize and colour of a walnut; the ſkin is rough, but breaks almoſt as ſoon as it is bended; in the inſide, the fruit is divided into three partitions like the walnut, and theſe are full of reddiſh ſeeds, that are oleous, and when firſt taſted, a little aromatic; in ſhape they are the 5th or 6th of a circle cut from the circumference to the center, and ſome of them are angular without the convexity. Theſe ſeeds with the huſks when powdered is in look, ſmell, and taſte, like the powder of *Ipecacuanha*, and an equal quantity of each operates alike. They are to be had almoſt all over *India*, and are ſo cheap that the price is hardly worthy of mention, for a buſhel will not coſt more than a rupee. The black people have always been acquainted with their uſeful properties, and frequently uſe them in medicine. But the *European* ſurgeons, according to Mr. *Thomas*'s obſervations, until he himſelf introduced them into practice (which was after that he ſucceeded me as ſurgeon to his majeſty's hoſpital) ſeemed to be altogether unacquainted with them.

Aloes.

Aloes.

The *Aloe* is well known in moſt parts of the world, and therefore it is unneceſſary to deſcribe it. They grow all over *India*; and near *St. Auguſtine's Bay* at *Madagaſcar*, is to be found in great abundance, the right *Succotrine* ſort.

Agoghorse.

This is a direct graſs. The culm ſometimes runs upwards of two feet, and is undivided. The leaves are pointed, of a fine green, rough, half an inch broad, and two feet long: they are of an aromatic taſte, mingled with an agreeable bitter, yield a fine ſweet-ſmelling flavour, and are uſed in cool tankards, *&c.*

Diet-Productions of the Garden.

It would be endleſs to attempt a deſcription of the number and ſorts which *India* produces of the creeper and volubilis kind, and that are by the *Europeans* and natives uſed in their curries, and ſoups; there are of them, whoſe fruit are from the ſize of a buſhel meaſure to that of the gooſeberry; and of every ſhape, ſuch as round, oval, oblong, angular, *&c.* There is alſo a great variety of the bean kind, too tedious to mention here; but the one which they call *Try*, I cannot paſs over: it is highly eſteemed when ſtewed, by the *Europeans*, and when ripe and dry, carries with it the appearance of the *Wild Cucumber*, and is, as I was told, like that, of an emetic quality. Whether it is the ſame, has been a matter of diſpute; however, by comparing the deſcription already given of the *Teetpulta*, with the few particulars which follow relating to this, the reader will ſoon diſcover how miſtaken thoſe are who ſuppoſe them to be the ſame. This fruit when dry, is highly ridged, with five or ſix large fibres running its whole length, and without a piſtil; neither are the fibres ſo diſtinct as in the other, but are pluffy, as if beaten.

In the markets of all our *Engliſh* ſettlements, you ſeldom meet with any other vegetables for ſale than what are the natural productions of the country; whereas in thoſe of the *Dutch* you find a plenty of the *European* cabbages, coleworts, carrots, turnips, peaſe, *&c. &c. &c.*

With pleaſure, I acknowledge the aid I have received from the late ingenious Mr. *Thomas*'s papers, which contain alſo branches or leaves of almoſt every one of the foregoing trees, ſhrubs, and plants; theſe enabled me to give ſo accurate an account of the vegetable productions of *Indoſtan*, and from them I have alſo tranſcribed the following recipe for the cure of putrid intermitting fevers, communicated to us by a *Gentoo* doctor during our being together in *Bengal*, and which I oftentimes ſucceſsfully preſcribed in the courſe of my hoſpital practice in that ſettlement: concerning it Mr.

Thomas hath left this opinion, "We have found it to anſwer better than the bark, in whatever quantity given."

Take of *Roman* vitriol, and burnt pearls, each, the weight of one rupee, (i. e. three drachms and ſeven grains;) orpiment half a drachm; ſurnamachy, (a metallic foſſil) burnt 10 grains: waſh the orpiment in chunam (Lime) water; powder them well together, and make them into a ſoft electuary with the juice of green aloes; then put it into a ſmall unglazed earthen pan, and turn another ſhallow one over it, both which cloſe well with clay, by ſurrounding both the pans with it, and at leaſt half an inch thick. Then dig a hole in the ground 14 inches wide and a foot deep, into which put dried cow-dung and ſome bits of ſtraw to the height of ſix inches from the bottom of the hole, then ſet the ſame on fire; put over the fuel the pans, taking care to cover them with cow-dung and bits of ſtraw, till they are piled ſix or eight inches above the pit or hole, where let the pans continue till all the fuel is conſumed by the fire, which will be about ſeven hours. When the medicine is taken out, it looks like a cinder; this you are to reduce to a powder, and give two grains with ſugar every morning.

A Liſt of *Indian* Drugs hath been given in p. 44.

APPENDIX,

N°. III.

An Account of the DISEASES incident to GOMBROON, contained in a letter from an ingenious phyſician who reſided ſeveral years in that ſettlement.

DURING my abode at *Gombroon*, autumnal and vernal *Intermittents* raged in as various forms, as have ever been remarked in the deſcriptions given of theſe diſeaſes by medical authors. The moſt ſimple of them often continued to harraſs the patient for a conſiderable length of time. Others were quite anomalous, the paroxyſms frequently redoubling, and that not always in a regular order; which plainly evinced the malignity of their nature. I have known a regular autumnal *Tertian* (which never doubled the paroxyſm, except upon ſome caſual indiſcretion of the patient), ſo obſtinate as to continue twelve or thirteen months, and at length to occaſion indurations in the ſpleen, liver, *&c.*

The obſtinacy of theſe diſeaſes, and the bad conſequences ariſing from them, do, I believe, but ſeldom occur in other countries, and here, were by no means occaſioned by bleeding, or other improper evacuations. Even when by the irregularities of the patient the fits were anticipated, or redoubled, the fever quickly aſſumed its firſt type, and ſo went on until the patient's want of ſtrength and the dread of worſe conſequences, obliged me to put a ſtop to its career by the bark. A repetition of the ſame medicine afterwards, at intervals, according to *Sydenham's* method, did not always prove ſucceſsful.

Other

Other *Intermittents*, were of a more malignant nature, and attended with ſuch complicated and redoubled fits, as ſometimes to terminate in a continual fever of the worſt kind, to the great danger and often the deſtruction of the patient. *Continual Putrid Fevers*, appeared as the ſun approached the winter, or ſummer ſolſtice, but were by no means ſo frequent as to deſerve the name of epidemics. *Baſtard Peripneumonies*, alſo occurred from the middle of *October* to the middle of *November*, and might in ſome years be obſerved even in the ſucceeding months to the end of *February*.

But the various ſpecies of *Intermitting Fevers* already mentioned, were, at leaſt while I was there, the moſt prevailing diſorders at *Gombroon*.

The *Quotidians*, during the firſt days, by reaſon of their obſcure intermiſſion, were ſomewhat difficult to be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt: but by attending to the attack of the firſt cold fit, and the progreſs of the other ſubſequent ſymptoms, the caſe may be known. The chilneſs in the beginning of this fever commences in the extreme parts of the body, ſuch as at the tip of the noſe, and the ends of the fingers, or toes: it never ſeizes with an univerſal rigor, or in all or moſt of the muſcular parts of the body at once, as in the beginning of many *Continual Fevers*; neither does it riſe to ſo great a degree as in a *Tertian*. The cold fit is often very ſlight at *Gombroon*, and I believe in moſt hot climates. Towards the end of the cold fit, a pituitous vomiting, with great drowſineſs, often attacks the patient, and ſoon after, the pulſe becomes quicker, having an undulating motion, but not ſo ſtrong in its vibrations as in a *Tertian*, nor attended with that tenſity and hardneſs as in acute *Inflammatory Fevers:* neither does the patient complain much of thirſt, but is on the contrary frequently troubled with watery and frothy ſpittings. Moreover, the heat of the body during the increaſe or ſtate, is accompanied with a moiſture, and is very moderate when compared with the heat attendant on continual *Inflammatory Fevers*, or *Tertian Intermittents*, in the ſame ſtate. If the face continues for any time pale, livid, and as it were a little bloated, with tenſe *Hypochondria*, danger is portended.

The patient in the firſt days hath ſeldom any truly critical ſweat; nor are the intermiſſions for the moſt part perceptible. However, in five or ſix days theſe *Fevers* moſt commonly ſhow their nature more plainly, by *Intermiſſions* of ſix or eight hours continuance, and, what I have not elſewhere obſerved of ſuch *Quotidians*, they in about a fortnight afterwards terminate in *Tertians*. This *Fever* will by no means bear a hot regimen; by this it will ſoon be changed into a *Continual Putrid*, and more dangerous *Fever*. A cold regimen is alſo a dangerous extreme. At *Gombroon*, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, it is of a phlegmatic arpituitous nature, in which a mean courſe between the two exceſſes of either of theſe regimens, is to be followed.

On its firſt attack, I uſually gave a vomit, either of *Ipecacuanha*, or *Salt of Vitriol*, adding to the former a grain or two of *Tartar Emetic*, or two drachms of *Vinum Benedictum* for robuſt habits. Bleeding is ſeldom requiſite in this fever; the pulſe, joined with the ſtate of other ſymptoms, muſt alone determine the expediency of that operation. The conſtitution, ſo far as I could find, in *Gombroon*, will not bear too ſmart, nor too great evacuations of any kind. For common drink, I ordered ſack-whey, ſage-tea, or orange-whey; and gave often ſome grains of *Sal Prunella* mixed with them, ſo as that the patient might take about the quantity of a drachm and a half of it in the ſpace of twenty-four hours. I directed panado, and water-gruel, for their food, allowing ſome ſpoonfuls of rheniſh, old hock, or other white wines, to be given when the fever was almoſt on the decline. I have ſometimes, to ungovernable patients, allowed chicken broth, but cannot approve of fleſh nutriment, even of the lighteſt ſort, eſpecially in the firſt days of a fever of any kind, as more eaſily tending to putrefaction than the farinaceous aliment. Sage, or other tea, I frequently allowed as a change of drink; but I found the ſack-whey infinitely preferable, as ſupporting the ſpirits better, and alſo affording ſome nouriſhment, which the teas did not.

Sweats forced by art in the beginning of theſe fevers, as well as in moſt others, pervert the intentions of nature, and render the diſeaſe more malignant and irregular; but when occaſioned by gently diluting and reſolving medicines, they either bring the *Fever* ſooner to an *Intermiſſion*, or by gradually reſolving and eliminating the morbific matter, reſtore the patient to health. In caſe the bowels are much conſtipated, a clyſter of milk, oil and ſugar, with two drachms of lenitive electuary diſſolved in it, may be adminiſtered; but in moſt caſes at the beginning of *Quotidians*, the ſtools are crude and watery, and an emetic will uſually procure as much evacuation as is neceſſary this way. Where the drowſineſs was ſo exceſſive as to threaten a *Coma*, and the languor of the pulſe required the application of a bliſter, I have found benefit from applying it, but great care is to be taken, leſt ſo powerful a *ſtimulus* ſhould throw the patient into a *Continual Fever*; and indeed, although *Quotidians* are very troubleſome, and often dangerous, as I ſeldom had occaſion to lower the *Fever* with the lancet, ſo neither have I been often obliged to raiſe the pulſe by the application of veſicatories. Such *Fevers*, by a prudent treatment, without running into any extremes, will often in a few days grant ſome hours truce daily to the patient, and provided his conſtitution holds out, may in a fortnight afterwards, form themſelves into regular *Tertians*.

But where I have been apprehenſive of the patient's ſuccumbing under the fever before ſuch a wiſhed-for change, I have then taken the opportunity of the ſmall intermiſſions, to give the bark, with as much caution and prudence as I was maſter of. You are ſenſible, no particular advice in ſuch a caſe can be given; this muſt be left entirely to the judgment of the phyſician or ſurgeon who has attended the patient through the whole courſe

courſe of the diſeaſe. I have however obſerved, that on the firſt, ſecond, third, or fourth perfect *Intermiſſion*, if I had a mind to embrace that opportunity, I could always exhibit at leaſt two drachms of the bark before the approach of the next fit, which I indeed obſerved to be ſomewhat higher than the preceding one, but without danger.

At the next *Intermiſſion* I could generally make the patient take half an ounce, and on the third, ſix drachms, or thereabouts; which practice never failed to drive off the *Fever*, or change its type to a *Tertian*: nay, I have been ſometimes forced to lay hold of *Remiſſions*, and it is to be done with ſafety when one is ſure of the nature of the *Fever*. Sometimes you will gain your point in twice giving your bark as above-mentioned, thrice never failed me. In *Quotidians* I almoſt always obſerved that the bark occaſioned watery ſtools, but never durſt venture to check them by opiates; however I found by experience that notwithſtanding the ſtools, a third exhibition of the bark ſeldom failed of ſucceſs.

Tertians at *Gombroon*, as well vernal as autumnal, frequently imitate for ſome days the genius of *Continual Fevers*. They may be diſtinguiſhed even in this ſtate from the other ſpecies of *Intermittents*, in that the pulſe, during the ſtate of the *Fever*, is more full, and ſtrong; the heat is more ardent, and dry; and the ſymptoms ſeemingly are more violent; the cold fit too is frequently more ſevere, though as obſerved above, this is not always to be relied on. As to their reſemblance to the *Continual*, it is ſo very natural, that it is not eaſy in this period of them to make always a juſt prognoſtic, or judge truly what *Fever* one hath got to deal with. However, the ſetting in of the *Epidemic* may greatly aſſiſt one's judgment. It may likewiſe be obſerved in them, that the heat of the patient's body ſeems to the touch, of an equal temperature, not greatly increaſed, as in moſt *Continuals*. But notwithſtanding all this, you are very ſenſible that *Sydenham*, and after him *Boerhaave*, have written, *Quin et ſæpe initio Autumni mulantur exactè indolem continuarum, ob longiores et duplicatos paroxyſmos, dum tamen indoles & curatio planè diverſæ ſunt.* The firſt part of which *Aphoriſm* ſhows, that at leaſt in the beginning of Autumn, their appearances are as fallacious in other countries, as in *Gombroon*; and the latter part of it declares, that a very different method of cure from that of *Continual Fevers*, is requiſite in theſe *Intermittents*.

I muſt confeſs, that notwithſtanding two ſuch great authorities, I have been frequently obliged to uſe the lancet to determine their *Intermiſſions* more ſpeedily, leſt greater miſchief ſhould have befallen the patient. *Boerhaave*, in another aphoriſm on Intermittents, ſays, *Venæſectio nocet per ſe ſemper, prodeſt alias caſu ut et tenuis exactaque Dicta:* Yet he ſoon afterwards adds, *Porro ſymptomati urgenti occuratur juxta regulas in acutis datas.* And I can with truth affirm, that in *Gombroon*, I often found moderate bleeding neceſſary, as well as the *tenuis exactaque diæta*.

In

In the beginning of theſe *Tertians*, as there are but few rules or precepts which will not admit of exceptions, I have in ſome very ſanguine habits of body bled even a ſecond time; and am of opinion that the probability of thereby protracting the fever's duration for a few months, at leaſt in *Gombroon*, is not ſo hazardous as running the riſque of its change into an *Unremitting Continual Fever*; in which laſt caſe it is always highly dangerous, and of a malignant nature. I am a living witneſs of an *Autumnal Fever*, which began and continued almoſt perfectly regular for thirteen months, in my own perſon, in ſpite of all the medicines I took to get rid of it; neither did it ever double the paroxyſm, unleſs it was my own fault. I neither bled nor uſed any other ſevere evacuation, and I have known the like happen to ſeveral others; ſo that in *Gombroon* thoſe *Intermitting Fevers* ſometimes run much beyond the uſual period of their duration in other countries; nay even where bleeding hath not been uſed, the *Vernal* often continues to harraſs the patient for ſix months.

But to return from this digreſſion: I have often found the *Fever* by its continuance for a few days ſo to weaken the patient, that I was glad to adminiſter the bark even on the firſt *Intermiſſion*, and always have done it with ſafety and ſucceſs; ſometimes indeed, as was obſerved in *Quotidians*, on firſt giving this medicine it did not ſucceed, nay in ſuch caſes I have found the next paroxyſm, as it were exaſperated, though without danger to the patient; but the ſecond exhibition of this noble *medicine* never failed to put a temporary ſtop to the fever, and often, if I might be allowed the expreſſion, to make an entire conqueſt over it. When ſymptoms were not ſo urgent after *Intermiſſion* from the *Fever*, I gave the patient a drachm of the *Sal Polychreſt* evening and morning in a *draught* of bitters, and directed the bitters by themſelves to be taken two or three times a day, eſpecially during the *Intermiſſions* of the *Fever*. Care was taken not to overheat the patient, to prevent his diſeaſe being converted into a *Continual Fever*, of which (except ſome very great irregularities had been committed by the patient) he runs no great riſque, after the *Intermiſſions* from the *Fever* have for ſome days been perfectly diſtinct.

I thus prepared him for the bark, as moſt practitioners in *Europe* do at this day. When once the *Intermiſſions* are fair and compleat, you are ſenſible there can be no danger from the bark. To ſay more to you upon the ſubject would be improper; I ſhall therefore only add, that I have ſometimes ſeen theſe *Fevers*, without any reaſon that I could aſſign, double their paroxyſms; and ſometimes on the third *Intermiſſion* that appeared, I adminiſtered the bark, and thus put a ſtop to their further progreſs. After theſe *Fevers* have been ſubdued by the bark, all evacuations become hurtful except a vomit, nor is even a vomit to be given, unleſs in caſes of a relapſe. Amorous dalliances with the fair ſex, (of which I had ſeveral inſtances, as well in *Gombroon* as elſewhere,) infallibly cauſe a relapſe, even where there hath been no enjoyment. Too great an application to buſineſs, too much thoughtfulneſs, and all ſorts of exerciſe, even only in ſuch a degree as on other occaſions might

be deemed ſalutary, will produce relapſes, eſpecially during great heat of the weather.

Quartans are not near ſo frequent at *Gombroon* as the above-mentioned *Fever*, nor have I ever obſerved a *Vernal Quartan* either here or any where elſe; and thoſe which occur in *Autumn* have nothing particular, but what I ſhall remark afterwards among the complications of theſe *Fevers*. Neither did the *Quartans* at *Gombroon*, as far as came within my obſervation, ever imitate *Continual Fevers*, or double their paroxyſms, or require a different treatment from what they do in other countries. As to the *Complications* of theſe *Fevers*, I muſt own I never met with a *Double Quotidian*, unleſs the patient by interrupting the ſweat at its beginning, brought back his fever before the wonted time.

Double Tertians at *Gombroon*, are frequent, and eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed from *Quotidians*, by the paroxyſms being equal on equal days; for inſtance, if the acceſs happens to-day at noon, to-morrow it will happen at ſix at night, next day at noon, and the day following at ſix in the evening, but often the fits anticipate each other. When the *Fever* was of the *Tertian* kind, thus redoubled, I uſed in the firſt, ſecond, or third *Intermiſſion* to reduce it to order by the bark. When it appeared in this form from the beginning, after a vomit and a few days treatment as in the *Quotidian*, I commonly took the firſt fair opportunity to give the bark in ſmall quantities, which ſeldom failed of reducing the diſeaſe to a ſimple *Tertian*, but I never uſed to be in too great a hurry.

A *Semi-tertian* ſometimes happens, and yields, ſo far as I have found, to the treatment of the *Quotidians*; but be very cautious with regard to the bark. I have ſometimes ſeen a *Tertian* afflict the patient for two days together, and intermit the third; and ſometimes continue for two days, and intermit the two following days; both which caſes do however but ſeldom occur; but among thoſe *Fevers* you will find more irregularities than even what I have mentioned. When you are fearful of uſing the bark in the mixed or complicated kinds of thoſe *Fevers*, or even in the more regular *Intermittents*, the *Elixir* of *Vitriol* is an admirable medicine, joined to bitters. It is alſo excellent to prevent relapſes.

I never obſerved at *Gombroon*, the *Simple Continued Inflammatory Fever*: and *Putrid Continual Fevers* ſeldom occurred, unleſs ſuch as were of a periodical diſpoſition.

As to bleeding in ſuch *Fevers*, it muſt chiefly be determined by the pulſe; this evacuation however in the ſame ſpecies of fever during ſome times of the year, may be proper in ſome perſons, but in others not ſo neceſſary, or even adviſeable; in general I found the nature of theſe *Fevers*, and likewiſe of the air, admitted of bleeding, if not carried to too great an height,

height. I never omitted giving a vomit as early as poſſible, and if the vomit did not paſs downwards, I the ſame evening adminiſtered an emollient clyſter; after which carefully attending to the genius of the *Fever*, I preſcribed a cooling antiphlogiſtic regimen, with attenuating ſalts, and julaps acidulated with the *Elixir* of *Vitriol*, being, as careful as I could, of *a ne quid nimis*. Violent attenuants or reſolvents, when too plentifully uſed, may diſſolve the *Craſis* of the blood in too great a degree, and thereby contrary to their antiſeptic nature, produce in the human body, effects quite different from the intention with which they are given, by even converting the animal fluids into a putrid *latex*, altogether unfit for the functions of life. Theſe alſo too freely indulged, frequently bring prepoſterous ſweats in the beginning of the *Fever*, before nature hath ſufficiently concocted the febrile matter. To prevent or correct both which inconveniencies, I never found any thing equal to the *Gas Sulphuris*, or ſpirit of vitriol, frequently given either in julaps, or in the patients common drink. Orange-juice, and diſtilled vinegar, are good medicines, and the laſt is found in plenty in *Gombroon*. In *Fevers* the ſpirits are more apt to flag at *Gombroon*, than at any other place I ever knew, eſpecially during the heats, and in the foggy damp weather, yet I never had recourſe to any of the heating cordials, but found the acidulated julaps anſwer my intentions very well.

I rarely ordered emulſions, finding they curdled on the ſtomach, either through the heat of the weather, nature of the patient's ſtomach, or perhaps by means of the acidulated julaps ſo neceſſary in thoſe *Fevers*; I therefore generally adviſed whey for common drink, in which I could diſſolve what reſolvent ſalts I thought fit, and could acidulate to what degree I thought proper, without accumulating a numerous farrago of medicines upon the patient, which in ſuch caſes uſually becomes nauſeous; by this beverage I found the patient's ſpirits better ſupported than by emulſions or teas, altho' I frequently allowed the latter, eſpecially that made from ſage, by way of variety. I ſometimes indulged the patient with a cool tankard made with rheniſh, old hock, or in want of them with any other white wine; which if not acid enough, I ſharpened with orange juice, or ſpirit of vitriol; but I think it not ſo well to allow the patient this draught quite cold, as they uſually deſire, for fear of occaſioning obſtructions by its chilneſs. I preferred the farinaceous food, ſuch as water-gruel, panado, *Congee*, *&c.* to the lighteſt fleſh nouriſhment, which in theſe fevers is ſtill more to be prohibited, than in the beginning of any of the intermitting kind.

A cooling clyſter is ſometimes neceſſary, eſpecially if the fever much affects the head; and by this gentle treatment, theſe *Fevers* in five, ſeven, nine, eleven, or fourteen days, uſed to go off by a gradual reſolution; a very beneficial way to nature, and by no means hazardous.

Few of them run a great length; moſt of them laſt not above ſeven or nine days; few arrive at fourteen, and ſome were terminated in five, nay a very few but very violent in three days: what ſeemed to me ſomewhat remarkable, was, that a few of theſe *Fevers* terminated in *Intermittents*; and others of them were ſucceeded in about a month's time by an *Intermittent*. Whether this was owing to any particularity of the air, ſo naturally diſpoſed to produce this laſt *Fever*, eſpecially in weakened bodies; or whether it was owing to nature's not bringing on the firſt fever to a copious and critical ejection of the morbid cauſe, I ſhall not take upon me to determine. Yet notwithſtanding this conſequence, (which was not however very frequent) I always preferred a gradual reſolution of the *Fever*, when critical, to the riſque which too often attends an imperfect criſis. After theſe fevers, I uſed to purge the patient at leaſt twice, with the *Decoctum Amarum cum Senna*, adding ſome drops of the elixir of vitriol in each doſe. Sometimes, inſtead of a decoction of bitters, I ordered an infuſion of them in white wine. By this method I judged that the patient was not ſo liable to a ſubſequent *Intermittent*, but I found that even this did not abſolutely prevent it. With regard to *Bliſters*, where the pulſe was ſtrong and full, I rarely or never made uſe of them, on account of a ſimple *delirium* in theſe *Fevers*; but when the pulſe ſunk, and where nervous twitchings or coma ſupervened, I always applied them.

There is likewiſe to be met with at *Gombroon* a *Low Fever*, attended with great depreſſion of the ſpirits, wherein bliſtering is abſolutely neceſſary: this I take to be what is called in *Europe* the *Nervous Fever*.

Bliſters in general are more advantageouſly uſed in periodical fevers, whether mild or putrid, than in thoſe fevers which are continual.

For nervous ſymptoms, *Sal. Succini*, *Tinct. Caſtor. Ruſſ.* and other warm medicines, become neceſſary.

The *Baſtard Peripneumony* at *Gombroon*, requires ſtrong bliſters, as well as every where elſe; and bleeding in proportion to the patient's ſtrength once in the beginning, I found for the moſt part was neceſſary, with a diluting regimen. Balſamics, eſpecially of the heating kind, do often more harm than good. I have ſometimes uſed a little of the *Oxymel Sciliticum* with ſucceſs.

While I was at *Gombroon*, there were none of the *Morbi acuti febriles* which could be called *Epidemics*, and as *ſporadic* they obſerved their uſual tenour.

The *Small-pox* is by the country people, generally ſpeaking, reckoned *epidemic*, and fatal, and obſerved to return among them about once in ſeven years; but I had not a patient in that diſorder all the time I was

in the place. In all *Acute diſeaſes*, as well as *Intercurrent*, I made it my care, as much as I poſſibly could, to preſerve the *Vis Vitæ* in that juſt *moderamen*, that the patient might not be carried off by the diſeaſe ariſing to too great an height; nor nature on the other hand, be ſo weakened, as to be unable to bring about the purpoſe either of benign reſolution, or critical evacuations: you know this is the true golden mean to be obſerved in treating *Fevers*.

As you muſt be ſenſible that the particular genus of an *Acute* diſeaſe, with the ſymptoms peculiar to different *Idioſyncraſes*, can only be learned from perſonal and attentive obſervation; ſo with that aſſiſtance, the foregoing remarks, I hope will be found ſerviceable and uſeful.

FINIS.